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# THE WORKS

OF

# HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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OF

# HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME XXVII.

## HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST COAST.

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# PREFACE.

PROCEEDING northward from the more defined regions of Spanish domination in America, on reaching the forty-second parallel the hitherto steady course of our Pacific States History is interrupted, and after the earliest voyages of discovery we are referred to Canada and France, and later to Anglo-America and England, for the origin of affairs, and for the extreme north to Russia. The ownership of this region, always ignoring the rights of the natives, was at first somewhat vague; it was disputed by the several European powers, France, Spain, and England, and after the first two had retired from the field England and the United States held a bloodless quarrel over it. The original doctrine in seizing unknown lands was to claim in every direction as far as those lands extended, even if it was quite round the world. Thus Columbus would have it, and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa thought that all the shores washed by the Pacific Ocean were not too great recompense to his king for having so valiant a subject as himself. France was disposed to claim from Canada west to the Pacific, and back of the English plantations down the valley of the Great River to the Mexican Gulf,

while the English colonies on the Atlantic measured their lands by the frontage, their depth being the width of the continent. But Spain, sending her navigators up the western coast, was enabled by discovery to secure a better title than could be made to rest on the enthusiasm of a Columbus or a Balboa, or even on the pope's generosity. While Great Britain and the United States relied on explorations and occupation, sometimes calling the former discoveries, and also on enforced or voluntary concessions from Spain, France also sent an exploring expedition, followed now and then by a trader; but she advanced no claims after parting with her broad Canadian and Mississippi possessions.

Obviously events affecting this area as a whole, before its division into separate domains, belong to each of the succeeding states; so that the *History of the Northwest Coast* may properly be regarded as preliminary to and part of the *History of Oregon*, the *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana*, and the *History of British Columbia*.

On the earliest maritime explorations, the voyages of the fur-traders, and the famous Nootka controversy, I have been able to consult many important documents not known to Greenhow, Twiss, and the other writers of 1846 and earlier years. Notable among these new authorities are the journals of Gray, Haswell, Winship, Sturgis, and other American voyagers; also the interesting items on northern trips gleaned from the Spanish archives of California. The famous Oregon Question, growing out of these earliest expeditions and controversies, is here for the first time treated from an historical rather than a partisan standpoint.

During the summer of 1878 I made an extended tour in this territory for the purpose of adding to my material for its history. Some printed matter I found not before in my possession. I was fortunate enough to secure copies of the letters of Simon Fraser, and the original journals of Fraser and John Stuart; also copies from the originals of the journals of John Work and W. F. Tolmie, the private papers of John McLoughlin, and a manuscript *History of the Northwest Coast* by A. C. Anderson. Through the kindness of Mr John Charles, at the time chief of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific coast, I was given access to the archives of the fur company gathered at Victoria, and was permitted to make copies of important fort journals, notably those of Fort Langley and Fort Simpson. But most important of all were the historical and biographical dictations taken from the lips of several hundred of the pioneers and earliest fur-hunters and settlers then living, by a short-hand reporter who accompanied me in my travels, and which were afterward written out, severally bound, and used in the usual way as material for history. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of this information, given as it was by actors in the scenes represented, many of whom have since departed this life, and all of whom will soon be gone. To no small extent it is early historical knowledge absolutely rescued from oblivion, and which if lost no power on earth could reproduce. Conspicuous among those who thus bear testimony are Mrs Harvey, who gave me a biographical sketch of her father, Chief Factor McLoughlin; John Tod, chief for a time of New Caledonia; Archibald McKinlay, in charge of Fort Walla Walla at the time of

the Whitman massacre; Roderick Finlayson, once in charge of Fort Victoria; A. C. Anderson, road-maker, explorer, and historian.

The journals of explorers and the narratives of travellers embody in a wilderness of useless matter much valuable information. These works are quite rare; but even if they were at hand, one could wade through them only at great loss of time. Of these, in this part of my History, I have summarized several score. British and American government documents are quite full at a later period, when England and the United States carried on their hot disputations on the subject of occupancy.

The freshness of the field has rendered it to me exceedingly fascinating; of the manner in which my enthusiasm has taken form, and of the use I have made of my opportunities, the public must judge.

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THWEST COAST
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# HISTORY

OF

# THE NORTHWEST COAST.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY TO NORTHWEST COAST EXPLORATION.

PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE—THE SUBJECT IN ITS WIDEST SCOPE—THE HOME OF MYSTERY—HISTORIC AND MYTHIC INTEREST—THE CONJECTURAL AND THE REAL—ORIGIN OF THE STRAIT MYTH AND OF THE NORTHERN MYSTERY—WEST COAST THEORIES—STATE OF GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE IN 1550—IN THE SOUTH-EAST—NORTH-EAST, EXPLORATIONS BY THE CABOTS AND CORTEREALS, BY AILLON, VERRAZANO, GOMEZ, CARTIER—IN THE SOUTH-WEST, BY BALBOA, ESPINOSA, DÁVILA, CORTÉS, ALARCON, ULLOA, CABRILLO—INLAND WANDERINGS BY CARTIER, SOTO, CABEZA DE VACA, GUZMAN, NIZA, AND CORONADO—1550 TO 1600, FROBISHER, RIBAULT, MENENDEZ, RALEIGH—NEW MEXICAN ENTRADAS—URDANETA, DRAKE, GALI, CERMEÑON—1600 TO 1650, VIZCAINO, OÑATE—CANADIAN FUR-HUNTERS AND JESUITS—HUDSON AND BAFFIN—1650 TO 1700, THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, MARQUETTE, LA SALLE, AND PADRE KINO—1700 TO 1750, PHILIPPINE GALLEONS—ENGLISH FREEBOOTERS—VÉRENDRYE TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—ARCTIC DISCOVERIES—1750 TO 1800, HEARNE AND MACKENZIE—ESCALANTE IN UTAH—OCCUPATION OF CALIFORNIA—RUSSIAN DISCOVERIES.

EVERY age, as presented to us by history, displays some features better and some worse than the corresponding characteristics of our own age. There are so-called golden ages, in which honor is besmeared with vices such as times were never cursed with before; and there are brass ages and iron ages, in which there is truth and heroism, if not so many of the comely and sweet humanities of life. Human progress is like the

waters of ocean, ever circulating between equator and poles, seeking equilibrium of temperature and a level, seeking rest and finding none.

A dominant feature in Northwest Coast discovery and exploration is royal mendacity. Maritime lying reaches the climax, and borders on the heroic. Enough is known of climates and configurations to form bases for endless imaginings, and not enough in certain quarters to render detection likely; the listener's mind once made up to overlook the audacious indifference to truth on the part of navigators, and he will find their tales not always unpleasing.

The term Northwest Coast, as defined for the purpose of this history, includes the territory known in later times as Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. Exploration naturally occupies the first place in its annals; and the earliest exploration here, as in most parts of the New World, is maritime. The historian's first task is to present, in chronologic order, the successive voyages by which the coast of the western ocean from latitude forty-two to fifty-four north became known to Europeans, and on which were founded divers claims, more or less conflicting, of national ownership. Later we will observe inland travellers, and follow them amidst their wanderings over the mighty western slope, and as far north as the Frozen Sea. In its narrowest limits the subject first presents itself in the form of the geographical exploration of an unknown seaboard some seven hundred and fifty miles in extent.

But it has a broader scope. Just as Prince Henry's southward gropings along the African coast acquire their chief interest and importance as part of a grand scheme of doubling the cape and opening a way by sea to India; as the first discoveries of Columbus in the far west are fascinating, not only in bringing to light the position, outline, and products of certain islands, but in the idea of the great explorer's fancied

approach to the realms of the Grand Khan, and in the real but unsuspected nearness of a new continent; as the Isthmian coastings and plunderings, a long chapter of outrage and disaster, are linked in the reader's mind with Balboa's grand discovery of a new ocean, and with the rich provinces located by Spanish imagination on its shores; as Portuguese progress, step by step down the Brazilian coast, was but a prelude to Magellan's voyages into the Pacific and round the world; as Ponce de Leon's name suggests not the marshes of Florida so much as the fountain of youth; as the ploddings of Cortés on and about the sterile Californian Peninsula were but commonplace achievements for the conqueror of Mexico compared with what he hoped to achieve and what he sought, the isles of pearls and spices and Amazons, the *estrechio*, and the route to India; and as New Mexican Pueblo town realities, wonderful as they are, pale into insignificance before the imaginary splendors of the cities that Cabeza de Vaca heard of, the Cíbola that Márcos de Niza visited, and the Quivira built up like an air castle on Coronado's modest picture of a wigwam town on the northern plains—so this northern coast of the Oregon must ever be less famous historically for what was found there and for the adventures of those who found it, than for what was sought in vain, and what ought by current cosmography to have been found. Here opened into the broad Pacific the strait of Anian, by which ships, when once the entrance on either side was found, might sail without hinderance from ocean to ocean. Here, on either side the strait, manifold wonders and mysteries had their inaccessible seat for more than two centuries.

Here, at and about an island standing opposite the entrance of a strait that lacked only length to afford the desired interoceanic communication, Russian explorers came down from the farther north and met Spanish explorers from the south, while others, English and American, intruded themselves and gained for

their respective nations permanent possessions between those of Spain and Russia. Much historic interest attaches therefore to this portion of the western seaboard in comparison with other parts, independently of the mythic elements in the Northern Mystery which centres here, and of the fascinations naturally attaching to the discovery of new regions. I have to follow, then, the navigators of four nations whose vessels entered the waters of the northern Pacific States; and besides to make the reader familiar with voyages in the same direction preceding and leading to actual discovery. Moreover, since conjecture is to be recorded no less than the known, theory preceding and overshadowing knowledge, I have to note the rumors on which theories were made to rest, also many voyages which were never made, but only described by imaginative navigators. And finally, the mythical strait had an opening on the Atlantic as well as on the Pacific, else it were not worth searching for and theorizing about; and the eastern no less than the western outlet was sought for diligently in voyages which therefore become part of the matter under consideration.

It will be seen that this topic of north-western exploration in its broadest scope, and with all its precedent connections, might properly enough be made to fill a volume. There are circumstances, however, which will enable me to restrict an exhaustive presentation of the subject within comparatively narrow limits. Chief among these circumstances is the fact that the exploration of regions south of the forty-second parallel, both by sea and land, has been fully recorded in every desirable detail in the preceding volumes of this series; while like particulars of explorations in the extreme north, less essential to the present purpose, will be given in a later volume on Alaska. Therefore brief and summary allusion to matters with which the reader is familiar will often suffice, where otherwise more minute treatment would be re-

quired. Repetition there must be in some phases of the subject, but only in those bearing directly on the general result. Again, I believe that in the case of fictitious voyages and groundless theories, respecting whose character modern knowledge leaves no possible doubt, most of the circumstantial evidence which fills the pages of earlier writers for or against their authenticity and soundness may now be wisely omitted. Detailed description may also profitably give way to general statement in presenting expeditions to the northern Atlantic coasts in the vain search for a passage leading to the Pacific. As in other parts of this series, detailed information concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of the regions explored is of course omitted from the annals of exploration, for that has been presented much more completely than would be possible here in the *Native Races of the Pacific States.*

It is well at the outset to state clearly, even though it involves repetition, the origin of the cosmographic mysteries in which the northern parts of America were so long shrouded; for they did not result wholly from the fact that those regions were the last to be explored. The Northern Mystery was a western mystery at first, if, indeed, a mystery at all. Columbus set out from Spain with the expectation that by following a westerly course across the great ocean he would reach the Asiatic coast and islands described by Polo and Mandeville. By a fortunate underestimate of the distance to be traversed, the islands and coast were found to agree substantially in position and trend with the current charts and descriptions. The navigator's theories, agreeing in the main with the theories of his contemporaries and predecessors, were verified; the enterprise was successful; and all that remained to be done was to follow the Asiatic coast south-westward to the rich provinces of India. This task presented no difficulties; but

before circumstances permitted it to be executed a new land was found in the south, not laid down in the old charts, and too far east to be part of the Asiatic main. The conclusion was immediate and natural; the new land was simply a large island, separate but not very far distant from the main, and not known to Marco Polo and the rest. The new discovery, however, offered no obstacle to the old theories or to the proposed voyage to India; yet in coasting southwestward the Spaniards would have to pass between the continent and the island. This passage must be a strait; and this was indeed 'the strait,' although in its earliest stage of development not a passage through a continent, but between Asia and an offlying island.

But as time passed and explorers converged from the north and south they could find no strait, only land. This was an obstacle indeed. True, the passage being narrow might yet exist, having eluded inadequate search; otherwise geographical theories must be somewhat reconstructed, the old charts and descriptions being in error. The correction, though interposing serious difficulties in the direct navigation to India, was one that readily suggested itself. The latitudes of the old writers were not very definite, and their knowledge of the regions farthest north was necessarily vague; apparently, then, unless the strait could yet be found, the new land—really South America—instead of being a detached island off the coast of Asia, must be a south-western projection of that coast from a point farther north than any known to the geographers. As the years passed on and no strait was found; as successive voyages developed the great extent of the southern projection; as the Isthmian explorers brought to light the South Sea shores; as the great Portuguese navigator crossed the Pacific and made known the immense stretch of waters separating the new lands from India; as Cortés and his men revealed the fact that Mexico also had its western

coast—the last conjecture became conviction and reality. More than this, it became evident that not only was the New World a projection of the Asiatic main, but that all the new discoveries belonged to this New World projection, and that all the islands and main land of Columbus and the rest, were very far from the India which had been imagined so near. Yet there remained but little doubt that all was part of Asia, a projection still, though an immense one, from a region farther north. And the idea that there ought to be a strait somewhere had become too firmly rooted to be abandoned. There were those who thought the strait might yet with closer search be found in southern regions; most believed it would be found in the north just beyond the limit of exploration; while others, resolved to be fully abreast of future revelations, placed several straits at convenient intervals on their maps.

Now the current idea among the most competent men of the time was for the most part accurate and well founded. All that remained to be done was to follow the western coast, at first north, then west, and finally south, to India, finding the strait on the way if any existed. The only error was in vastly underestimating the length of the route. It was not long, however, before exploration was pushed beyond the fortieth parallel. Meanwhile Spanish energy in exploration and conquest had greatly declined, though Spain's commercial interests in South Sea waters, over which she claimed to exercise exclusive dominion, had assumed immense importance. Spain had no strong desire for territorial possessions in the far north after the geographical relations of that region to India had become better known; and it soon became apparent that the discovery of the strait would be no benefit but a positive disadvantage and menace to Spain. Nevertheless it was important, and even more urgent than before, to find the strait—not as a shorter route to the Spice Islands, but that,

in possession of Spain, it might be closed to the navigators of other nations. For the foreigners were diligently seeking it; there were even current reports that they had found it, concealing the fact; and the ravages of freebooters in South Sea waters caused no little anxiety on the subject.

Meanwhile theorizing went on, supplemented by exaggeration and falsehood. Each navigator to the north, on either ocean, brought back information true or false which served as fuel to the flame. The strait undoubtedly existed; each indentation on either shore must be regarded as its entrance till the contrary was proved; and that being proved, the indentation next north must be the right one. "It were a pity," thought the navigator when at or near a gulf, bay, or river he was prevented by storms, scurvy, or other untoward circumstances from sailing through to the Pacific or to the Atlantic, "it were a pity that another should immortalize himself by the rediscovery of what I have found;" and forthwith he proceeded to protect his glory by an explicit description of what he had been on the point of seeing. Others required no actual voyage as a foundation for their falsehoods, but boldly claimed to have navigated the strait from ocean to ocean; and few interested in the subject but could find a sailor who had accomplished one of these interoceanic expeditions, or at least knew another who had done so. And the fables current did not relate wholly to the mere existence of the strait, but extended to the wonders bordering it on either side. Travellers by sea and land brought back tales of great cities and rich provinces, always farther north than the region they had visited. The natives caught the spirit of the times, and became adroit in inventing northern marvels for the entertainment of the strangers. There is much reason to believe that the famous and fabulous tradition of an aboriginal migration of Toltec and Aztec tribes from a northern centre of civilization had no other origin.

There were those who sought to utilize the Northern Mystery for the advancement of their own interests and schemes. Conquistadores were not wanting who stood prepared to duplicate in the far north the achievements of Hernan Cortés; friars doubted not that there awaited the reaping a great harvest of northern souls; and explorers were ready to make new expeditions at the royal cost. There was a constant stream of memorials on the importance of northern occupation; and the writers never failed to make the most of current rumors. Yet for all the real and imaginary urgency of the matter, and the pressure brought to bear on the throne, so occupied were the Spanish rulers with other affairs, or so completely had died out the adventurous spirit of old, and so unproductive were the few weak efforts made, that for two centuries little or nothing was accomplished. Then, late in the eighteenth century, in the time of Cárlos III., there was a revival of exploring energy. All the old motives were yet potent; and a new cause of alarm appeared, the fear of Russian encroachment from the north-west. A series of voyages was undertaken and carried out by Spain; English and American explorers made their appearance on the coast; the Russians were there already; and soon but little of mystery was left. No strait of Anian was found. There were none of the marvellous things that had been so freely attributed to the latitudes between 40° and 60°; but there was a wealth of furs for those inclined to adventurous commerce, and there was a territory of sufficient value to inspire some petty national quarrels. These discoveries, and others of about the same date in the northern Atlantic, practically put an end to the Northern Mystery so far as it related to a navigable channel in moderately temperate latitudes, as located by the navigators who had sailed through the continent from ocean to ocean; though many years had yet to pass before belief in the old narratives and theories could be eradicated.

And after all, the Northern Mystery was still a potent incentive to maritime endeavor. It merely took another step northward, as it had often done before. In Arctic regions the strait separating Asia from America was still sought as diligently as ever; and after many years it was found. One man has sailed through it, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, after the loss of hundreds of lives in vain efforts. And yet one more retreat has the mystery—in the famous 'open sea' at the north pole, where it even yet eludes the pursuit in which brave men are still losing their lives. Driven from the north pole, whither will the phantom betake itself? I do not know. Judging from the past, this is the only mystery about the matter not likely to be explained in the near future.

After this preliminary sketch of the whole subject, let us glance at the exact condition of North American exploration in 1550. All the material needed for the purpose is contained in the 'Summary of geographical knowledge and discovery from the earliest records to the year 1540,' published in the first volume of my *History of Central America*, supplemented in later volumes of this series by more detailed accounts of such voyages as directly concern the Pacific States territory. Between 1492 and 1550 European navigators, with those of Spain far in the lead, had discovered a New World, and had explored its coast line for some thirty thousand miles, from 60° on the Atlantic coast of Labrador round by Magellan Strait to above 40° on the Pacific. It was a grand achievement, unparalleled in the past and never to be equalled in the future.

On the Atlantic side, from Darien to Florida, the coast and islands had been visited by Columbus in his voyages of 1492, 1493–5, and 1502; by Bastidas in 1501; by Cosa and Ojeda in 1504–5; by Pinzon and Diaz in 1506; by Ojeda, Nicuesa, and other would-be rulers of mainland colonies since 1509; by

Ponce de Leon in 1512 and 1521; by Valdivia in 1512; by Miruelo in 1516; by Córdoba and Grijalva in 1517–18; by Cortés, Pineda, Garay, and Alaminos in 1519; by Garay in 1523; by Olid in 1524; by Montejo in 1527; by Pánfilo de Narvaez in 1528–34; by Soto in 1538–43; and by many other navigators who surveyed only such parts of the coast as had been already discovered.

Farther north on the Atlantic, from Florida to Labrador, the exploration was less thorough, but it covered in a measure the whole coast. In 1497 John Cabot, from England, probably reached Labrador between 56° and 58°, and coasted northward some hundreds of leagues. That land existed, and of great extent, in that direction was the only geographical fact developed by the voyage. In 1498 Sebastian Cabot made a similar voyage, in which he coasted from Labrador northward possibly to 67° 30′, and then southward to the gulf of St Lawrence, and perhaps to Cape Hatteras. There is no reason to question the fact that these voyages of the Cabots were made as claimed; but the records are vague, and nothing is known of the cosmographical motives or the results. The Cortereals, Gaspar and Miguel, made three voyages for Portugal in 1500–2, in which they followed the coast from Newfoundland far to the north, perhaps to Greenland. Both brothers were lost; and of discoveries made during the last expedition nothing is known. The Cortereals gave names to Newfoundland and Labrador, as depicted on maps of the time; they also left several local names. No contemporary narrative of the discoveries of either the Cabots or Cortereals is extant. The Portuguese fishermen are supposed to have continued their trips to Labrador and Newfoundland—*Bacalaos,* land of codfish—but no geographical results are known; and the same may be said of the voyages of the Bretons and Normans, including those of Denys in 1506 and Aubert in 1508, the former of whom is said to have

explored the gulf of St Lawrence. In 1520 Vazquez de Aillon sent out an expedition from Española under Jordan, who reached a country called by him Chicora, on the present Carolina coast. In 1524 Giovanni Verrazano, for France, reached the coast not far from Jordan's Chicora, sailed southward some fifty leagues, and then northward to Newfoundland. He was thus the first to explore a large portion of the United States shore-line. Estévan Gomez perhaps completed that line in 1525, when seeking in behalf of Spain a strait between Newfoundland and Florida. Aillon in 1526 also sought the strait from Chicora southward, making at the same time a vain effort at colonization. In 1527 John Rut, an English navigator, is said to have followed the coast from 53° down to Chicora. Jacques Cartier for France made three expeditions, in 1534, 1535–6, and 1541–2. Incited by Verrazano's narrative and charts, his main object was to find a passage to the South Sea and Spice Islands. He did not find the strait, but he effected a very complete survey of the gulf and river of St Lawrence, Newfoundland, and all the surrounding complication of islands and channels. From Cartier's time the names of Nouvelle France, Canada, Newfoundland, St Lawrence, Montreal, and many others still in use became current, some of them having been applied before. French and other fishermen had long frequented these waters; and maps of the time show many details not to be found in any narrative. The French possessions included all territory above latitude 40°. In connection with Cartier's last voyage, a settlement was made near Quebec under Roberval as viceroy of Canada, Labrador, and the rest; but it was abandoned in 1543. And finally one Master Hore, an Englishman, has left on record a voyage to Newfoundland made in 1536. This completes the list down to the middle of the century. For the purpose in view we may regard the Atlantic coast as fully explored from Darien to Hudson Strait in latitude 60°.

We now turn southward, and with Vasco Nuñez de Balboa cross to the South Sea in 1513. His grand discovery made, he soon built certain vessels, in which the Isthmian coasts and islands were explored. And with these vessels in 1519 Gaspar de Espinosa pushed the exploration to the Costa Rican gulf of Nicoya, in 10°, visited already in 1517 by Hurtado in canoes. In 1522 Gil Gonzalez Dávila, on other craft transported across the Isthmus, sailed again to Nicoya, and by land went on to Nicaragua, while Andrés Niño continued his voyage by sea at least to the gulf of Fonseca, in latitude 13°, and probably farther—even to Soconusco or Tehuantepec, if we may credit the distances given by the chroniclers. Meanwhile Hernan Cortés, after conquering for Spain the Mexican table-land of Anáhuac, had through Spanish agents discovered the western coast at three different points, thus determining its general trend, and adding from two to five degrees to knowledge of its extent. All this before the end of 1522. The points were Tehuantepec, in 16°, whence the native chiefs sent their allegiance; Tututepec, in about the same latitude, but one hundred miles farther west, occupied by Pedro de Alvarado; and Zacatula, in 18°, where Cortés simultaneously began to found a settlement, and constructed vessels for northern exploration. After long and vexatious delays, with which we are not at present concerned, the new vessels were completed in 1526, and another from the strait of Magellan, under Guevara, arrived at Tehuantepec, and was brought to Zacatula. This fleet was ordered to the Moluccas in such haste that it could not take the proposed route along the northern coasts, but sailed direct for India in 1527; not, however, until three of the vessels had made a trial trip to the port of Santiago, in Colima, a port already discovered by Francisco Cortés' land expedition three years before. The coast now lay disclosed from Panamá to Colima. Five years elapsed before Cortés was able

to accomplish anything on the northern coasts. The expeditions sent out by him were as follows: In 1532 Hurtado de Mendoza reached the Sinaloa coast, and was killed at the Rio Fuerte, while his associate Mazuela returned with one of the vessels to Banderas Bay, in Jalisco. In 1533 were made the voyages of Becerra, Grijalva, and Jimenez, in which the latter discovered the southern part of the Californian Peninsula, supposed to be an island. Beyond the revelation of this new land the expedition, and that of Cortés himself in 1535–6, added nothing to north-western geography. Finally Ulloa was sent out in 1539; and he not only explored the gulf to its head on both sides, but doubled the cape and pushed the exploration on the main coast to Cedros Island, in 29°. The viceroy Mendoza now succeeded the conqueror as patron of exploration, and despatched two expeditions by water. The first was that of Alarcon, in 1540, in which he reached the head of the gulf and explored the mouth of the Colorado. The other was under the command of Cabrillo, who in 1542–3 reached, as he thought, the latitude of 44°, determining the general trend of the coast, though not landing above Point Concepcion, in 34°. No more attempts were made in this direction before 1550.

Meanwhile maritime exploration had been supplemented to some extent by land expeditions and settlement, which, contributing materially to current knowledge of the continent, must be noticed here. In the north-eastern section, from Texas to Labrador, there was nothing that could be called settlement, though the regions about Newfoundland were frequented by French and Portuguese fishermen, and a French fort had been maintained near Quebec for a year or two, till 1543. In the far north the only penetration into the continent was that of 1536–42, by Cartier, who went up the St Lawrence gulf and river nearly five hundred miles, past the site of Montreal and to the falls of St Louis. Southward, only the coast outline

was known to Florida, where we have the inland wanderings of Hernando de Soto, contemporary with those of Cartier. Landing with a large company in 1539 on the gulf coast of Florida, at Tampa Bay, Soto proceeded by an inland course to the vicinity of Tallahassee; thence north-easterly to the Savannah River, below Augusta; thence north-westward to the Tennessee line, near Dalton, Georgia; thence south-easterly to a point near the head of Mobile Bay; and again north-west to the Mississippi, not far from the mouth of the Arkansas. From this region in 1541–2 the Spaniards made a long tour to the westward. After their return to the great river, Soto died, and was succeeded in command by Luis de Moscoso, under whom they attempted to reach Mexico by land, penetrating about one hundred and fifty leagues to the westward, and coming within sight of mountains. But they were forced to return to the Mississippi; and from a point not far above the Arkansas they embarked, July 1543, in vessels built for the purpose, reached the gulf in twenty days, and thence sailed to Pánuco. In respect to particular localities this exploration leaves much room for doubt and discussion, but the general scope and direction of Soto's wanderings through the territory of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana are well enough established. Least defined of all is the route in Texas; but seven years before, in 1535, Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, shipwrecked members of Narvaez' band, had escaped from their long captivity among the Indians, crossed Texas from Espíritu Santo Bay to the region of El Paso, and had passed into Chihuahua by a route south of that of Soto, though gradually approaching it, and extending farther into the interior.

For the regions of Central America and southern Mexico I need not give, even *en résumé,* the different expeditions by which conquest and settlement were effected; suffice it to say that before 1550 both had

been accomplished in a general way from Darien and Panamá to Pánuco on the gulf, and to Sinaloa on the Pacific. On the western side, the occupation from Michoacan to Sinaloa had preceded maritime exploration in the same direction, chiefly under Nuño de Guzman, who had conquered Jalisco and established a permanent Spanish garrison at Culiacan in 1531. From this advanced post Guzman's officers made expeditions northward to the Yaqui River in 1533, and north-eastward into Durango at an earlier date. It was in 1536 that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions arrived at San Miguel de Culiacan, after traversing Texas, Chihuahua, and Sonora, thus completing the first transcontinental trip in northern latitudes, and the most famous since that of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. Cabeza de Vaca had heard reports of the New Mexican Pueblo towns, south of which he had passed; and these reports, exaggerated, kindled anew the zeal for northern exploration, resulting in the voyages of Ulloa, Alarcon, and Cabrillo, to which I have already alluded, and the land expeditions of Niza and Coronado, the last that come within the limits of the present sketch.

Friar Marcos de Niza advanced in 1539 from Culiacan to Cíbola, as the Zuñi Pueblo towns in 35° were then called, and brought back most exaggerated reports of rich cities and kingdoms in that region. In the following year Francisco Vasquez de Coronado with a large force set out for further exploration and conquest in the north. Coronado, like Niza, went to Zuñi; and from that point he sent out Tobar and Cárdenas to the Moqui towns in 36°, the latter reaching the great cañon of the Colorado in the north-eastern part of what is now Arizona. He also sent a party back to Sonora, from which region one of the officers, Melchor Diaz, made an expedition to the mouth of the Colorado, ascending the river nearly to the Gila, and crossing to explore a little farther west. Meanwhile Coronado proceeded eastward and

passed the winter in the Pueblo towns of the Rio Grande del Norte, in New Mexico. In the spring of 1541 an expedition was made which carried the Spaniards some eighty-five days' journey north-eastward over the plains of Texas to the wigwam town of Quivira, perhaps in 40°, beyond the Arkansas. Coronado passed far north of Cabeza de Vaca's route, but very likely crossed that of Soto, or at least approached it very closely. During another winter passed on the Rio Grande, exploration was pushed to Taos, in 36° 30′; and then, in 1542, the expedition returned to Culiacan, leaving the great northern interior to its primeval savagism.

Thus in the middle of the sixteenth century, the northern limit of inland exploration may be given as a line crossing the continent just below the thirty-sixth parallel from the Colorado to the Savannah; Coronado having passed the line in its central part, and advanced into the modern Kansas. The coasts on either side were explored to much higher latitudes, the Atlantic with tolerable accuracy to 60°, and the Pacific in a manner barely to show the shore-line trend to 44°. Maps of the time, which there is no occasion to specify in this connection, added nothing to the narratives of explorers in the west, and were even less perfect than they might have been made from those narratives; while in the east, and particularly in the north-east, maps were in advance of written records, including many details from voyages never described. Enough had been accomplished to convince competent men that south of 40° there would be found neither great cities nor a navigable passage between the oceans, grave doubts even being suggested in the minds of many whether any strait, or nations worth plundering, would be found in the north. During all this period only one navigator, Ferrelo, the successor of Cabrillo, had possibly entered the waters of the Northwest Coast, passing the line of 42°, but not landing; Alarcon, by water, had approached

within a thousand miles of the boundary, and Cárdenas, by land, within half that distance.

I have next to trace the progress of exploration north-westward for two centuries, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. This progress was insignificant compared with that of the brilliant era just recorded. New foundations had to be laid, and most slowly, for a new advance. The foundations—rediscovery of old lands, futile attempts at settlement followed by successful colonization—were massive and complicated for the light superstructure which, from the present point of view, they were to sustain. The frame, reduced to the merest skeleton, is gigantic for the flesh and blood of geographical discovery that hardly suffices to cover it—that is if we confine ourselves to facts of actual discovery, and I propose to defer for treatment in the following chapter the grand achievements of the imagination. For convenience let us advance by half-century steps.

From 1550 to 1600 the extreme north-east was first visited by the English navigator Martin Frobisher, in three voyages, in 1576–8. His original purpose was to discover the strait; but the finding of what was mistaken for gold ore in the first voyage changed the nature of the expedition, and caused Frobisher to confine his researches to the inlet bearing his name, between 62° and 63°. He also entered the inlet next south, without discovering its connection with a great inland sea, although he thought that either inlet would afford a passage to the Pacific. The only other navigator of northern seas during this period was John Davis, who made three voyages in 1585–7. He reached 72°, the highest point yet attained, and made a somewhat careful examination of the coast line from 67° southward. The main strait northward bears his name.

Farther south there is no occasion to notice partic-

ular voyages. In Canada, or Nouvelle France, after the failure of Cartier and Roberval, there was no renewal of attempts to colonize, though French fishing craft still frequented Canadian waters. On the Florida coast, however, the French Huguenots under Ribault and Laudonnière established colonies at Port Royal and St Mary in 1562–5, thus adding 'La Floride Française' or 'La Caroline' to the northern possessions of Nouvelle France. The interior of what is now Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina was explored to some extent during this occupation, which was brought to an end by the Spaniards. Pedro de Menendez, annihilating the French colonies in 1565 by hanging most of the colonists, proceeded to found forts for Spain from San Agustin northward to Carolina. The Spaniards in their search penetrated the interior farther north perhaps than Soto, but not to the Mississippi region. The French under De Gourgues in 1568 took terrible vengeance for the massacre of 1565, but did not attempt to regain possession, and Spain remained mistress of Florida. In 1584–7 Sir Walter Raleigh made several unsuccessful attempts to found a colony at Roanoke, on the North Carolina coast, so Englishmen learned even less about the great interior than had Frenchmen and Spaniards. On the gulf coast from Florida to Texas all that was known, so far as Europeans were concerned, had been gleaned from Cabeza de Vaca and Hernando de Soto. There was no settlement, no mainland exploration.

In the interior of Mexico the frontier of occupation was pushed northward in general terms to 27°, so as to include Durango and southern Chihuahua, with small portions of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon. From 1562 extensive explorations were made here, chiefly by Francisco de Ibarra; mining-camps were established; and missionaries, Jesuit and Franciscan, began their labors in Nueva Vizcaya. No less than five *entradas* were made into New Mexico during this

period; those of Rodriguez in 1581–2, of Espejo in 1582–3, of Castaño de Sosa in 1590–1, of Morlete in 1591, and of Bonilla about 1596. None of these reached so high a latitude on the Rio Grande as had Coronado, but Bonilla went far out into the plains in search of Quivira. Espejo's return and Castaño's entry were by the Pecos instead of the Rio Grande, and Espejo, crossing Coronado's track in the west, penetrated to the region of the modern city of Prescott. Finally Juan de Oñate, in 1598, effected the permanent conquest and settlement of New Mexico.

On the western coast Spain accomplished little or nothing in the way of northern exploration; yet in 1565 Urdaneta made the first trip eastward across the Pacific, opening a northern route, which was followed by the Manila traders for more than two centuries. How many times the trip was made during this period of 1550–1600 we have no means of knowing; probably not often, but we have mention of two voyages. Francisco de Gali, in 1584, coming from the west reached the coast in 37° 30′—possibly 57° 30′—and observed the trend and appearance of the shore, as he sailed southward, without landing. And Cermeñon by a similar route was wrecked in 1595 at Drake Bay, just above the present San Francisco. But another nation had entered, albeit somewhat irregularly, this field of exploration. In 1579 Francis Drake, an English freebooter, his vessel laden with plunder taken from the Spaniards in the south, attempted to find the northern strait by which to reach the Atlantic. He reached perhaps latitude 43°, anchoring in that region; and then, abandoning his search, returned to Drake Bay, on the Californian coast, and thence home round the Cape of Good Hope. Thomas Cavendish was another Englishman of the same class, whose expedition sailed in 1587; his operations did not extend beyond the southern extremity of the Californian peninsula. Finally Sebastian Vizcaino was sent out by Spain in 1597, but

his explorations were confined to the gulf, and his vain attempts at settlement to Baja California.

For the next half century, 1600–50, we have in the extreme west but one expedition to be noticed, that of Vizcaino, in 1602–3. It was but a repetition of Cabrillo's voyage, though its results were more widely known. Vizcaino anchored at Monterey, and, without landing, at the old San Francisco under Point Reyes; thence he went as high as 42°, where he named a cape Blanco de San Sebastian. His associate Aguilar possibly reached 43°, at another Cape Blanco, where seemed to be the mouth of a great river. Other Spanish efforts were confined to the waters of the gulf; and the *pichilingues*, or freebooters, though still troublesome, had no temptation to enter northern waters.

In the interior of Sonora, Spanish occupation had been advanced by the Jesuits to the Arispe region in 30° 30′. To the east in Chihuahua the missionaries were struggling northward at about 29°. In New Mexico Spanish authority was maintained, but northern exploration was not greatly advanced. In 1601 Oñate made a long tour over the buffalo plains, going far to the north and east. Records are vague, but it is not probable that he reached a higher latitude than Coronado, or certain that he went beyond the limits of the modern Texas. In 1604–5 he undertook another extensive exploration toward the west, visited Zuñi and the Moqui towns, thence directed his march south-westward beyond the limits of Espejo's exploration till he reached the Colorado, at the mouth of the Santa María, and following the great river down to its mouth, returned by the same route. There were also several *entradas* among the Texan tribes of the far east from New Mexico, notably those of padres Perea and Lopez in 1629, and of Captain Vaca in 1634.

On the gulf coast all remained in undisturbed

aboriginal possession; and of the Spaniards in eastern Florida there is nothing to be said. To the north, however, were laid the foundations of permanent English occupation, and of the future power of the United States by Newport and Smith in Virginia, 1606; by the Puritans in Massachusetts, 1620; by Lord Baltimore in Maryland, 1634; and by other hardly less notable bands of pioneer settlers. These men came to make homes for themselves rather than to test geographical theories; and though some, like the adventurous John Smith, were bent on finding a passage to the Pacific, their explorations were confined to the examination of a few short rivers and inlets near their respective settlements.

In Canada, French colonization had been resumed, with all its complication of fur-trading companies, of spiritual conquest by Recollet and Jesuit missionaries, of Indian wars against and between the Iroquois and Huron nations, and of contentions with hostile Englishmen, by which New France lost and regained Acadie, or Nova Scotia, and even Quebec. It appears that by 1650 geographical exploration had been pushed westward into the interior, at first by Champlain and later by Jesuit fathers, beyond lakes Erie and Huron, and the head-waters of the Ottawa River; that Jean Nicolet as early as 1634–5 had discovered Lake Michigan, and had sojourned among the tribes on the west of that lake in the Wisconsin territory, going up Fox River from Green Bay; and that subsequently Lake Superior had been discovered.

The voyages of Weymouth in 1602, and of Knight in 1606, added nothing to the knowledge of far-north geography; but in 1610 Henry Hudson, who the year before had discovered the river that bears his name in the south, not only entered the strait named for him, as Frobisher, Davis, and Weymouth had done before him, but pressed on and discovered the great Hudson Bay, an inland sea, on which he was turned adrift by mutineers to perish. The bay was

further explored by Button in 1612–13, and by Baffin in 1615, the latter being inclined to think even at this early date that the passage to the Pacific would be found not there but farther north; but he did not find it when in 1616 he reached the latitude of 78° through Baffin Bay to Smith Sound. In 1631–2 Hudson Bay was visited by Foxe and by James.

The next period, 1650–1700, was not one of maritime discovery in the north; but in 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company was organized; and soon five forts were established in the region adjoining the bay. Meanwhile a French company was also formed, and in the ensuing contentions the forts changed hands more than once. In 1700 the English retained but a slight footing. There is no record of extensive inland explorations beyond the bay shore.

Great activity prevailed in the regions of New France, an activity marked not only by Indian wars, and political, commercial, and ecclesiastical dissensions at home, by strife with the English on the north and south, and by fur-hunting adventures in every direction, but by a decided advance in the great work of exploration. The Jesuit missionaries, accompanied in some instances by the fur-traders, closely followed or even preceded by them in others, penetrated on the north to Hudson Bay, and on the west far into the plains, besides completing the survey of the great lakes and founding missions on their shores; above all, they found and explored the Mississippi Valley. In 1673 M. Joliet and Père Marquette set out to find the 'Great Water' of which so much had been heard. They crossed over from Lake Michigan to the Wisconsin River, went down that stream to the Mississippi, and sailed in canoes down the great river to the mouth of the Arkansas, and to the northern limit of Soto's wanderings. Then they returned to Quebec by the Illinois, instead of the Wisconsin. It was now pretty clear that the Mississippi flowed

into the gulf and not into the Pacific. In 1680 Père Hennepin was sent by La Salle down the Illinois and thence up the Mississippi to the falls of St Anthony, in 45°, half-way across the continent from east to west. In 1682 La Salle himself descended the Mississippi not only to the limits of Soto and Joliet, but to the gulf, and erected a fort at the mouth of the Ohio. Thus was the Mississippi Valley added to the domain of New France; but wars with the English and Indians prevented any extension of settlement or exploration during the rest of the century. Not only had the Mississippi been discovered, but the size of the rivers flowing into it from the west showed clearly that the stretch of continent to the Pacific was much broader than had ever been suspected.

Southward, after the navigation of the Mississippi, we are no longer interested in the gradual advance of the English colonists toward that stream; and the Spaniards in Florida made no efforts in the interior. In the gulf I have noted La Salle's arrival down the river from Canada in 1682. In 1685 he came back by sea with a colony from France, and missing the mouth of the river, was cast away on the Texan coast, where a fort was built and formal possession taken for France. La Salle wandered about extensively in Texas, as Cabeza de Vaca and Soto had done before him; and on one of his trips in search of the Mississippi, in 1687, he was assassinated. Of his colony half a dozen reached Canada; many were killed by disease or Indians, and a few fell into the hands of the Spaniards of New Mexico. Several parties of trappers and missionaries came down the great river from Canada, establishing themselves at different points; and in 1699 came Iberville and Bienville to found a permanent French settlement in Louisiana.

In New Mexico the only expeditions sent out were a few into southern Texas during the first half of the period. Then came the great revolt of 1680, which

drove the Spaniards out of the country. It was thirteen years before the province was reconquered; and down to the end of the century there was no thought of northern exploration. South, in Chihuahua, the missionaries and miners were struggling with greater or less success against the Indians between them and New Mexico. In the west during the last decade of the century Padre Kino explored the regions of Pimería Alta, or northern Sonora, by repeated tours among the people up to the Gila and Colorado, without reaching the limits of Coronado, Cárdenas, Diaz, Espejo, and Oñate of earlier date, but making a far more careful examination of the country traversed, and meeting with extraordinary success in the conversion and pacification of the natives. Across the gulf the Jesuits also established themselves permanently in 1697 in Baja California. On the coast there were no expeditions to northern latitudes, only such as were directed to the California Gulf for pearls, or in vain attempts at settlement, or by foreign pirates in quest of the Manila galleons.

In 1700–50 the Philippine treasure-ships continued to cross the Pacific by the northern route without touching on the California coast; and a French vessel under Frondac took the same course. There were no maritime expeditions sent northward by Spain; neither did the foreign privateers Dampier, Rogers, Shelvocke, and Anson enter northern waters, though each of their narratives contains something on northern theoretical geography. In the interior there was no advance whatever, but rather in some quarters a retrograde movement under the aggressive raids of savages. On the Mexican Gulf the Texan territory was several times traversed and partly occupied by Spain and France. From the French settlements of Louisiana it is probable that a wider tract than had been previously known was explored toward the north-west in the course of Indian wars and vain

searches for gold, but I find nothing definite in the records.

It was in the north, from Canada, that the greatest results were achieved. The French trappers ranged the country in all directions as far as and beyond the upper Mississippi, visited by Hennepin; and the Jesuits continued their labors, though they had no establishments so far west. The French had a fort on the Missouri, and in 1727 Bourgmont made a trip up the river from that fort to a point above the Kansas. Vérendrye's efforts to form a line of trading-posts across the continent were in 1731–43; forts were established in the regions round lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba; in 1742 the upper Missouri River was ascended to the region of the Yellowstone; and in 1743 the Vérendryes reached the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Montana. Meanwhile reports were current of a great western river flowing from the mountains into the Pacific; and an Indian of the lower Mississippi claimed, under circumstances indicating that his narrative may have been true, to have followed that river, the Columbia, to its mouth in 1745–50.

Explorations in the far north were confined to Hudson Bay. Half a dozen expeditions visited these waters under Knight, Scroggs, Middleton, Moor, Smith, and others; but the only result was to find an ice-blocked passage leading northward from the bay, and to prove that some of its western inlets did not lead to the Pacific, though others yet remained to be examined.

I have thus outlined the progress of North American discovery for two centuries, from 1550 to 1750, showing how very slight it was in comparison with that from 1492 to 1550. In the western ocean two navigators, perhaps, had reached new coast latitudes, Drake and Gali; though it is not certain that either had done so much, and neither noted anything

beyond the general shore trend in regions vaguely located. In the southern interior the Spaniards had pushed their missions, mining-camps, and settlements northward, accomplishing much in the face of great obstacles; but their occupation had not reached the limit of earlier exploration, though it had nearly done so in New Mexico. The Rio Colorado was still the northern boundary, and all beyond was an unknown land. The Texan plains had been several times retraversed; but the wanderings of later travellers are as vaguely recorded as those of the pioneers; and it is by no means certain that the limits of Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and Soto had been passed. The Atlantic coast territory had been the scene of great colonizing achievements, by men who came more to settle than to solve geographical enigmas by long extended search for gold, spice islands, and rich kingdoms for conquest. The French were the great American explorers of the period, to whom is due nearly all the progress made into the broad interior. Entering by the St Lawrence they occupied the region round the great lakes, and penetrated northward to the shores of Hudson Bay, westward to the Rocky Mountains, and southward to the gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi Valley. In the far north they were excelled by the English, who had discovered Hudson Bay and explored the labyrinth of adjacent channels nearly to the Arctic circle.

For the present purpose I am called upon to consider, and that very briefly, but one more half-century of discovery. For before 1800 the west coast was explored to Bering Strait; the territory from Hudson Bay to the Arctic Ocean was more than once traversed; trappers not infrequently had reached the base of the Rocky Mountains; the Spaniards had penetrated to Utah and had settled Alta California. There was yet a broad interior to be explored by men whose exploits in that direction will receive attention

in different parts of this work; but the Northern Mystery in its cosmographical aspects was at an end; and the north-west passage was pushed out of the limits of this volume up into the arctic regions, where it properly belongs.

After further exploration by water in Hudson Bay, and particularly in Chesterfield Inlet, the chief expeditions being those of Christopher and Norton in 1761–2, the attention of English explorers was directed mainly to current reports of great rivers flowing northward; and in 1770, after two unsuccessful attempts, Samuel Hearne descended the Coppermine River to its mouth. In 1789 Mackenzie went down the river that took his name to the Arctic shores; in 1793 the same explorer won the honor of being the first to reach the Pacific by crossing the Rocky Mountains. His route was up the Peace River, down the Fraser, and across to tide-water, in 53°. I find no definite records respecting the discoveries of the French trappers in this period, after they built a fort at the eastern base of the mountains in 1752; and there is no evidence that any explorer from the United States penetrated beyond the Mississippi before 1800. In Louisiana, Texas, and New Mexico all remained essentially *in statu quo* so far as exploration was concerned; but from the last named province there were several minor expeditions northward across the streams that form the Colorado; and in 1776 Dominguez and Escalante penetrated the great basin to Utah Lake, above 40°. In 1769 Alta California was explored by a Spanish military and missionary force, up to San Francisco Bay, in 37° 48′; and by 1776 not only was the whole coast region occupied up to that point, but Anza had in two trips opened an overland route from Sonora by way of the Gila and Colorado, while Padre Garcés had crossed California from the Mojave region and had penetrated the great Tulare Valley to the vicinity of the lakes. There was no further advance by land before 1800.

Russian discoveries from the north-west demand but brief notice here, the subject being presented with full details in a later volume of this series devoted to the history of Alaska. Before 1600 the Cossacks had crossed the Ural Mountains and occupied the valley of the Obi, in Asia. At the same date small Russian craft navigated the coast waters of that region in the Kara Sea; and the same waters had been reached by the English and Dutch in their search for a north-east passage, toward which end but little additional progress was ever made in later times. Between 1600 and 1650 the Cossacks traversed Siberia in search for sable, crossed river after river as fresh hunting-grounds were needed, subdued the inhabitants, and reached the Pacific in 1639. The chief Russian establishment on the Pacific, which was discovered at many points, was at Okhotsk, on the sea of the same name. Thus more than twenty-five hundred miles of unknown territory were explored and occupied by small bands of roving fur-hunters. The discovery of mines on the Amoor, and fossil ivory in the extreme north-east, was added to the incentives. During 1650 to 1700 nearly every part of the Asiatic coast up to the strait and including the peninsula of Kamchatka had been visited by one adventurous party or another, and only the fierce Chukchi of the north-east remained unconquered. Abundant evidence was found of the existence of land still farther east. Trees and various articles not of Asiatic origin were often washed ashore; and indeed the natives made no secret of their frequent intercourse with a people from the east who came in boats or on the ice, and who spoke a language different from their own. The Russian government became interested in the rumors of new lands; a post had been founded on the eastern shore of Kamchatka; and in 1728 Vitus Bering was sent in a vessel built there to learn the truth respecting the current rumors, and especially to find whether the eastern lands were part of Siberia or

separated from it by water. Bering in this voyage reached the strait between the continents to which his name is given, naming St Lawrence Island, and observing the point in 67° 18′, beyond which the coast turned abruptly westward, decided that the reported land not yet seen by any Russian was not an extension of Asia. There is some evidence that in the earlier coastings Bering Strait had been passed through once or twice; and it somewhat vaguely appears that in 1730 Krupischef and Gwozdef, following Bering, actually came in sight of the American continent, along which they coasted southward for two days. In 1741 Bering made his second expedition, during which his associate Chirikof first saw the continent, in latitude 55° 36′, near the later Sitka, where two boat-crews landed and were probably killed by the natives, as they were never heard of again. The commander then coasted northward four or five hundred miles before returning to Kamchatka. Bering meanwhile struck the coast a few days later than Chirikof, in latitude 58° 28′, in sight of Mount St Elias. Thence he followed the shore westward and south-westward, named the Shumagin Islands, and was finally wrecked on Bering Island, near the Kamchatka coast, where he died. The presence of valuable sea-otter on the American coast and islands—or rather at first on Asiatic islands in that direction—becoming known was the chief incentive to further efforts. In 1745 Nevódchikof made the first hunting trip to the nearest Aleutian Islands; and thenceforward one or more expeditions were fitted out nearly every year by Siberian merchant companies, many of which proved profitable. Discovery was in this way pushed eastward until Kadiak was reached by Glottof in his trip of 1563–5. The obstacles encountered in the exploration of these northern seas, and the reckless daring and energy displayed in overcoming these obstacles, are unsurpassed in the history of American discovery. The Russian craft were small, hastily con-

structed by men who knew but little of their task, and were often mere boxes of planks held together by leathern thongs, without iron. They were in every way inferior to the worst vessels employed by navigators of other nations in any part of America. In these frail boats, poorly supplied with food, generally without remedies against scurvy, these bold sailors did not hesitate to commit themselves to the icy waves and furious gales of the Arctic seas. Rarely was an expedition unattended by shipwreck and starvation; but sea-otter were plentiful. Notwithstanding the numerous voyages it does not appear that the continental coasts, either above or below the Alaskan peninsula, were ever visited by the Russians after the time of Bering, and before Cook's survey in 1778. After this date such visits were frequent, resulting in permanent occupation at many points; but it remained for Cook to make known the general features of the entire coast to the strait. Subsequent local explorations by the Russians, English, Spanish, and French in south-eastern Alaska at later dates have no bearing on our present study.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE NORTHERN MYSTERY AND IMAGINARY GEOGRAPHY.

1500–1595.

FIELD OF CONJECTURE—MYTHIC GEOGRAPHY—STRAIT OR NO STRAIT—PASSAGE TO INDIA—CABOTS AND CORTEREALS—RUYSCH AND SCHÖNER—AMAZON ISLES—CLAVOS AND ESCLAVOS—MAPS OF 1530–1—QUEEN OF CALIFORNIA—CANADIAN RUMORS—NIZA'S FICTIONS—REAL EXPLORATIONS OF 1540–3—CÍBOLA, TIGUEX, AND QUIVIRA—GOMARA'S BLUNDER—RUSCELLI AND MUNSTER—RAMUSIO AND HOMEM—A CHOICE OF STRAITS—THEORIES OF MENENDEZ—FIRST TRIP THROUGH THE STRAIT—URDANETA—SALVATIERRA'S TALE—RIBAULT—TÁPIA—ORTELIUS' THEATRUM—TOLM—ANIAN—ORIGIN OF THE NAME—LADRILLERO AT THE STRAIT—META INCOGNITA—MARTIN CHACKE—DRAKE'S PILOT—ESPEJO'S LAKE AND RIVER—HAKLUYT—LOK'S MAP—BY THE ROANOKE TO THE PACIFIC—LA GRAN COPAL—PETER MARTYR—ACOSTA ON THE MYSTERY.

IN the preceding chapter, after an outline of Northwest Coast explorations, showing how much of its interest and importance is connected with events which are geographically and chronologically outside the limits of this section, and presenting the mythical aspects of the matter in their origin and general scope, I have traced the progress made by Europeans toward the Northwest Coast before they reached the territory so designated and began its actual exploration. Deferring that exploration for other chapters, I propose first of all to treat the subject in its mythical, imaginary, theoretical, and apocryphal phases. It is an *olla podrida* of absurdities that is offered, made up of quaint conjectures respecting a land that had never been seen, and the various approaches to that land; for it was not to the Northwest Coast proper that these conjectures were directed so much as to the broad border-land surrounding it.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, as we have seen, the western coast was known northward to latitude 40° and beyond, the eastern coast above 60°, and the interior vaguely as far north as the Colorado and Arkansas rivers. All the broad interior farther north, slightly encased, up to the limits named, by a thin shell of coast discovery, was a *terra incognita*, if indeed it were a *terra* at all, and not part of an ocean or an inland sea. Respecting this region conjecture had thus far been partly reasonable. The process of development has already been traced; first the new discoveries as part of the Asiatic main to be coasted south-westward to India; next, the southern portion of those discoveries as a great island separated from Asia by a 'strait'; then the strait an isthmus rather, and the island a great south-eastern projection from the continent; and finally an extension of the projection so as to include the regions north as well as south of the Panamá Isthmus, and to join the Asiatic main at a higher latitude than 40° at least, if at all. I do not say that this theory of geographical evolution will satisfactorily account for every recorded statement or idea of every early navigator, or cosmographer, or map-maker; but the exceptions are so few and slight as by no means to impair the theory, or to afford a basis for any other.

By 1550 it was well understood that the new lands were of continental proportions, and very far from Asia in their southern parts. Whether they were also distant in the north was an open question, for the solution of which no real data existed. Official chart-makers and the most competent of geographers contented themselves with recording the results of actual exploration, leaving a blank on their maps for the country yet unvisited, while in the text they noted, without committing themselves, the various theories. Many still believed North America to be a part of the Asiatic continent, and expected to find the coast-line turning to the west not far beyond latitude 40°,

and thence southward to India; but others—almost all in later years—believed in a strait separating the two continents somewhere in the north-west. This theory of a northern strait was somewhat incoherently built on the circumstance that a passage had been vainly sought in the central regions, on Magellan Strait actually found in the far south, on statements of ancient writers respecting the lost Atlantis, which might have been part of America and which had been described as an island, and on the discovery of certain unexplored inlets along the north-eastern coasts. Those who believed in the separation by water differed widely about its nature. Some thought it to be a narrow strait, others a broad one; some placed it between two opposite capes, others made of it a long winding channel, or a succession of lakes, or a net-work of intertwining channels, or an archipelago; while there were many who regarded it as a broad expanse of salt water, reducing North America to a long narrow strip of irregular form, which extended from south-west to north-east, and perhaps was itself cut up by narrow interoceanic passages not yet discovered.

It cannot be said that the ideas of one class on this subject were in any respect superior to those of another; all were but conjecture; nor do such maps as represent the northern regions in something like their real position and proportion entitle their makers to credit. I now proceed to chronicle some of these conjectures which held sway for more than two centuries, and which bear more or less directly on north-western geography, and are often entertainingly supplemented by falsehood. I shall treat the subject so far as possible chronologically.

There were few if any of the voyages to America before 1550 the object of which was not to find among other things a passage by water to India; but there is no need of recapitulating these voyages for the sake of presenting their common object and failure. For

this earliest period of maritime discovery, I have to notice for the most part only such expeditions as furnished material for later argument and conjecture, such as not only sought the strait but found it, or at least something that might be deemed an indication of its existence. The Northmen, the earliest in the field of American discoveries, did not stop to theorize about the western lands, nor did they care, so far as the records show, whether they belonged to Asia or Africa. They were bent on adventure, conquest, and settlement, and sought no passage to the Spice Islands of the south or the cities of the Grand Khan. Doubtless had their adventures been known to the cosmographers they would have furnished much food for theory; but the records were for the time lost, and the *sagas* therefore have no bearing on the Northern Mystery. Of Columbus and his vagaries about the terrestrial paradise in South America as well of his associates and their explorations in southern parts enough has been said elsewhere; likewise of the pre-Columbian theories of wonderful islands in the Atlantic. For these and other matters that have indirect bearing on the present subject, I refer the reader to the first volume of the *History of Central America*.

There exist no contemporary narratives of the voyages of the Cabots to northern parts of the continent in 1497–8, and the fragments of a later date are as contradictory respecting the navigators' exact ideas as about the exact regions visited. "And understanding by reason of the Sphere," wrote Sebastian Cabot; "that if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India...not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, and from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure"[1]—why

[1] *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 4–11, with several accounts. For further references on the voyages mentioned in this chapter see Geographical Summary, in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, vol. i. chap. i.

is not apparent; but he wrote at a time when it was clear that a new continent had been discovered. Moreover, he wrote to Ramusio that in latitude 67° 30′, "finding still the open Sea without any manner of impediment, hee thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaio, which is in the East, and woulde haue done it, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and marriners had not rebelled."[2] At first there was no doubt that Cabot had reached Asia, or later that he had discovered a strait leading to that coast. The expeditions of the Cortereals in 1500–2 were like the preceding, in that they are not described by contemporary documents; but so much the better for later theorists. I do not suppose that either Cabot or Cortereal really sought a 'strait,' but only a passage, not doubting that they were on the Asiatic main; but in their reports there was no lack of material for a strait when needed—instance Cortereal's Rio Nevado, where his progress was impeded by ice.

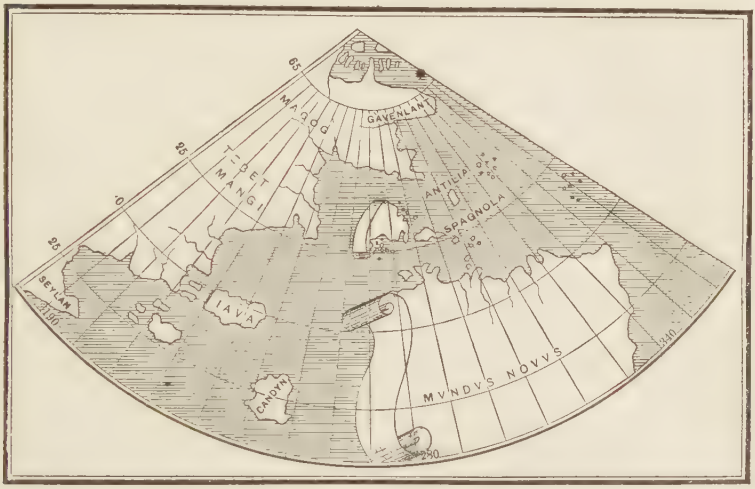
In later times Cortereal was credited by many with not only having discovered the strait, but with having named it. I am not certain who originated this theory; but we are told by Forster, Fleurieu, Burney, Humboldt,[3] and others, that Cortereal found the strait, named it Anian, in honor of certain brothers with him, and was lost when returning to utilize his discovery. The authorities differ as to whether there were two brothers or three, whether the name was that of the family or of one of the brothers, possibly that of Cortereal's own brother; and they likewise differ respecting the identity of the strait with Hudson Bay or St Lawrence River. It does not matter, however; none of the earliest writers mention the circumstance.

[2] *Hakluyt's Divers Voy.*, 25, from Ramusio. A letter announcing Cabot's return credits him with 'having likewise discovered the seven cities, four hundred leagues from England, on the western passage;' and still another says that he had visited 'the territory of the Grand Cham.' *Bryant's Hist. U. S.*, i. 134.

[3] *Forster's Hist. Voy.*, 460; *Fleurieu*, in *Marchand, Voy.*, i. vi.; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, i. 5; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, 330. 'Il prit son nom d'un des frères embarqués sur le vaisseau de Gaspar de Corteral.'

It is tolerably certain that the strait of Anian was not named for more than fifty years after Cortereal's voyage, and I shall notice the matter again in due time.[4]

Johann Ruysch in 1508 printed the first map that showed any part of the New World, which he published in Ptolemy's geography. It represents the mystery



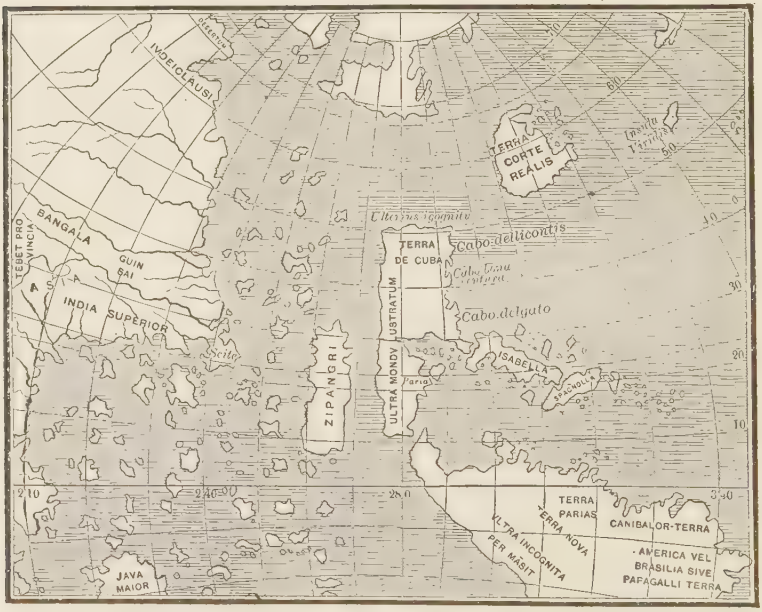

RUYSCH'S MAP, 1508.

of the strait in an early stage of development. As yet there was nothing to impede navigation to India. It is said that the Ptolemy map of 1511 separates the Terra Cortereal is from the Asiatic main. To quote from an earlier volume of this series: "As long as the new lands were believed to be a part of Asia, the maps bore some resemblance to the actual countries intended to be represented, but from the first dawning of an idea of separate lands we shall see the greatest confusion in the efforts of map-makers to depict the New World." Ponce de Leon's famous search for the fountain of youth in Florida might in

[4] The London *Quarterly Review*, xvi. 154, thinks that Cortereal, entering Hudson Bay, thought it part of an opening on the Pacific already known (before 1500!) as the strait of Anian; and the *North American Review*, January 1839, 118, deems this not very brilliant theory more probable than any other.

a certain sense be cited as a phase of the present subject; but this bubble soon burst, and so far as I know had no effect on the vagaries of later days. The map in Stobnicza's *Ptolemy* of 1512 is said to show the New World as a continuous coast up to 50°. A Portuguese chart of about 1518 exhibits for the first time the Pacific divided by an isthmus from the Atlantic; leaving spaces between the Gulf of Mexico and Labrador where the coast may not be continuous.[5]

Schöner's globe of 1520 explains itself. It was doubtless founded on mere conjecture, though in certain respects an approximation to accuracy, for as




Schöner's Globe, 1520.

yet there were no discoveries to suggest a broad sheet of water north-west of the newly found lands.[6] In the earliest land expeditions from Mexico to the

[5] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 133.

[6] In *Bryant's Hist. U. S.*, i. 149, it is stated that the Rio Jordan visited by Aillon in 1520 on the Carolina coast was sought as the 'sacred' Jordan of biblical tradition!

near north-west of Michoacan and Colima in 1522–4 much interest was excited by reports of a province of Ciguatan, or of an island some ten days' journey beyond, inhabited by women, like Amazons, who being visited at intervals by men from the mainland, killed their male children; they were withal rich in pearls. This was all the more interesting because Cortés expected to find rich and marvellous isles in his voyage to India, for which he was then preparing.[7] In 1524 Francisco Cortés found also in Colima traces of Christian rites, and rumors of a vessel wrecked in earlier years. Verrazano visited the eastern coast in 1524, and has been credited with being the first to promulgate the true theory of the earth's size and the geographical relation of the New World to Asia.[8] I find nothing in his report to justify such a conclusion, though the name 'Mar de Verrazano' is applied to the western waters on a later map. Estévan Gomez sought the strait in 1525 between Florida and Newfoundland;[9] and about his return an amusing story has often been repeated. He brought home a cargo of *esclavos*, or slaves; and an enthusiast in the cause of discovery, failing to catch the first syllable, rushed to court with the news that Gomez had at last found the passage to the Spice Islands, having returned with a cargo of *clavos*, or cloves! The truth was soon known, much to the amusement of the court and the messenger's discomfiture. In those days the Spaniards little thought of sailing to the extreme

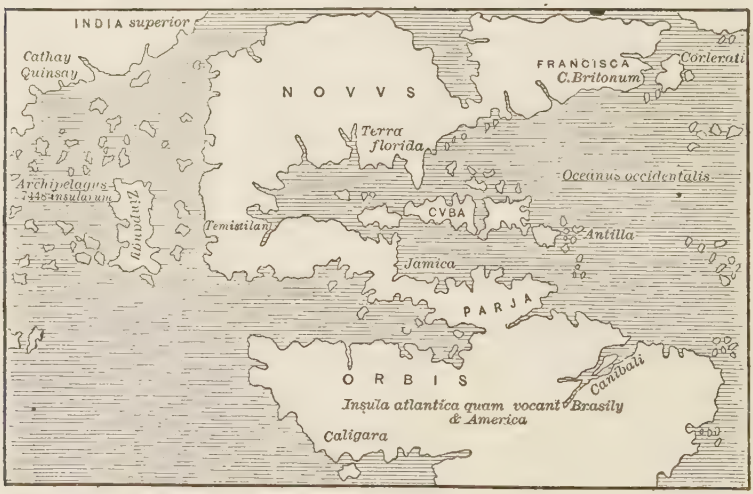
[7] 'Y asimismo me trujo Relacion de los Señores de la Provincia de Ciguatan, que se afirman mucho haber una Isla toda poblada de Mugeres sin Varon ninguno, y que en ciertos tiempo van de la Tierra-Firme Hombres, con los quales han aceso, y las que quedan preñadas, si paren Mugeres la guardan; y si Hombres los echan de su Compañia.' *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 349–50; *Beaumont, Hist. Mich.*, MS., 82.

[8] *Bryant's Hist. U. S.*, i. 180.

[9] 'It is also decreed, that one Stephanus Gomez, who also himselfe is a skillfull Nauigator, shall goe another way, where by betweene the Baccalaos, and Florida, long since our countries, he saith, he will finde out a waye to Cataia: one onely shippe called a Carauell is furnished for him, and he shall haue no other thing in charge, then to search out whether any passage to the great Chan, from out the diuers windings, and vast compassings of this our Ocean, were to be founde.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. vi. cap. x.

north;[10] but Robert Thorne in 1527 urged his king to efforts in that direction. "Nowe then, if from the sayde newe founde landes the See bee Nauigable, there is no doubte but sayling Northwarde and passing the pole, descending to the equinoctiall lyne, wee shall hitte these Ilandes, and it should bee much more shorter way than eyther the Spaniardes or the Portingales haue."[11]

The best charts of these days were not published. Confined for the most part to the representation of actual discoveries, they left the northern parts blank, and have no special interest in connection with the present subject. Published maps indulged more freely in speculation. The Ptolemy map of 1530, as herewith given, was circulated with slight variations in different editions of Ptolemy and Munster for many years; and



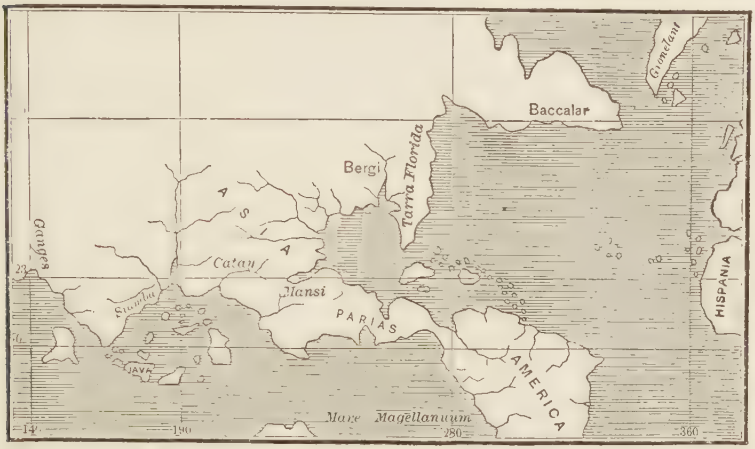

PTOLEMY MAP, 1530.

other maps, both manuscript and print, were of the same type, representing North America above Mexico

[10] Peter Martyr, dec. vii. cap. v., about this time wrote: 'But concerning the strayght there is little hope;' and especially had he no faith in northern prospects. 'To the south! To the south! For the great and exceeding riches of the Æquinoctiall, they that seeke riches must not goe vnto the cold and frozen north.' See *Bryant's Hist. U. S.*, i. 150.

[11] *Thorne's Book*, in *Hakluyt's Divers Voy.*, 48; *Id., Voy.*, i. 214–20.

as a narrow continent extending north-eastward to the region of Greenland, separated from upper India by a wide strait, and nearly severed just above Florida by a broad inlet from the west. The origin of this inlet or bay is not known, but it was probably founded on certain unpublished reports of Verrazano or Gomez. Orontius Fine, in his map of 1531, adhered to




ORONTIUS FINE'S MAP, 1531.

the original idea that the new regions were part of Asia, disregarding the conjectures of his contemporaries, which, if accidentally more accurate than his, were much less consistent with real knowledge.

Nuño de Guzman's conquest in 1531, extending to Sinaloa, did much to discredit earlier tales of a province of Amazons; but the discovery of a place called Aztatlan seemed to furnish some confirmation of supposed aboriginal traditions about an Aztec migration from the north-west. In 1533 the efforts of Cortés were so far successful that Jimenez, one of his commanders, discovered land which was supposed to be an island and named Santa Cruz. Had Jimenez been able to explore more fully the eastern coast of his new land, the theory would doubtless have been on his return that he had reached a part of the

Asiatic continent, and had entered the mouth of the long sought strait. This would have been natural, and might have had much influence in shaping later conjecture and exploration; but Cortés was intent not only on finding the strait but rich islands on the way to India; therefore he was willing to accept the new discovery as an island, even after a fruitless attempt at occupation and finding riches. The idea that it was an island was soon abandoned, only to be revived for a longer life in later years. Meanwhile some one called attention to a popular romance, some twenty-five years old, in which the following passage occurred: "Know that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very near to the terrestrial paradise, which was peopled with black women, without any men among them, because they were accustomed to live after the fashion of Amazons." Therefore the new island was appropriately named California, because of its position, its supposed wealth, and of the Amazons of native tradition.

At the same time Diego de Guzman made a trip from Culiacan to the Yaqui, to verify the reports of the Seven Cities, and of a river four or five leagues wide flowing into the South Sea, and having an iron chain stretched across its mouth to prevent boats penetrating the interior.[12] On the eastern coast Jacques Cartier was questioning the Indians of Canada about the west. Referring doubtless to the great lakes, they said that from the upper St Lawrence there "was fresh water, which went so farre upwards, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boates." Less intelligible, but equally interesting to the hearers, was their statement that from Hochelaga was but a month's journey to a country of cinnamon and cloves.[13] Agnese's map of

[12] *Guzman, Segunda Rel. Anón.* 303. The Seven Cities may have been an afterthought of the author, as he did not write until some years after the events described.

[13] *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 453; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 213.

1536 and a Portuguese map of the same year are essentially the same as the Ptolemy map of 1530, except that the north-western coast line is for the most part left vague and indefinite, being represented by dotted lines, and that the latter lacks the narrowing to an isthmus just above Florida, but shows a strait affording a passage to Cathay just below Bacalaos, or Newfoundland.[14]

It was in 1536 that Cabeza de Vaca arrived in Sinaloa and Mexico from his overland trip. His report contained little or nothing that was marvellous about the north. He had received a few turquoises and emeralds from the Indians, who said they came from the north, "where were populous towns and very large houses,"[15] referring of course to the Pueblo towns. But this in connection with other rumors of northern towns was sufficient to kindle anew the flame of adventure. While Soto was wandering in the broad Mississippi Valley without contributing anything of importance to the marvels of the Northern Mystery, Friar Marcos de Niza started northward from Culiacan, and went so far probably as to come actually in sight of one of the towns at Cíbola, or Zuñi; though Hernan Cortés and others regarded Niza's narrative as pure fiction. Friar Marcos, however, preferred falsehood or gross exaggeration to the truth. He proved to his own satisfaction that California was an island, and that there were thirty others rich in pearls; he learned that the coast turned abruptly to the west in 35°; he learned much of a country richer and more populous than Mexico, including Cíbola, Totonteac, Ahacus, and Marata; he saw from a distance Cíbola, a town larger than Mexico, though the smallest of the Seven Cities; he listened credulously to, if he did not invent, stories of gold and precious

[14] See *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, 292, 296. In *Id.*, 296, is another similar map by Homem, 1540, without the strait; but there is a strait between Bacalaos and Iceland.

[15] *Cabeza de Vaca, Relation*, 167.

stones being in common use; and after taking formal possession of this New Kingdom of San Francisco he returned to Mexico in 1539.[16] Niza's misstatements were soon exposed; but nevertheless they were widely circulated, and their influence was felt for many years. The names Cíbola, Totonteac, and the Seven Cities, semi-mythic in later years, originated with him; though the last had, before the discovery of America, been applied to a mythic region in the Atlantic.

In 1540–3 were made the famous expeditions of Coronado, Ulloa, Alarcon, and Cabrillo, with which the reader is familiar. The reports of these explorers were plain statements of fact. They were disappointed in their expectation of rich kingdoms in the north; but they indulged in no wild speculations of what might have been found had they penetrated farther. They revealed the coast line beyond latitude 40°; showed California to be a peninsula; explored both shores of the gulf; discovered the Colorado in two places; exposed nearly all Niza's misrepresentations; proclaimed in their true character the Pueblo towns of modern Arizona and New Mexico; discovered the Rio Grande del Norte; and even explored the great plains far to the north-east. Indeed they made known substantially all that was to be known for over two centuries of northern geography; and they practically convinced Spain that in this region there was no field for conquests similar to those of Cortés and Pizarro, though there might be a strait above the fortieth parallel.

Yet especially in the records of Coronado's adventures were left the seeds of mystery and perplexity. So fully was exploration suspended that the regions described became semi-mythical. It was not rare in later years for even Spaniards to discuss the general topic of northern geography, without any apparent

[16] *Niza, Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades.*

knowledge of Coronado's achievements.[17] It was not clear from the narratives whether the great rivers visited by Cárdenas, Alarcon, and Diaz were one, two, or three streams; nor was it known whether the river of Tiguex, the Rio del Norte, flowed into the Atlantic or the Pacific gulf. The expedition to Quivira was undertaken by Coronado from Tiguex, on the Rio del Norte, in consequence of reports by Indians of a great kingdom in the north-east, rich in gold and other wealth. He journeyed far in that direction, to 40° as he believed, and found Quivira a wigwam town of the plains. It had none of the reported attractions; and one of the two natives who had been most liberal with information, confessing his deception, was put to death; but the other, and some of the Spaniards, having returned to Tiguex before reaching Quivira, refused to believe in the thoroughness of the search, and in the non-existence of this wondrous wealthy kingdom. Hence the imaginary Quivira well nigh crowded the wigwam town out of existence. That it was rich and far north was all that was remembered, its longitude not being taken into account. Though Coronado had clearly defined its direction from New Mexico, it was generally placed on the coast of the South Sea.

For the transfer of Quivira from the north-east to the north-west perhaps the historian Gomara was responsible, as he certainly was for other misrepresentations. He stated that Cárdenas, who really went from Zuñi to the Colorado Cañon, reached the coast, perhaps confounding his exploration with that of Diaz; and, after describing the trip to Quivira, he wrote: "They saw on the coast ships which had pelicans of gold and silver on their prows, with merchandise that they thought to be from Cathay and China,

[17] Garcés, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, serie ii. tom. i. 365–7, seems to think that some of Coronado's men reached the Santa Bárbara channel of Alta California. Mota Padilla, *Conq. N. Galicia*, MS., 169, tells us that if Coronado had gone farther north and somewhat westwardly he would have reached what is now (1740) known as New Mexico.

because they made signs that they had sailed thirty days,"[18] meaning perhaps to connect the falsehood with the visit of Cárdenas to the coast, though later writers did not so understand it, and located these ships at Quivira, or rather carried Quivira to the ships. Niza's Totonteac, as the natives told Coronado, was a small town on a lake; and this mythic town, as we shall see, long lived under one name or another. Moreover, several items of really later origin were sometimes dated back to Coronado's time.

Before Coronado undertook his exploration Niza's discoveries becoming known had created some excitement in Spain, a curious phase of which was a quarrel in the Council of the Indies, in Spain. Cortés, Guzman, Soto, and Alvarado, each had a license for discovery in the north, and in their absence were represented by counsel. Each lawyer endeavored to make the stupid *consejo* understand that Cíbola was in the very heart of the particular territory his client was authorized to rule; and that to allow encroachment by another on a conquest for which such sacrifices had been made would be a grievous wrong. After hearing the arguments in favor of California, New Galicia, and Florida, the council wisely came to the conclusion that it was unable to determine the location of Cíbola, and accordingly authorized Viceroy Mendoza to continue his explorations for the province.[19]

Ulloa's voyage left some doubt whether there was a strait just above Santa Cruz separating the southern end of the peninsula. Alarcon was entertained on the gulf and river shores by the natives with reports of grand rivers, copper mountains, powerful chieftains, and bearded white men. One or more 'old men' usually accompanied the commander in his voyage on the Colorado, who did not fail to impose upon the

[18] *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 270–4. It is repeated by Salmeron and other writers, with various embellishments.

[19] *Proceso del Marques*, 300–408.

credulity of his visitor, telling him among other things of an old woman, Guatazaca, who lived without eating, on a lake, or near the sea, or by a mountain, in the country where copper bells were made. Cabrillo, beyond hearing rumors of white men in the interior, contributed nothing to mythic annals; in fact his exploration was well nigh forgotten in later years. Most prominently to be remembered in connection with Cabrillo was that he is said to have discovered and named Cape Mendocino—which he certainly did not.

Two maps of 1540 and 1541 represent very accurately the peninsula coasts, the gulf, and the mainland shore; but they leave the interior a blank.[20] Ruscelli's map of 1544, which I reproduce, adheres to first

RUSCELLI'S MAP, 1544.

principles indeed. Not only are New Spain and Florida represented as part of Asia, but Bacalaos is pictured as a central land connected by narrow isthmuses on the west with Asia and on the east with Europe. A voyage to India according to this

[20] See maps in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 153–4.

map would have been attended with many difficulties. The map in Munster's *Cosmographia* of 1545 is, as

MUNSTER'S MAP, 1545.

will be observed, a copy of the *Ptolemy* of 1530, so far as the southern parts of Temistitan, Florida, Francisca, and Cortereal are concerned; but it extends farther north. Bacalaos, or Newfoundland, joins Europe as in Ruscelli's map, but it reaches far to the west, as does upper India far to the east, until a strait is left between them, into the northern ocean; while south of these lands is 'the strait,' with the inscription, "Per hoc fretũ iter patet ad Molucas."

As we pass 1550 to record the use that was made of the brilliant discoveries achieved before that date, with the vagaries founded on those discoveries, and on new ones, real or fictitious, we find in Ramusio's map of 1556[21] the first printed representation of North America as it was actually known; that is, with indications of a broad continent, but all left blank beyond the points of discovery. In the western inte-

[21] *Ramusio, Viaggi*, Venetia, 1565, iii. 455–6. The first edition of this volume was in 1556. I am not certain that it contained the same map; but it makes no difference. Also in *Stevens' Notes*, pl. iv. no. 3.

rior a vague record of Coronado's expedition is given, but with a curious transposition of east for west in the location of Cíbola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira respectively, all, it would seem, for the purpose of following Gomara's supposed theory that Quivira

RAMUSIO'S MAP, 1556.

was on the western coast. And there Quivira remained for many years. The Sierra Nevada has been named by Cabrillo. California, not named, is a peninsula of peculiar shape not copied by later mapmakers; and beyond the limits of my copy, some 50° west of California, lies an island, Giapam. There is no expressed opinion respecting the strait. In its main features this map is of a type often repeated. The manuscript map of the Portuguese Homem, made in 1558,[22] differs widely in the north-west. Homem adheres to the old idea that North America is a very narrow continent, extending from south-west to north-east; and he gives the navigator his choice

[22] Taken from *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, 377. Most names omitted, as having no bearing on this subject.

of many ways by water to the Pacific. As Kohl says: "Our author appears to have had a great passion for islands and a strong belief in north-west

HOMEM'S MAP, 1558.

passages from the Atlantic to the western ocean. He cuts up the whole of northern New France into large islands, and converts several branches of the St Lawrence into sea-channels and straits. He puts down a strait in every place where Cartier, in his report, had said he had looked for one, even if he did not find it." From vague rumors of the great lakes and Hudson Bay he makes the great *mare leparamatium* a name for the western ocean, the origin of which is not known.[23]

About 1560–5 some few men in Spain became greatly interested in finding the northern passage, though they did not succeed in arousing the court to actual endeavor. Prominent among these was the

[23] Ramusio, *Viaggi*, iii. 6, writing in 1553, seems to have had like ideas of Canada. 'From which [Cartier's reports] we are not yet clear whether it [New France] is joined to the mainland of Florida and New Spain, or is all divided into islands; or whether it is possible to go by those parts to the province of Cathay, as Sebastian Cabot wrote me many years ago.'

Adelantado Pedro Menendez de Avilés, famous in the annals of Florida. He wrote several papers on the subject, and in one of them stated that in 1554 he had brought from New Spain a man who claimed to have been on a French ship, which had sailed four hundred leagues on a *brazo de mar* running inland from Newfoundland toward Florida. The ship's crew then landed and a quarter of a league distant found another channel, on which they built four small vessels, and sailed another three hundred leagues, to latitude 48°, north of Mexico, near the mines of Zacatecas and San Martin, where were large and prosperous settlements. The channel led to the South Sea, toward China and the Moluccas, though it was not followed so far. The French ship on her return was wrecked, but the narrator with some others was saved by a Portuguese vessel. This was perhaps the first definite narrative of a fictitious voyage through the famous strait. The story was often repeated; and other like trips were invented, as we shall see. Menendez doubtless told the story in good faith, being deceived by an adventurer who took advantage of his enthusiasm.[24]

One of the Spaniards who like Menendez was interested in the problem was Andrés de Urdaneta, friar and navigator, the man who first crossed the Pacific eastward and discovered the northern route. Urdaneta was acquainted with Menendez, and know-

[24] *Navarrete, Viages Apócrifos*, 39; *Id.*, in *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, xxxix.–xl. It was in 1565 that Menendez told this story; but he had apparently presented a memorial on the passage soon after 1554. Navarrete, in the *Viages Apócrifos*, quotes from several original communications of Menendez. In one of them he speaks of a salt-water channel from the region of the bay of Santa María, in latitude 37°, which 'goes towards the W. N. W., and it is suspected that it goes to the South Sea; and the Indians kill many cows like those of New Spain [buffaloes], which Coronado found in those plains, and carry the hides in canoes to sell to the French at Newfoundland;' and in a subsequent one, of 'another *brazo de mar* which leads towards China and enters the South Sea; and this is deemed certain, although no one has gone by it to the South Sea, but they have gone by it over 500 leagues W. N. W., starting at 42° and reaching 48°, 500 leagues north of Mexico, and not over 100 leagues from the South Sea or from China itself.' Acosta, *Hist. Nat. Ind.*, 152–3, alludes to Menendez and his positive belief in a strait. 'El Adelantado Pedro Melẽdez hõbre tã platico y excelẽte en la mar Afirmaua, ser cosa cierta, el auer Estrecho.'

ing all the current reports about the strait and its discovery by foreigners, deemed it of the utmost importance for Spain to ascertain the truth. In a document of 1560 he wrote of the report current in New Spain about the French finding a passage from Newfoundland, beginning above latitude 70°, extending west and south-west to below 50°, which afforded open sea navigation to China; also that on their return they had found another exit below 50° toward Florida.[25] This writer was wiser and less credulous than Menendez, for he never placed implicit faith in these rumors; still less did he claim for himself the discovery of the strait. Yet such a claim was attributed to him. One Salvatierra, a Spanish nobleman returning home from the West Indies, touched at Ireland in 1568, and there related that Urdaneta had found the passage in 1556 or 1557, and had shown the narrator a map on which the discovery was laid down. The friar had revealed the matter to the king of Portugal, who had urged him to keep it a profound secret, lest the English should come to know it and make trouble for Spain and Portugal.[26] The exact origin of this tale is not known, although it was not without its influence in later speculations.

In 1562 the Frenchman Ribault by no means neglected the problem on the Carolina coast. "As we now demaunded of them concerning ye land called Seuola [Cíbola], whereof some haue written not to bee farre from thence, and to bee situate within the lande, and toward the Sea called the South Sea. They shewed vs by signes that which we vnderstood well enough, that they might goe thither with their Boates, by riuers, in twentie dayes."[27] In 1563, when Francisco de Ibarra reached the province of Topia, in north-western Durango, by some means he and his

[25] *Navarrete, Viages Apócrifos*, 34–40; *Id.*, in *Sutil y Mex., Viages*, xxxvi.–xli.

[26] *Forster's Hist. Voy.*, 449, repeated briefly by other writers. Forster gives no authorities.

[27] *Ribault's True and Last Discouerie of Florida*, in *Hakluyt's Div. Voy.*, 102–3.

associates persuaded themselves without any known reason that they had found a grand and rich country, a second Mexico; and so it was represented in the reports under the name of Copala. It is probable, however, that this was deliberate deception rather than the enthusiasm of explorers.[28]

I reproduce the map published by the famous geographer Abraham Ortelius in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1574.[29] It will be seen that this map combines the leading features of the Ramusio and Ptolemy-Munster maps. From the latter we have the strait, and even the indentation, though now reduced to a small bay and not almost severing Canada from Florida, while as in Ramusio we have a broad stretch of continent, and an attempt to show the discoveries of Niza, Coronado, Ulloa, Alarcon, and slightly those of Cabrillo. The topographical features of the peninsula and gulf of California are much improved, also the course of the rivers flowing into the latter. Totonteac and other names are added from Niza, and those of Tuchano and Tolm from unknown sources. The Gomara-Ramusio transposition of the Cíbola-Quivira towns is continued; and Tiguex, with its river, really the Rio Grande del Norte of New Mexico, is transferred, as Cicuic (Pecos) and Quivira had been before, to the coast of what was later Upper California. Finally the kingdom of Anian appears on the same coast above 60°.

This name of Anian, as applied to a north-western kingdom and to the famous strait, apparently originated during this decade of 1570–80, but under circumstances that have never been explained. There was a theory, of which, however, I hear nothing be-

[28] *Ibarra, Relacion*, 553–61.

[29] *Ortelivs, Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm*, Antwerp, 1574, gr. folio, text, 69. There were earlier editions of 1570 and 1571; and later ones, in different languages, of 1588, 1595, 1598, 1603, 1606, and 1624; also a *Thesaurus Geographicus*, by the same author, of 1578, 1596, and 1611. In my edition of the *Theatrum* there are over 70 brilliantly colored maps, finely engraved on copper by Hogenberg, two of which, the *Typvs Orbis*, or the world, and *Americæ sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio*, relate to the Pacific States territory. One page of text is given on America, of no special importance.

AMERICA
MONGOL
CATHAIO
ANIAN
regnum
TOLM
Sierra Nevada
QVIVIRA
Tuchano
Quiuira
Cicuic
Tiguex
TOTONTEAC
Ceuola
MARATA
Granata
Marata
CALICUAS
Omeflan
Xalisko
Cuchillo
Tula
Mexico
HISPANIA NOUA
Cacos
Culias
TAGIL
Comos
FLORIDA
CHILAGA
NOUA
FRANCIA
Norboga
Terra de Baccalaos
ESTOTILANT
MAR DEL NORT
Xaques
Cuba
Iamaica
Spagniola
CARIBANA
galopegos
R. de Cacatula
R. Grande
P. de los Angelos
Cazones Insula
C. del engano y de Cedri
B. de la Trinidad
S. Thomas
Anubiada
Rocca partida
Los Bolcanes
La farfana
ARCHIPELAGO
Abreojo
Ins. de los Corales
DI S. LAZARO

fore the eighteenth century, that Cortereal in 1500 named the strait from two or three brothers who accompanied him, or from one of his own brothers. There were also vague traditions of three brothers who had passed through a strait, sometimes called from them 'Fretum Trium Fratrum.' It appears that there was a province of Ania somewhere in Asia, as described by the early travellers and geographers.[30] Again, we learn that "An excellent learned man of Portingale, of singuler grauety, authoritie, and experience, tolde mee [Hakluyt, in 1582] very lately that one *Anus Cortereal*, [this being editorially explained as a form of 'Ioaõ,' 'Ioannes,' or 'John,'] Captayne of the yle of Tercera, about the yeere 1574, which is not aboue eight yeeres past, sent a Shippe to discouer the Northwest passage of America, and that the same shippe arriuing on the coast of the saide America, in fiftie eyghte degrees of latitude, founde a great entrance exceeding deepe and broade without all impediment of ice, into which they passed aboue twentie leagues, and founde it alwaies to trende towarde the South, the lande lying lowe and plaine on eyther side: And they perswaded them selues verely that there was a way open into the south sea."[31] Here, then, we have as elements the old popular belief in a strait, the Asiatic province of Ania, the 'three brothers,' the voyages of the Cabots and Cortereals, the fact that there were several 'brothers' of both families, the name *Anus* Cortereal, the renewed interest in the subject at this juncture, and the circulation of the name on Ortelius' maps. Out of all this was evolved the name strait of Anian, which early in the seventeenth cen-

[30] I have not found any mention of Ania in any document or map of earlier date than that of which I am now treating; but Burney, *Hist. Discov. South Sea*, i. 5, implies that Marco Polo mentions the province. So does Gilbert, in his *Discourse* of 1576. Ortelius himself gives the name Ania in the interior opposite Japan in his map of Asia. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, iv. 906, mentions Anian as an island on the coast of China. D'Avity, *Le Monde*, 1637, has Anian on his general map as the extreme north-eastern province of Asia.

[31] *Hakluyt's Divers Voy.*, 7. Nothing further is known about this voyage, but it is not unlikely that a Portuguese navigator in these times may have entered Hudson Strait.

tury became common. It is not unlikely that light may yet be thrown on the process of evolution. At present all is conjecture. I know not whether the name Anian appears in the Ortelius editions of 1570 and 1571, as in that of 1574; nor do I know his motive, or that of the author he followed, for transferring the province to America. There is no doubt, however, that the strait was named from the province, and it is plain that the resemblance of the names Anus and Anian caused the discovery and name of the strait to be attributed to the Cortereals.[32]

In the cosmographical work of Peter Apianus, as amended by Gemma Frisius and published in 1575,[33] are two maps, which it is not necessary to copy. One, with movable, revolving attachments, represents North America, without names, as an island detached from South America, equidistant between what may be regarded as Cuba and Japan, and a little larger than either. The other, with only the names *Themistiton* and *Baccalearum*, makes of the continent a very narrow strip of land attached to South America, extending north-west, north, and north-east, and separated by a long and wide strait containing an island from Eastern India in the *rôle* of an Arctic continent.[34]

[32] Amoretti, *Voy. Maldonado*, 26, 36–9, favors the theory that the name Anian may have had a Chinese origin, and gives quotations and references to support that view; and that the form *Streto de Anian* on the earliest maps indicates its origin through Venetian-Italian medium, that is, Marco Polo, perhaps. He cites Sprengel to the effect that the name is on Mercator's map of 1570; and Engel as having seen it on a map of 1566. Amoretti is often inaccurate in his references, as when he says that Urdaneta saw the name on a map of 1568, and that Gali visited the strait in 1582; but it is not impossible, nor inconsistent with the views expressed in the text, that the name began to be used just before rather than just after 1570. Malte-Brun, in *Annales des Voyages*, xix. 395, says that *Ani* is Japanese for 'brother,' and suggests that the name may have originated from the Portuguese having told the Japanese of the discovery by the 'brothers.' In *Voiages au Nord, Recueil, I, Essai*, 82, we read: 'On parla du Golfe d'*Anian*, à travers duquel les Japonois et ceux du Païs de *Jesso* assuroient qu'il y avoit un passage jusqu'à la Mer de *Tartarie*. On alla au delà du Japon, jusqu'au 50°. On entra dans un Detroit fort commode, pour aller dans l'Ocean Septentrional.'

[33] *Apiano, Cosmographia*, Anvers, 1575. The work is chiefly theoretical; the description of the New World, fol. 34, seems to be taken from Gomara; the maps are on fols. 32, 35.

[34] In *Gilbert's Discourse of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia*, London, 1576, is a map 'in which all impediments in the way of the north-west pas-

In 1584 one Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero made a sworn statement in Spain respecting the strait, of whose existence some eight hundred leagues north of Compostela he was sure. He was over sixty years of age, had gone to America in 1535, and had navigated those waters as a pilot for twenty-eight years. The strait was said to lead to where the English caught codfish, or bacalaos; and he with others once attempted to find it. Had he been alone with one vessel he would have gone on and made the discovery; but contrary winds and damages to the accompanying ships forced them to turn back, and they remained in the Californias until the vessels were ordered to join Villalobos' expedition to the Moluccas.[35] A Portuguese had written to inform the emperor that he had been imprisoned by the king of Portugal because he had found the strait, and passed through it from one ocean to the other. The emperor notified the viceroy, and the latter therefore sent out the expedition which Ladrillero accompanied. He had heard other pilots talk of this matter; and especially an Englishman who had sailed with him twenty-seven years, and who with his countrymen had entered the strait while fishing for bacalaos. Now therefore in 1574, when the English and French were believed to be entering the South Sea by this codfish canal, Ladrillero, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, was willing to go and fortify the strait for Spain.[36] Naturally enough an old pilot, desiring a position of honor and profit, found something in his store of old recollections to support a growing theory, and counted on his experience in American waters to give him preferment.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ideas on our general topic were set forth in 1576 in *A Discovrse Of a Discouerie*

sage are cleared away in a most summary manner.' Introd. to Hakluyt Soc. reprint of *Hakluyt's Div. Voy.*, I, li.

[35] Villalobos' voyage was in 1542, which fixes the date of Ladrillero's exploits. It is not unlikely that he may have been with Alarcon or Ulloa.

[36] Ladrillero's *Memorial* in the Spanish archives, consulted by Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex.*, xlii.–iii.; *Viages Apóc.*, 41.

*for a new Passage to Cataia.*[37] His first chapter was designed "to proue by authoritie a passage to be on the North side of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India," the authority being that of the ancient writers like Plato and Aristotle touching the old Atlantis, confirmed by all the 'best modern geographers' like Frisius, Apianus, Munster, and the rest, to the effect that America is an island. "Then, if when no part of the sayd Atlantis was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coasts round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was, since that time, swallowed up with water, which could not utterly take away the olde deeps and chanels, but rather, be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then should now we doubt?... seeing that Atlantis now called America was euer knowen to be an Iland, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which by accesse of more water could not be diminished." The writer adds: "What moued those learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende so many and sundry trauellers of both ages haue allowed the same: But I coniecture that they would neuer haue so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to haue led them thereunto!"

The second chapter is 'to prooue by reason' what had been so clearly established by 'authoritie' in the first. The reason was threefold: 1st, the deepening of the waters in the north, whereas "all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the ende any Riuer, Bay, or Hauen is, the shallower it wareth;" 2d, the facts that no intercourse is known between Asiatic and American peoples, that Paulus Venetus travelling in Cathay never reached

[37] *Gilbert's Discourse*, London, 1576; reprinted in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 11–24.

America, any more than Coronado, "who trauelled the North part of America by land," reached Asia; and 3d, a complicated argument is founded on the great ocean current, which not only had been observed by voyagers, but which must of necessity have a passage by the north to complete the circle and to "salve his former wrongs."

In the third chapter is proved "by experience of sundry men's trauels, the opening of some parts of this Northwest passage." The travellers were Paulus Venetus, or Marco Polo, who sailed fifteen hundred miles on the coasts of Mangi and Anian north-eastward, all being open sea so far as he could discern; and Coronado, who "passing through the countrey of Quiuira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great sea," etc., according to the Gomara blunder; and John Baros, Alvar Nuñez, Jacques Cartier, and others, especially Cabot, who in 67° 30′ would have gone to Cathay but for mutiny.

The fourth chapter proves "by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath been sayled throughout," that is, by the 'three brothers' from Europe, and by certain Indians who came to Germany before the Christian era, and others in 1160. Next are three chapters to prove that these Indians could have come by no other way; and three more of general conclusions and on the advantages of finding the passage.[38]

[38] Just after Gilbert, Richard Willes learnedly wrote on 'Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prooue a passage by the Northwest.' *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 24–9. He began by exerting all his ingenuity and learning to denounce the scheme, to show that the old writers were in error, or ignorant on the subject, that there was no strait, that it was ice-blocked, that the rapid current proving its existence would also prevent its navigation, and that if Englishmen could pass the strait they might not be permitted to trade. Passages from Ptolemy, Mercator, and Moletius are adduced in favor of the strait's non-existence. All this was but a device to give weight to later arguments by which Mr Willes showed that these objections had no force. His views were similar to those of Gilbert; but he added the experience of 'a Portugall' who passed the strait and was imprisoned therefor many years in Lisbon; of Urdaneta, 'a Fryer of Mexico, who came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie;' of Cabot, who learned that the 'straight lyeth neere the 318 Meridian, betweene 61. and 64. degrees in the eleuation, continuing the same bredth about 10 degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, until it come under the tropicke of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur,

From the narratives of Martin Frobisher's voyages of 1576–8 to the inlet bearing his name, and to the Meta Incognita, as the regions of the far north were often termed from his time, we learn that "the 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degr. 8. minutes, and this day we entred the streight," a sentence pregnant with meaning to the theorists, especially as we read of the people that "they bee like to Tartars." And again, "This said streight is supposed to haue passage into the sea of Sur, which I leaue unknowen as yet. It seemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should haue more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or temperate Zone." Later the author speaks calmly of crossing the inlet to the east shore, "being the supposed continent of Asia," and back to the "supposed firme with America." They were doubtless in the strait, but cosmography had to yield to the love of gold, believed to be plentiful in the black rocks around the explorers. Yet of the third voyage it is said that Frobisher confessed that "if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ships, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea."[39]

"I, Thomas Cowles of Bedmester, in the countie of Somerset, Marriner, doe acknowledge, that six yeares past, at my being at Lisbon, in the kingdome of Portugall, I did heare one Martin Chacke, a Portugall of Lisbon, reade a booke of his owne making, which he had set out six yeares before that time, in Print, in the Portugale tongue, declaring that the said Martin

at the least 18. degrees more in bredth there, than it was where it first began;' and of Frobisher, who returned safely from the icy regions. Respecting the currents, 'Lay you now the summe hereof together. The riuers runne where the chanels are most hollow, the sea in taking his course wareth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeasterne current striketh downe into the straight we speake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of ice and snowe.... Where store of water is, there is it a thing impossible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, but wareth deeper, there can be discouered no land.'

[39] *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 30–3, 80–1, with an argument proving the existence of the strait from the tides, etc.

Chacke had founde, twelve yeares now past, a way from the Portugall Indies, through a gulfe of the New found Land, which he thought to be in 59. degrees of the eleuation of the North Pole. By meanes that hee being in the said Indies, with foure other Shippes of great burden, and he himselfe in a small Shippe of fourscore tunnes, was driuen from the company of the other foure Shippes, with a Westerly winde; after which, hee past alongst by a great number of Ilands which were in the gulfe of the said New found Land. And after hee ouershot the gulfe, hee set no more sight of any other Land, vntill he fell with the North-west part of Ireland; and from thence he tooke his course homewards, and by that meanes hee came to Lisbone foure or fiue weekes before the other foure Ships of his company that he was separated from, as before said. And since the same time, I could neuer see any of those Books; because the King commanded them to be called in, and no more of them to be printed, lest in time it would be to their hindrance. In witnesse whereof I set to my hand and marke, the ninth of Aprill, Anno 1579."[40] All of which explains itself. I, like Cowles, have never seen any more of those books.

Francis Drake's voyage in 1579 had some indirect bearing on the present subject. It was the hope of finding a strait by which to reach home with his ill-gotten gains that carried him into the northern Pacific; and his failure in this respect caused England for a long time to confine her search to the Atlantic side. His presence and ravages in the South Sea made Spain realize more fully the importance of finding and fortifying the strait for her own protection; and, Drake's homeward route being for years not clearly known, rumors were current that he had actually found the northern passage, and had returned. Moreover, there appeared soon after a fictitious narrative

[40] *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iii. 849. The story is mentioned by Jefferys, Burney, and many others from this source.

connected with this expedition. Padre Ascension told the tale to Padre Zárate de Salmeron, who wrote of it in 1626. It seems that "a foreign pilot, named N. de Morena, who entered *al inglés*"—whatever that may mean—"from the Sea of the North to that of the South by the Strait of Anian," gave this account to Rodrigo del Rio, then governor of New Galicia: Morena was set on shore in the region of the strait of Anian "very sick and more dead than alive" by Drake as the latter was returning homeward.[41] Recovering his health he wandered through divers lands for four years, over more than five hundred leagues of *tierra firme*, until he came to a *brazo de mar* dividing New Mexico from a great western land. This body of water ran north and south, and seemed to the pilot to extend northward to the port where he had landed. On its banks were many large settlements, including a nation of white people, who possessed horses and fought with lance and shield. "Padre Antonio [Ascension] says he believes they are Muscovites, I say that when we see them we shall know who they are," writes Salmeron. On the coast where he was put ashore Morena saw many good ports and great bays, and from that point he thought he could sail to Spain in forty days. He came out finally in New Mexico, and went down to Sombrerete, where he told his story to Governor Rio. He was going to England to bring his discovery before the court, but was willing to guide the governor to the strait.[42] Drake's narratives do not record the putting-ashore

[41] The apparent meaning is that the pilot had entered the Pacific by the strait with Drake, and was landed near its entrance as he was about to return by the same route; yet the Spaniards ought to have known well enough the way by which Drake came, even if uncertain how he returned.

[42] *Salmeron, Relaciones de N. Mex.*, 51–2. Rodrigo del Rio y Loza was governor of Nueva Vizcaya, not Galicia, in 1590–6. Padre Niel, *Apuntamientos*, 78, identifies Drake's port with the mouth of the Carmelo River! 'Ese desemboque del rio Carmelo y un puerto que él hace, que el padre Zárate no apunta, quizá porque Sebastian Vizcaino no surgió en él, y se llama ese puerto el puerto del Draque, corresponde con esa punta de Pinos y puerto de Monterey al desemboque del rio Colorado, que entra acá en nuestra costa con veintidos leguas de boca, en cuarenta y un grados, de latitud y doscientos cincuenta y uno de longitud.'

of any man in the north. Morena's story was doubtless pure fiction; but it is probable that it had an influence in forming the later belief that California was an island.

Rodrigo del Rio, to whom Morena made known his adventures, giving his views in 1582 as an expert respecting the proper outfit for a force to explore New Mexico, recommends that material be furnished for building a vessel, both for crossing *brazos de mar* likely to be encountered, and perhaps for returning by water. He understands that the country reaches to the strait near the Gran China, in latitude 57°, and plausibly concludes that in a territory so broad there must be notable things.[43]

Espejo, in his New Mexican travels of 1581–3, found no occasion to build ships, nor did he reach the Gran China; but a Concho Indian in northern Chihuahua told him of towns having houses of three and four stories situated on a great lake some fifteen days' journey to the west; at Zuñi and west of it he heard again of a great lake, now sixty days distant, with great and rich cities, whose inhabitants wore golden bracelets; and finally, in the region of the modern Prescott, he was told of a mighty river behind the sierra, on the banks of which were towns in comparison with which those already seen were nothing, the inhabitants using canoes to cross the river and pass from town to town.[44] And Vargas, writing just after Espejo's return, attaches no small importance to that great river, really the Colorado, suggesting that it might be the Estrecho de Bacalaos. Moreover, the reported lake towns might have a significance in connection with the fact that the ancient Culhuas came from those regions.[45] Thus did men try to arouse the old enthusiasm for northern discovery dormant since Coronado's time.

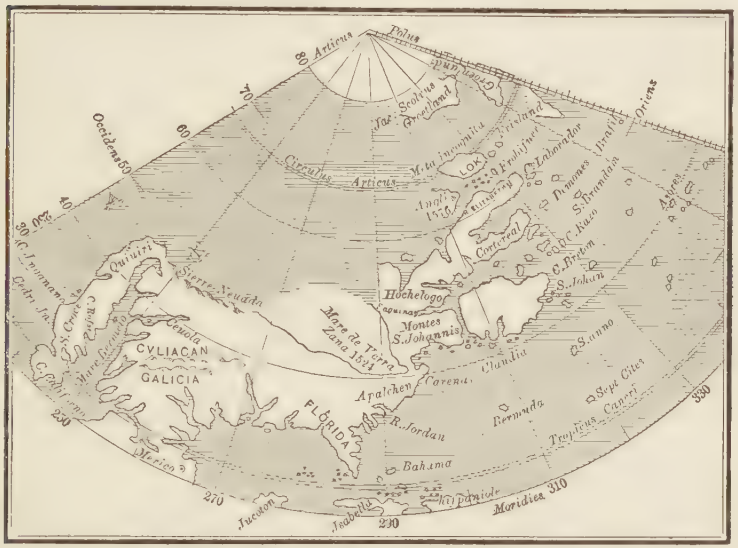
[43] *Rodriguez, Testimonio.*
[44] *Espejo, Relacion; Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 385.
[45] *Rodriguez, Testimonio.*

Richard Hakluyt published in London in 1582 his *Divers voyages touching the discouerie of America*, from which I have already drawn freely. A kind of prefatory note is entitled, "A verie late and great probabilitie of a passage by the north-west part of America in 58 degrees of northerly latitude," which probably rests on the discoveries of Anus Cortereal in 1574, already cited. Then in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' are set down eight reasons for belief in the north-west passage. These, with which the reader is already so familiar that a mere allusion will suffice, were: 1st, Cabot's statement to Ramusio that the north of America is all divided into islands; 2d, Verrazano's map, to be noticed presently; 3d, Gil Gonzalez' explorations on the western coast of Central America; 4th and 5th, the reports of natives to Jacques Cartier; 6th, the reports of Florida Indians to Ribault; 7th, the experience of Frobisher "on the hyther side, and Sir Fraunces Drake on the back side of America," with the testimony of the Zeni respecting Estotiland; and 8th, the judgment of Mercator, "there is no doubt but that there is a straight and short way open into the West, euen vnto Cathay."[46]

The map published in Hakluyt's work and here reproduced was made by Michael Lok, who claimed, without much apparent reason, to have fashioned it largely after Verrazano's charts. It is a strange combination of the geographical ideas that we have noticed on earlier maps. The entrance to the strait, which is short and leads by two arms into a great north-western sea, is by Frobisher's inlet. The bay of old that so nearly cuts the continent in twain is christened 'Mare de Verrazano, 1524,' though that navigator is not known to have reported having seen or heard of any such western sea. California is still

[46] *Hakluyt's Div. Voy.*, 7–13. He adds: 'And heere, to conclude and shut vp this matter, I haue hearde my selfe of Merchants of credite, that have liued long in Spaine, that King Phillip hath made a lawe of late that none of his subiectes shall discouer to the Northwardes of fiue and fortie degrees of America,' lest the strait be found.

a peninsula, but is joined to the main by a narrow isthmus in 45°, where the coast turns abruptly eastward to and past Cabrillo's Sierra Nevada. What




Lok's Map, 1582.

foundation Lok imagined himself to have for this geographical abortion I do not know.[47]

John Davis did not indulge in any very wild speculations respecting the Northern Mystery; yet, returning from his voyages of 1585–7, he wrote: "I haue brought the passage to that likelihood, as that I am assured it must bee in one of foure places, or els not at all;" and again: "I haue bene in 73 degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easie, as at my coming you shall surely know."[48] To

[47] *Hakluyt's Div. Voy.*, 55; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, 290. Between the two ships and above the line connecting them are the following inscriptions, in Latin: *A ship which directly hither from the Moluccas, and hence in turn to the Moluccas, sailed in the year 1518. A. Galvano. G. Frisius;*—which seems sufficiently absurd; and *Thus far the voyages of the Portuguese, 1520; of the Spaniards, 1540; of the English, 1580*—which is not much more intelligible.

[48] *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 108, 114, 119–20.

the English colonists of Carolina, 1586, the natives said that the Roanoke "gushed forth from a rock, so near the Pacific Ocean, that the surge of the sea sometimes dashed into its fountain; its banks were inhabited by a nation skilled in the art of refining the rich ore in which the country abounded. The walls of the city were described as glittering from the abundance of pearls." Governor Lane explored the river in a vain search for these marvels.[49] To Raleigh in 1587 Hakluyt wrote: "I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culuacan and the gulfe of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the Maps of those parts;" and noting a report of Florida Indians to Ribault of a great interior city where King Chiquola dwelt, the same writer says: "This seemeth to be La grand Copal."[50]

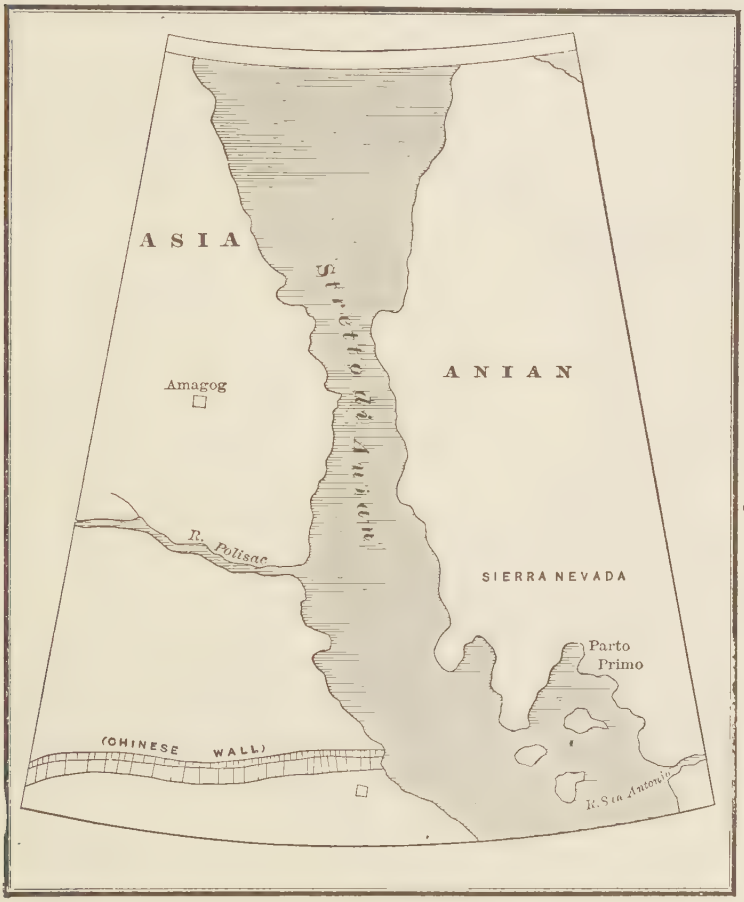
The map in Hakluyt's edition of *Peter Martyr*, 1587, leaves the great north-west a blank, as unexplored; yet it puts a *mare dulce* at 60°, about midway of the continent, and by great rivers running northward from the interior indicates the probability of open sea on the north. California is a peninsula, as in Ortelius' map; Quivira is on the coast, in 40°; in the interior just below latitude 40° and over the name New Mexico is an immense lake some six hundred miles in length, communicating by rivers perhaps with the Gulf and with the ocean just above Quivira. Drake's discovery of Nova Albion is shown for the first time just below 50°; and the coast line seems to extend to 55° before trending westward. The Cathay coast is about fifty degrees west of Nova Albion. If we disregard the great lake, and look upon the *mare dulce* as Hudson Bay, this is the

[49] *George Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*, i. 99–100.

[50] *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 303, 311. In 1589 Juan B. Lomas, in asking a license to settle New Mexico, understood that territory to include everything above the Rio Conchos, and claimed the right to fortify both coasts, and to build ships to sail both toward Spain and the Philippines. *Lomas, Assiento y Capitulacion.*

nearest approach to a correct representation of North America yet produced.[51]

I copy a map of the strait of Anian, said to have been engraved in 1590, though there may be some uncertainty about the exact date.[52]




STRAIT OF ANIAN, 1590.

[51] I have only the very bad copy in *Stevens' Notes*, pl. iii. No. 1.

[52] Amoretti, *Voy. Maldonado*, 44, 60, and pl., gives the map as taken from a MS. *Trattato de Urbano Monti*. This author gives a good many vague references to rumors of the existence of a strait in the last decade of the century, no one of which seems sufficiently important or tangible for repetition.

In his great work of 1590 Acosta devotes a chapter to "the strait which some affirm to be in Florida." "As Magellan found that strait that is in the South, so others have claimed to discover another strait which they say there is in the north, which they place in the

HONDIUS' MAP, 1595.

land of Florida, a land stretching so far that its end is not known." He alludes particularly to the ideas of Menendez, and mentions as some of the latter's reasons in addition to those already noticed, namely, pieces of Chinese vessels found floating in the Atlantic; and the presence of whales from the South Sea observed in a bay of Florida; and besides 'the

good order of nature' requiring an Arctic as well as an Antarctic strait. It is thought that Drake and other English corsairs may have found and utilized the strait. Men, like ants, do not pause on the track of novelties; and the truth will be known, and God will make use of man's curiosity to carry the gospel to northern gentiles. And elsewhere Acosta says: "Beyond Cape Mendocino," perhaps the first mention of that name, "it is not known how far runs the land, but from what all say it is something immense what it runs."[53] I reproduce a map made by Hondius about 1595.

[53] *Acosta, Hist. Nat. Ind.*, 71, 152–3.

# CHAPTER III.

## APOCRYPHAL VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST.

### 1596–1609.

JUAN DE FUCA'S PRETENDED DISCOVERIES—THE STORY TO LOK—PRESUMPTIONS AGAINST ITS TRUTH—WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT—EXAMINATION OF EVIDENCE, HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL—DOUBTLESS A PURE FICTION—MERCATOR—WYTFLIET—THE GREAT NORTHWEST—IMAGINARY COASTS, RIVERS, AND TOWNS—CONRAD LÖW'S REMARKABLE MAP—CLOSE OF THE CENTURY—CAPTAIN LANCASTER—HERRERA—VIZCAINO—AGUILAR'S RIVER—ASCENSION—TORQUEMADA—OÑATE—LAKE COPALIA—ZIÑOGABA AND QUEEN CIÑACACOHOLA—TIDAN—JOHN SMITH—MALDONADO'S PRETENDED VOYAGE THROUGH THE STRAIT OF ANIAN—A FAMOUS LIE.

IN recording the fictitious voyages it seems most proper and convenient to notice each, not under its own pretended date, but under the date when the claim was first made. By this system the first of the famous voyages, several anonymous and vaguely recorded trips through the strait having been already referred to, belongs here, under date of 1596, when Juan de Fuca told his tale of having discovered the Northwest passage in 1592. This is also the only one of the apocryphal voyages the authenticity of which still finds defenders; but more on this matter presently.

In April, 1596, Michael Lok, an Englishman well known for his interest in geographical discoveries, met Juan de Fuca in Venice. Fuca had lately arrived in Italy from Spain, and in Florence had encountered an English pilot, John Douglas, with whom he came to Venice, and by him was introduced to Lok. Fuca's story was as follows: He was a Greek, born in the

island of Cephalonia, and his real name was Apostolos Valerianos. He had been forty years mariner and pilot in the Spanish West Indian service, and was on board of the galleon when captured by Cavendish off the point of California, November, 1587, having lost sixty thousand ducats on that occasion. Subsequently he was sent as pilot of three vessels and one hundred men despatched by the viceroy to find the strait of Anian and fortify it against the English; but by reason of a mutiny among the soldiers, "for the sodomie of their Captaine," the ships turned back from the Californian coast,[1] and the captain was punished by justice in Mexico.

"Also hee said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill ended, the said Viceroy of *Mexico* sent him out againe *Anno* 1592, with a small *Carauela*, and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners onely, to follow the saide Voyage, for a discouery of the same Straits of *Anian*, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of *Noua Spania*, and *California*, and the *Indies*, now called North *America* (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) vntill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seuen degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, between 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude, hee entred thereinto, sayling therein more than twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometime North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by diuers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the

[1] Is it possible that Fuca might have heard Ladrillero's story? It will be remembered that that pilot claimed to have been with a fleet that turned back from California at a much earlier date.

North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon. Also he said, that he went on Land in diuers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins: and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of Gold, Siluer, Pearle, and other things, like *Noua Spania*. And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough euery where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where he entred; he thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing he was sent to doe." So he returned to Acapulco before the end of the year, hoping for reward; and was welcomed by the viceroy with fair promises, but after two years of vain waiting, by the viceroy's advice he went to Spain to seek reward for his services from the king. Even here, though welcomed at court "in wordes after the *Spanish* manner, but after long time of suite there also, he could not get any reward there neither to his content;" and so at length "he stole away out of *Spaine*, and came into *Italie*, to goe home againe and liue among his owne Kindred and Countrimen; he being very old." He thought the reason of Spanish ingratitude was occasioned by the belief that England had relinquished the search for a strait, and therefore there was nothing to fear. Now he was disposed to be revenged on the Spaniards by serving the noble-minded queen of England, hoping also that she would make good his losses at the hands of Cavendish. If provided with a ship and pinnace he would undertake to make the voyage through the strait in thirty days.

Lok wrote to Cecil, Raleigh, and Hakluyt, urging them to furnish money to bring Fuca to England with a view of acting on his proposition; but the money was not forthcoming, and in a fortnight Fuca started for home. In July Lok wrote to the pilot; and in

reply received a letter dated at Cephalonia in September, in which Fuca declared himself still ready for the undertaking if money could be furnished. Similar letters were exchanged in 1597, and again in 1598; but Lok was busied with other matters and unable to raise the needed funds; and receiving no reply to a letter of 1602 he inferred that the Greek pilot was dead.[2]

This account, in the shape of a note by Lok, was published by Purchas in 1625, and has been repeated from this source by later writers. That it was presented accurately and in perfect good faith so far as Lok and Purchas are concerned there is no reason to doubt. There is some evidence that the Greek pilot gave his true name and birthplace.[3] But there are indications that his claim of loss at the hands of Cavendish was grossly exaggerated, if not unfounded.[4]

The fact that I describe Fuca's voyage in this chapter shows that I regard his story as fiction. Many intelligent writers, however, believe it to be in the main true; indeed I think that such has been the prevalent opinion in later years.[5] Therefore something of argument becomes necessary.

[2] *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iii. 849–52, with copies of one set of the letters alluded to.

[3] In 1854 Alex. S. Taylor had inquiries made in Cephalonia through a United States consul. The most definite statement obtained was one from a biographical work of Masarachi, published in Venice in 1843, evidently made up, so far as Fuca was concerned, from the story to Lok, and proving nothing; yet there were other items that seemed to show that Focca was the name of an old family there; that a branch of the family lived near Valeriano, thus partly accounting for the name 'Apostolos Valerianus'; and that Juan himself was remembered traditionally as a great navigator. *Hutchings' Magazine*, iv. 116–22, 161–7.

[4] In two sworn statements made at the time by the captain and a passenger, though many persons are named who lost much less than 60,000 ducats, Fuca's name does not appear. *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 104. There is nothing in the narrative of Cavendish's voyage to indicate that he found a Greek pilot on the *Sta Anna*, as some have implied; but the fact that he did find and retain a Spanish and a Portuguese pilot might possibly indicate that he did *not* find the Greek. Neither is there anything to support the statement that Vizcaino was on board the *Sta Anna*.

[5] Not much was said of Fuca's voyage before 1770, except to mention it, after Purchas, as one of the many items of evidence on a vexed question. There was no intelligent criticism, and no foundation for any. When explora-

The story itself, in other than geographical aspects, is improbable. It is unlikely that Spain would have

tion began again, the voyagers sought for Fuca's strait. The Spaniards had little or no faith in the Greek pilot's discoveries, and they found nothing to change their opinion. Captain Cook in 1778 said: 'We saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed.' *Cook's Voy.*, ii. 263. Forster in 1786, *Hist. Voy.*, 450–1, pronounced part of the story fabulous and the rest suspicious. But in 1788 Meares, *Voy.*, li. lvi. lxii.–iii. 155–6 et seq., having found an inlet on the Northwest Coast, which he did not fully explore, but which he was inclined to regard as possibly the entrance of 'the strait,' declared Fuca's voyage authentic, and formally named it the 'Strait of Juan de Fuca.' This and other opinions expressed before the geography of the region was fully known have obviously no special force; but one of Meares' strongest points is the custom of flattening the heads of native children as described by Fuca—a point somewhat weakened by the fact that Fuca says nothing on the subject. Fleurieu in 1787, Introd. to *Marchand, Voy.*, i. pp. xii.–xvi., regarded Fuca's story as probably true, but exaggerated. Fuca probably discovered the entrance, and perhaps the inland sea. Navarrete in 1802, *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, lii.; *Viages Apóc.*, 104, pronounced the story a fiction, relying on the absence of all confirmation in the Spanish archives, and on the latest northern discoveries. Burney, *Hist. Discov. South Sea*, ii. 110–17, in 1806, while deeming much of the narrative erroneous and exaggerated, thinks it 'not easily conceivable, that mere fancy or conjecture should chance upon the description of a strait so essentially corresponding with the reality.' But Humboldt in 1808, *Essai Politique*, 329, 341, had no hesitation in declaring Fuca's story a fiction, and his voyage apocryphal. Since the time of Humboldt and Navarrete there has been but little investigation or argument on the subject. Most writers have seemed to regard all the early explorations of the Spaniards as wrapped in mystery, have seen no reason why Fuca may not have made a voyage as well as Vizcaino and others, have deemed his description as accurate as that of many other early voyagers, and have drifted into a lukewarm support of the pilot's veracity. They have not appreciated Fuca's motives for falsehood, nor the fact that he was as likely to locate a strait, in whose existence nearly all believed, and which must be above 44°, between 47° and 50° as elsewhere, and that nowhere between those limits could his error have been greater. Of course the strait would be wide, with islands, and probably trending in different directions. Murray, *North Amer.*, ii. 87, in 1829 deemed Lok a respectable witness, and the discovery of a strait conclusive. Lardner, *Hist. Mar. Discov.*, ii. 280–1, in 1830 spoke of the narrative as entitled to much indulgence, like other old writings, Fuca having probably entered the strait and felt sure it led to the Atlantic, while Tytler, *Hist. View*, 78–9, in 1833 declared the story to rest on apocryphal authority. The authenticity of the voyage is defended by the *North Amer. Review* of January 1839, p, 123–6, as also by Greenhow, in his *Mem.*, 42–3, of 1840, and his *Hist. Or. and Cal.*, 86 et seq., 407–11, who pronounces the geographical descriptions 'as nearly conformable with the truth, as those of any other account of a voyage written in the early part of the seventeenth century.' Most later writers have followed Greenhow; and for a time doubtless Americans allowed themselves to be influenced somewhat by national prejudices. They often pointed triumphantly to the fact that the voyage was defended by 'first-class English authority' like the *Quarterly Review*, xvi. For similar reasons some Englishmen like Twiss, *Oregon Question*, 66–70, felt called upon to take the other side. Gallatin in 1846, *Letters on Or. Question*, 11–13, found much internal evidence of truth, but deemed the story somewhat doubtful. To Nicolay, *Oregon Ter.*, 28–30, it seemed to have stood the test of investigation. Seeman, *Voy. of the 'Herald,'* i. 97–8, thinks Fuca sailed round Vancouver Island. Taylor, *Hutchings' Mag.*, iv. 116–22, 161–7; *Pacific Monthly*, xi. 647; *Browne's L. Cal.*, 22–3, modestly believes that his own researches showing the ex-

withheld reward from such a man as Fuca; she would naturally have utilized his services in the northern expeditions under Vizcaino; it is hardly credible, to one acquainted with the spirit of the times, that she could have trusted so implicitly in the relinquishment of the search by England; and least of all would she have permitted a pilot to carry such a grievance and such a secret to foreign parts. Moreover, the fact that about this time men of his class were habitually telling falsehoods about the northern strait, creates a probability that Fuca also spoke falsely. His temptation and opportunity were great. The English were eager to find the strait; they suspected that Spaniards had made and were concealing the discovery. Accidentally through Douglas, a congenial spirit, whether dupe or accomplice, the Greek pilot meets Michael Lok. He need no longer rely on the old theories and rumors. To an Englishman he may safely claim to have made an actual discovery in government craft. Lok will credit the tale, because it agrees with the theories, desires, and suspicions of himself and his class. Fuca's reward will be an ample one—satisfaction for pretended or exaggerated losses at the hands of an English corsair, honorable and

istence of the Focca family in Cephalonia have removed every vestige of doubt of the authenticity of all that Fuca may ever have claimed to do. Poussin, *U. S.*, 239; Dickinson, *Speeches*, i. 166–7; and Lord, in *British Columbia*, i. pp. vii.–xi., support Fuca, Lord introducing some imaginary details of his interview with Lok. In later years Elwood Evans, *Puget Sound*, 4–5; *Hist. Oregon*, MS., 15–16, has little or no doubt of Fuca's discoveries; else the pilot must have been a miraculous prophet. Mr Evans has a curious theory that the selection of Vizcaino, an old friend of Fuca, and probably aware of his discoveries, to head the later expeditions was in itself a strong confirmation of Fuca's tale. As a matter of fact a strong argument on the other side may be drawn from the facts that Vizcaino made any voyages at all, that Fuca did not accompany him, and that Fuca was not named in the instructions and reports of the expedition. Mrs Victor, *Search for Fretum Anian*, in *The Overland Monthly*, iii. 474–5, writing of the famous search in its romantic aspects, accepts Fuca's voyage without question. Speaking of his belief that he had reached the South Sea entrance of the strait, she says with much reason: 'Familiar to us as is the Strait of Fuca, we see every thing to justify such a belief in the mind of the Greek navigator;' and indeed there can be no doubt that Fuca would have formed such an opinion had he ever reached the entrance. Finally, in *The Californian*, ii. 535–9, 'D. S.' has an article entitled *The Voyage of Juan de Fuca a Fraud.*

profitable employment in English service, and the fame of discovering the long-sought strait, in the existence of which he like others had perfect confidence. There is reasonable presumption that the man under these circumstances reported a fictitious discovery, a presumption which nothing but evidence can overcome.

Historically no such evidence has been found. Nothing is known on the subject except what Fuca told Lok. No later writer mentions either voyage on any other authority; and no contemporary writer mentions them at all. The Spanish archives, naturally the best source of information on government expeditions, have been pretty thoroughly examined for material relating to early northern voyages, and special search has been made for documents on Fuca's reported expeditions. The search has been made by men who were competent and diligent, and under circumstances which would have been more likely to prompt the production of spurious confirmation than the suppression of real proofs. Not a word has been found bearing directly or indirectly on the subject. The loss of a document, it may be said, is not unusual. True; but is it conceivable that of all the paper covered with ink in the inevitable Hispano-American style—of all that must have been written in fitting out five or six vessels for two distinct expeditions, in appointments and instructions of officials, in reports of failure and success, in judicial proceedings against the wicked captain, in Fuca's own memorials and appeals for a just reward—not one scrap should have come to light? But, we are told, it was the policy of Spain to conceal all information that might give an advantage to foreign powers. Is she likely to have kept this secret so effectually that it could not be revealed when her own interests demanded it? But let us suppose such to have been the case; that all papers on this topic were collected in one *expediente* and destroyed; the difficulty is by no means removed. Spain could not silence all the members of both expe-

ditions; else assuredly she would have found means to close Fuca's mouth. The Northern Mystery was a common topic of conversation among mariners. The court was deluged with petitions from men who sought license for northern discovery, and who magnified every circumstance likely to give plausibility to their schemes. Why is it that none mention Fuca, or any voyage of 1590–2? Could the prominent men advocating such expeditions have been kept in ignorance that the government they were importuning had already effected the discovery? Not only was the government importuned, but it actually sent out two expeditions in 1597 and 1602, the former while Fuca was corresponding with Lok. There is not, however, a single circumstance in what we know of Vizcaino's voyages to indicate that he knew of any preceding voyage; yet Padre Ascension, the chief chronicler, was a voluminous writer and an enthusiastic theorist on matters pertaining to the north.

Thus the original presumption that Fuca's statement was false is strengthened into well nigh absolute certainty by a total absence of supporting testimony not to be reasonably accounted for on any other hypothesis. There remains but one possible source of testimony to shake this conclusion; and that is our present accurate knowledge of north-west coast geography. To support his claim the Greek pilot must describe the physical features of the region in question more fully and accurately than would be possible without personal knowledge—more fully, indeed, than under ordinary circumstances he could be expected to do in a brief verbal narrative. Extraordinary statements demand rigid tests; and when all the props, but one, supporting a heavy weight have been knocked down, that one must be strong indeed. Tolerably good guessing on Fuca's part will not suffice; nor on the part of investigators that lenient criticism which has led his supporters to say in substance: "Supposing him to have made the voyage,

STRAITS OF JUAN DE FUCA.

we find in the entrance to Puget Sound certain features that, with due allowance for the exaggeration, and confusion, and error common in such cases, may be made to fit his narrative; and admitting therefore that he discovered the strait, we can account more or less satisfactorily for the loss or suppression of his original report."

Fuca claims to have entered a strait between 47° and 48°, impliedly just above 47°, and even to have sailed by that strait through to the Atlantic; but there is no inlet within fifty miles of that latitude. Ninety miles farther north, however, in latitude 48° 30′, there is a strait leading to the body of water which, under various names, separates Vancouver Island from the mainland. I give herewith a map of these waters. Fuca's strait was thirty or forty leagues wide at the entrance; this one is twelve or twenty miles, according to the place and method of measurement. At the entrance on the north-western shore Fuca noted "a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon;" but nothing of the kind exists in the locality indicated. It is true that opposite, on the southern shore, about Cape Classett and the Tatouche Islands, are numerous detached rocks which the action of the waves has left in columnar and fantastic forms; rocks which are not uncommon on different parts of the coast. Some voyagers have found nothing here to correspond with Fuca's pillar; others have identified with that landmark one of the rocks alluded to; and Wilkes has furnished a sketch which I copy. Commander Phelps, on the contrary, has found the pillar several hundred miles farther north, on Galiano Island.[6] Obviously nothing but a very prominent

[6] *Phelps' Reminiscences of Seattle*, Phil., 1881, p. 40. He thinks that Fuca's vague language has been misunderstood, and that the pillar was at the supposed outlet into the Atlantic, where is 'a remarkable promontory 1200 feet high.' He admits that nothing of the kind is found near the south end of Vancouver Island. Meares, *Voy.*, 153, found 'a very remarkable rock, that wore the form of an obelisk,' not far from an island near the southern shore. Vancouver, *Voy.*, i. 217, did not find Meares' 'Pinnacle rock,' 'or any other rock

landmark—certainly not one of many and ordinary rocks on the wrong side of the strait—can suffice for the purposes of this investigation.

Fuca entered his strait and sailed in it for twenty days, until he came to the Atlantic Ocean. This has to be 'explained' by the theory that he sailed round the island, coming out again to the Pacific in about 51°. A professional pilot cannot reasonably be supposed to have made such an error. As he advanced Fuca found the strait—one hundred miles wide at the entrance—to grow wider, impliedly throughout his

Juan de Fuca's Pillar.

navigation; but as a matter of fact the channel narrows to a mile in width long before the outlet is reached. Fuca found the shores of the passage trending N. W., N. E., N., E., and S. E.—that is, naturally, he sailed those courses successively in his voyage to the Atlantic. The far-fetched 'explanation' is, that from a point

more conspicuous than thousands along the coast, varying in form and size; some conical, others with flat sides, flat tops, and almost every other shape that can be figured by the imagination.' Wilkes, *U. S. Ex. Exped.*, iv. 519, 527, does not tell us where he found the 'Fuca's Pillar' which he sketched, but it was doubtless on the south side. The views presented by Meares and others, and especially those on the U. S. Coast Survey charts, show no landmark corresponding at all with with Fuca's 'Hedland' and 'Spired Rocke.' Findlay, *Directory Pacific Ocean*, i. 374, 414–16, though supporting Fuca's voyage, says: 'At a little distance S. W. from the foot of the cape [Classet], and just within the confines of the beach, is a rock in the shape of a pillar, about 400(?) feet high, and 60 in circumference... These columnar rocks are very numerous just hereabout; and De Fuca, the discoverer, remarked one in particular, which may be that here adverted to. Capt. Wilkes has given a sketch of it... The rock in question is difficult to make out among the thousands of every variety of form about it.'

near the entrance is a large body of water stretching southward and eastward. He found the people clad in skins, and passed divers islands—not very remarkable coincidences, nor requiring explanation. His statements that the land was "very fruitfull, and rich of gold, Siluer, Pearle," explain themselves.

We find, then, in geographical knowledge nothing to overcome the strong presumption that Fuca's tale is fiction; nothing to prove that he visited those regions; nothing that without 'explanation' agrees with his description, even if his visit be admitted. Fuca was not even remarkably lucky in his guessing. If in the future any proof appears that Fuca made a voyage to the north-west coast and reported the discovery of a strait, then a plausible theory may be set up that he reached the entrance in latitude 48° 30′, and trusted to his imagination for all within. No more can be said in his favor. He was more fortunate, however, than many whose lies were more stupendous, to have his name permanently attached to a strait he never saw.

There are yet several interesting points to be noted before the end of the century. In Mercator's *Atlas* of 1595 the maps are essentially the same as in Ortelius' *Theatrum* of 1573; but another Asiatic province, that of Bergi, is transferred to America and located on the coast north of Anian. The name strait of Anian is applied for the first time, not to the long northern passage, but to one about fifty miles wide separating Anian from Asia between latitudes 60° and 70° and leading from the Pacific into the northern strait; and finally to the famous gulf penetrating the continent from the northern strait is added a circular *mar dulce* still farther inland, and connected with the gulf by a narrow channel.

Substantially the same general map is published in Wytfliet's *Ptolemy* of 1597.[7] But in this work the

[7] *Descriptio Ptolemaicæ Augmentum Sive Occidentis Notitia Breui commen-*

territory is shown by sections on a larger scale in a series of maps, three of which I reproduce. The first represents California and Granata Nova—the latter being nearer the modern New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah. The gulf and peninsula are well drawn, but with a superfluity of rivers flowing into the former. Local names along the coasts are mostly found in one or another of the known voyages. The western trend of the shore is noticeably

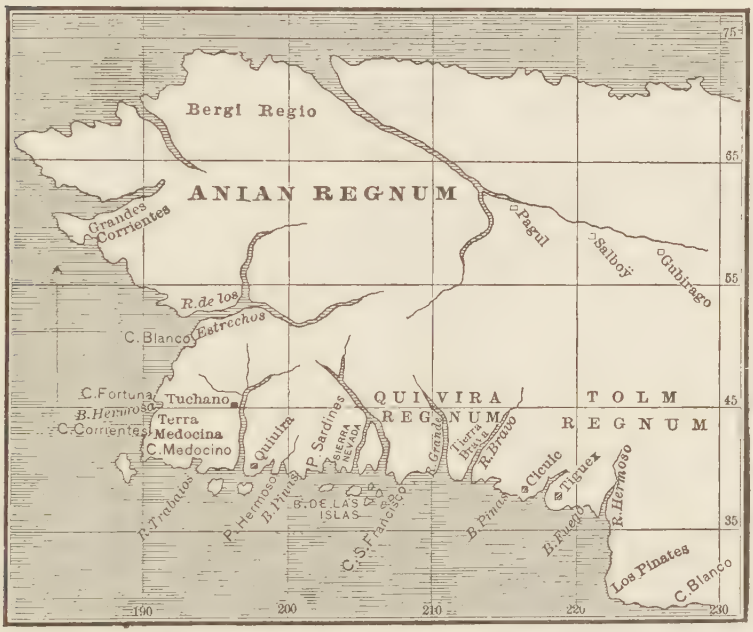
WYTFLIET-PTOLEMY MAP, 1597—No. 1.

exaggerated. The chief river connects the gulf with a great lake, round which above 40° stand the Seven Cities, a confused rendering of the ancient Atlantic island myth in combination with the seven towns of Cíbola described by Coronado. It is not unlikely that at some stage of its existence the oft-recurring lake myth may have had connection with the real

*tario illustrata studio et opera Cornely Wytfliet Louaniensis.* Lovanii, 1597. The descriptive text is on pp. 167–75. It adds nothing of interest to the maps, but might be quoted entire, did space permit, for its blundering references to the explorations of Niza, Coronado, and Cabeza de Vaca.

Great Salt Lake. The rivers are those discovered by Cárdenas, Diaz, Alarcon, Coronado, and heard of by Espejo—the map-maker not knowing that all were one river, the Colorado and its branches. Nova Granata must come from the name Granada, applied by Coronado to one of the Zuñi towns.

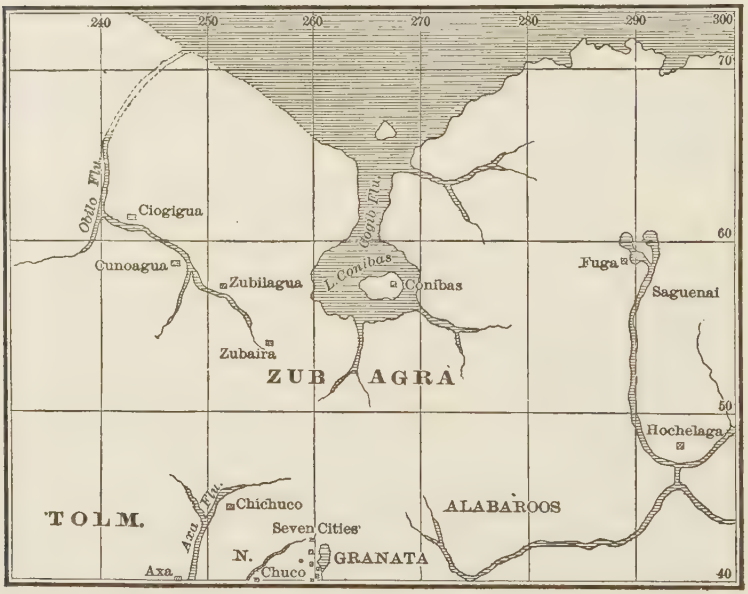
The second map represents the section next west and north, under the name *Limes Occidentis Quivirâ et Anian.* The coast extends still westward to Cape




WYTFLIET-PTOLEMY MAP, 1597—No. 2.

Mendocino, to which in 40° is joined a large island. The coast names are taken equally from Cabrillo's California voyage, from Coronado's wanderings from New Mexico to Kansas, and from unknown or imaginary sources, doubtless satisfactory to the cosmographer. The geographical features above 45°, like most below that latitude, are purely imaginary. I can hardly conjecture any plausible origin for the

great river flowing into the northern sea, with its three towns of Pagul, Salboÿ, and Cubirago, unless they were brought over from Asia with the province of Bergi. The third map is the central northern section adjoining the two preceding on the north and east respectively, under the name *Conibas Regio cum Vicinis Gentibus.* Here we have another mysterious river with four towns, in regions as yet




WYTFLIET-PTOLEMY MAP, 1597—No. 3.

unapproached by white men, save on the wings of imagination. Here also we have the round *mar dulce* elaborated into Lake Conibas, and in its centre an island and a town of the same name; also a River Cogib, more like a strait, connecting it with the northern sea. It is likely that this representation is owing to Canadian aboriginal rumors; for not far away to the east are the lakes from which the Saguenai flowed down to the St Lawrence at Hochelaga; while about the same distance southward are New

Granada with its Seven Cities, very near to the head-waters of the great river of Canada. Verily, for a region as yet unvisited, the great northern interior was becoming remarkably well known.

Conrad Löw, in his *Book of Sea Heroes*, 1598, gives a general map like those of Ortelius, Ptolemy, and others;[8] but another map in this work has some decidedly novel features, as will be seen from the annexed copy. It represents only the regions north of 60°, putting California above 70° and beyond the strait of Anian, but explaining in an inscription that

Löw's Map, 1598.

it is known only by report to the Spaniards. The river Obilo, with apparently a new mouth, has towns on its banks, as in Wytfliet No. 3. But Lake Conibas discharges its waters westward into a great gulf near Anian Strait, and is no longer identified with the circular *mar dulce*, which we are told in an inscription is the body of water whose end is not known to the Canadians. Of the two great Arctic bodies of land, that on the east is said to be the 'best and most healthful in all the north;' while on the other it is explained that the ocean has broken through to the

[8] *Löw, Meer oder Seehanen Buch, Darinn Verzeichnet seind die Wunderbare, Gedenckwürdige Reise*, etc. Cölln, 1598. A collection of voyages translated and abridged from various well known sources.

pole, forming four channels, two of which are shown on this copy, which only includes half of the original.

This map is in several respects remarkable, as the reader may convince himself by a comparison with the annexed rough sketch, which shows the regions mapped by Löw in their true proportions, and on the same scale. The strait of Anian in its latitude and width bears a resemblance to Bering Strait which is really startling. Note also the general likeness of Bergi and Anian with their great river to Alaska with its rivers Kwichpak and Yukon. No less wonderful

Map for Comparison.

is the correspondence between the Cogib River, flowing north-west from Lake Conibas into the Arctic Sea just beyond the strait of Anian, and the Mackenzie River, flowing from the Great Slave Lake. Compare the *mar dulce*, its strait and island, with Hudson Bay and the corresponding features. Let us also bear in mind how little is known even yet of the region above 80°; and not forget the part played by ice in those latitudes. Suppose certain of the complicated channels frozen, as they were likely enough to be; and suppose an exploring expedition, as well equipped and observant as were the best in those times, to have sailed through from ocean to ocean in 1598, and to

have made this map as a record of actual observations, and I have no hesitation in saying that the map would under those circumstances be regarded to-day as a marvel of accuracy. I have no theory to rest on these facts; I have no doubt that the geography depicted was purely imaginary, and the resemblance to reality accidental; yet to many intelligent men of the past and present these coincidences would be confirmation stronger than holy writ in support of whatever they might happen to be interested in. I shall not be surprised if even yet the accuracy of this map as herein published is made to confirm the authenticity of one or another of the fictions.

Felipe III. on his accession in 1598 is said to have found among the papers of his father a narrative of certain foreigners who from the coast of Newfoundland were driven by a storm into a great bay, and thence into a strait by which they passed into the South Sea, coming out at 48°, and finding a river which brought them to a magnificent city. This report furnished one of the motives for Vizcaino's expedition.[9] About the same time Hernando de los Rios sent to the king from Manila a notice of two ways for a quicker and safer navigation from Spain; one by a passage entering above Florida and penetrating to New Mexico, in latitude 45°, according to information obtained by the Jesuit Padre Sedeño and an Augustine friar who died at Manila; and the other by the strait of Anian, according to a written statement of Friar Martin de Rada, founded on information from Juan de Ribas to the effect that certain Portuguese passed through it to India and China, and from Ucheo to Lisbon in forty-five days.[10]

[9] Torquemada, *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 694, says the strait was that of Anian above Cape Mendocino. Navarrete, *Viages Apóc.*, 41; *Id.*, in *Sutil y Mex.*, *Viage*, xliii.–iv , consulted a MS. relation of Padre Ascension in the archives. Salmeron, *Relaciones*, 14–22, adds that one man, apparently of the same party, escaped after the rest had perished, reached Florida, and died at Vera Cruz, where he had a priest write down his account and sent it to ex-Governor Rio.

[10] Original in the archives of Seville, cited by Navarrete. Also alluded to in a letter of the king, 1602. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*

A postscript attached to the letter of Captain Lancaster on his East Indian voyage of 1600–1, but of doubtful authenticity, states that "the Passage to the East Indies lieth in 62.½. degrees by the North-west on the America side."[11] The historian Herrera, in his description of 1601, gives Quivira its proper situation far to the eastward of Cíbola; but his map is on a very small scale, without names for the most part. California is correctly delineated, and a broad ocean separates that region from Asia; but in latitude 45°, just above Cape Fortuna, the coast line turns abruptly to the E. N. E., extending in that direction to above latitude 60°, beyond which all is blank.[12]

Vizcaino's first expedition had been directed to the gulf, and contributed nothing to our subject; but his second voyage was on the outer coast up to about the limit of Cabrillo's earlier exploration. Of his actual discoveries in general and in detail enough is said elsewhere, and I have to note only those points connected with the Northern Mystery. For one of his main objects was to find the strait; and some of his discoveries were thought to have a bearing on that all-important search. The Carmelo, near Monterey, described as a river of some size, played a minor *rôle*, as we shall see in subsequent speculations; but of course the more important developments were farther north. These were by no means complicated. In January 1603 Vizcaino passed Cape Mendocino and reached, in 42°, a point which he called Cape Blanco de San Sebastian. Martin de Aguilar, in the other vessel, named a Cape Blanco in latitude 43°, near which he thought he saw the mouth of a large river, named at the time Santa Inés, but generally known later as Rio de Aguilar, which by reason of the current he was unable to enter. From the cape the coast trended north-west, according to Torquemada;[13]

[11] *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, i. 163; *Burney's Hist. Discov. South Sea*, ii. 109–10.

[12] *Herrera, Descripcion de Indias* (ed. 1730), i. 6, 24.

[13] *Torquemada*, i. 719, 725.

but north-east according to Padre Ascension, in a narrative distinct from that followed by Torquemada[14]—whence not a little confusion.

Torquemada also writes: "It is understood that this river is the one that leads to a great city discovered by the Dutch; and that this is the strait of Anian, by which the ship that found it passed from the North Sea to the South; and that without mistake in this region is the city named Quivira; and that it is of this place that the relation treats which his majesty read, and by which he was moved to this exploration."

And Ascension to the same effect: "Here is the head and end of the kingdom and Tierra Firme of California, and the beginning and entrance of the strait of Anian. If on that occasion there had been on the ship even fourteen soldiers in health, doubtless we should have ventured to explore and pass through this strait of Anian, since all had good intentions to do it." It does not matter here what river Aguilar saw, or whether he saw any. There was but little doubt that he had reached the entrance of the strait; and there are indications that Padre Ascension verbally and in various minor memorials gave much freer vent to his conjectural theories than in the writings that are extant in print. Vizcaino's map has no bearing on the Northern Mystery, showing only a short 'coast which leads to Cape Blanco,' extending north-eastward from Cape Mendocino.

The viceroy in 1602, writing to the king, expressed his opinion that there was very little prospect of finding mighty kingdoms in the north, deeming it likely that towns already found were types of those that would come to light; yet he attached considerable importance to further exploration with a view to finding the strait and settling all disputed questions respecting northern geography; and he thought Oñate

[14] *Ascension, Relacion*, 558 et seq.

in a position to solve the mystery at a minimum of expense.[15]

Oñate had occupied New Mexico, which he wished to utilize merely as a base of operations for more brilliant conquests. He was grievously disappointed that his ambitious schemes did not meet with royal and viceregal approbation. He had but little fondness for petty exploration; yet he undertook several in the hope of finding something to advance his greater projects. One he directed toward Quivira, without results; and another down the Colorado to its mouth.

It was in 1604 that Oñate made his trip from New Mexico to Zuñi, to Moqui, and thence across the modern Arizona to the Colorado by way of the Santa María, and thence down to the gulf. He had no idea of any connection between his Rio Colorado—really the Chiquito—which was said to run one hundred leagues through pine forests to California and the sea, and the real Colorado, which farther down he called Buena Esperanza or Rio del Tizon. From the Amacava, or Mojave, Indians who came down the Colorado to meet him at the mouth of the Santa María, Oñate heard of Lake Copalla, fourteen days north-west, where the Indians had golden ornaments and spoke Aztec—or at least they spoke so much like a native Mexican of the company that the visitors asked if he came not from Copalla. It is not impossible that the Mojaves had vague notions of Great Salt Lake; all the rest was imaginary.

Farther down the Colorado, to inquiries for the sea the natives "all replied by making signs from the west, north-west, north, north-east, and east, and said that thus the sea made the circle, and very near, since they said that on the other side of the river it was not more than four days, and that the gulf of California is not closed up, but a branch of the sea which

[15] *Nuevo Mexico, Discurso y Prop.* The viceroy Monterey seems to have a correct idea of Coronado's explorations; but he speaks of Quivira as being on the South Sea, according to current maps, and near Cape Mendocino and Anian.

corresponds to the North Sea and coast of Florida," thus clearly indicating not only the existence of a strait, but that the gulf was either a part of, or at least led to, that strait. These Indians also confirmed what had been learned before of Copalla and its gold. Silver and coral were likewise familiar to them, and were to be obtained not far off.

More wonderful still, the natives told of an island called Ziñogaba, rich in pearls. It was one day's voyage out in the sea, and reached in boats rigged with sails, all of which they pictured on the sand. And the island was ruled by Ciñacacohola, a giantess, who had a sister of immense size, but no male of her race with whom to mate. Another mysterious circumstance was that all the inhabitants were bald. Oñate's observations at the head of the gulf, where he found a splendid harbor, did not disprove the statement of the natives that the gulf extended northward behind a sierra to where the sea made a turn toward Florida.

It was well that Don Juan heard of wonders in this region; for when on his way to New Mexico a few years before, the venerable Padre Diego de Mercado had said to him at Tula: "By the life of Friar Diego there are great riches in the remote parts of New Mexico; but by the life of Friar Diego the present settlers will not possess them. It is not for them that God holds that wealth in reserve;" and so it proved. Still more to the point, the venerable and famous Santa Madre de María de Jesus, abbess of Santa Clara de Agreda, had said, "It is very probable that in the exploration of New Mexico there will be found a kingdom called Tidam, four hundred leagues from Mexico westward, or north-west, between New Mexico and Quivira; and if by chance there be an error, cosmography will aid the taking notice of other kingdoms, of the Chillescas, or of the Guismanes, or the Aburcos, which touch on that of Tidam."[16]

[16] *Salmeron, Relaciones*, 30–8, 47–55; *Niel, Apuntamientos*, 81–6. Cardona and Casanate heard from captains Marquéz and Vaca that they had struck the

John Smith when captured and saved by Pocahontas in 1607 was exploring the Chickahominy River for a passage to the South Sea.[17]

In 1609 Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado in Spain made the claim that twenty-one years before, in 1588, he had sailed through the strait of Anian from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Why he waited so long has never been explained. There is no reason to doubt that Maldonado was a real personage, or that he wrote the document in which the claim is made. Seventeen years later he published a cosmographical work, in which, however, he neither claimed to have discovered the strait nor gave a description agreeing at all with that in the earlier document.[18] A reputable Spanish writer, García de Silva y Figueroa, who took deep interest in the north-western problem, met Maldonado in Madrid in 1609. He was said to have been brought up in Flanders and the Hanseatic cities, claimed to have sailed through the strait, and was trying to interest certain government ministers in his project. Being questioned, he said the entrance of the strait was in latitude 78°, the outlet in latitude 75°, and that he had sailed through it in thirty days in November and December. On hearing his story, observing his manner, and examining some of his pretended sketches of Anian, Silva deemed him an

River Tizon in 36° 30′; that the famous port was in 35°; that the giant queen was wont to mix powdered pearl in her drink; and that south of the Tizon was a larger river, the Rio del Coral. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, ix. 24, 32–3. According to *Dobbs' Account*, 164–5, Tribaldus wrote to Hakluyt in 1605 that Oñate in 1602 discovered the great Northern River, and went from it to the 'famous lake of Conibas'—see Wytfliet's and Löw's maps—'where he pretended he saw a City of vast Extent, seven Leagues long, and two wide, the Houses separated from each other, and finely built and ornamented with fine Gardens. He said the numerous Inhabitants had all retired at his Approach, and fortified themselves in the Market-place or great Square.' In *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, i. 146, the giant queen is called Ciñacacohota, and the island Cinoguahua, which may be the correct forms, as Salmeron's typography is very doubtful.

[17] *George Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*, i. 129. The map in *Jefferys' Great Prob.*, 86, said to be taken from the 1st edition of *Torquemada*, 1603, is the same as that already mentioned under date of 1601 from *Herrera*.

[18] *Maldonado, Imagen del Mundo*, Alcalá, 1626.

*embustero*, utterly unworthy of credit.[19] For the discovery of the strait was only one of his wonderful secrets which he was disposed to exchange for money. He had mastered many of the problems of alchemy; and he had discovered the art of making a magnetic needle not subject to variation. For the disclosure of this last invention in one of his petitions to the king he asked, among other rewards, to be freed from a criminal prosecution in Granada; for it appears that he had been convicted of an attempt to sell his skill as a forger of old documents to a man involved in weighty lawsuits.[20] After a few years his true character as an unprincipled and visionary adventurer became known, and he left Madrid, to be heard of in person no more.

One of his memorials, however, came to light in 1775, and, in possession of the duque del Infantado, was copied by Muñoz in 1781.[21] It was not a narrative of the pretended voyage, but on the advantages of a new expedition, in which the said voyage was incidentally described. Its contents were first printed by Malo de Luque, in 1788;[22] and Maldonado's veracity was defended by M. Buache, the French geographer, in a paper read before the Academy of Sciences in

[19] *Silva y Figueroa, Comentarios*, as quoted by Navarrete.

[20] *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 71–101. This is by far the most important authority on this topic; and, indeed, on the general subject of which it treats. The full title is: *Examen historico-crítico de los Viages y Descubrimientos Apócrifos del Capitan Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, de Juan de Fuca, y del Almirante Bartolomé de Fonte. Memoria comenzada por D. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, y arreglada y concluida por D. Eustaquio Fernandez de Navarrete. Año de 1848*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd. Hist.* xv. 7–363. This work contains much material on actual as well as apocryphal voyages, including treatises on Malaspina's and other expeditions, not found elsewhere in print. It is an elaboration of the elder Navarrete's introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil y Mexicana*. Notwithstanding its great importance I do not find that any late writer on these topics has cited this work.

[21] *Maldonado, Relacion del descubrimiento del Estrecho de Anian, que hice yo, el capitan Lorencio Ferrer Maldonado, el año 1588, en la cual está la órden de la navegacion y la dispusicion del sitio y el modo de fortalecerlo, y así mismo las utilidades desta navegacion, y los daños, que de no hacerla, se siguen*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, v. 420–47. The document is not dated, but in it the author speaks of 'el año pasado de 1608,' and of 'este año de 1609.' This document was seen by Nicolao Antonio, *Bib. Hisp. Nova* (ed. 1788), ii. 3, before 1672, and from this source is cited by Pinelo in 1738. *Epitome*, ii. 608.

[22] *Hist. establecimientos ultra marinos*, iv. 24.

1790. The document was adversely criticised before 1800 by Malaspina, the navigator, and Ciriaco Cevallos;[23] also by Navarrete in 1802,[24] and Humboldt and others. In 1811 Carlo Amoretti, the librarian of the Ambrosian Library of Milan, found in its collection another original, or a contemporaneous copy, of Maldonado's memorial, which he published with the original maps, and with an elaborate argument to prove that the voyage was authentic.[25] Notwithstanding the ingenuity of Amoretti's special pleading, his views have not been generally accepted, and the voyage is still regarded as apocryphal.[26]

[23] *Malaspina, Disertacion sobre la legitimidad de la navegacion hecha en 1588 por Ferrer Maldonado*, etc., in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xv. 228–50. Written before 1800, but not printed until 1849. The refutation of D. Ciriaco Cevallos is stated in an editorial note to have been printed in Isla de Leon, 1798.

[24] *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, Introd., xlix.–lii.

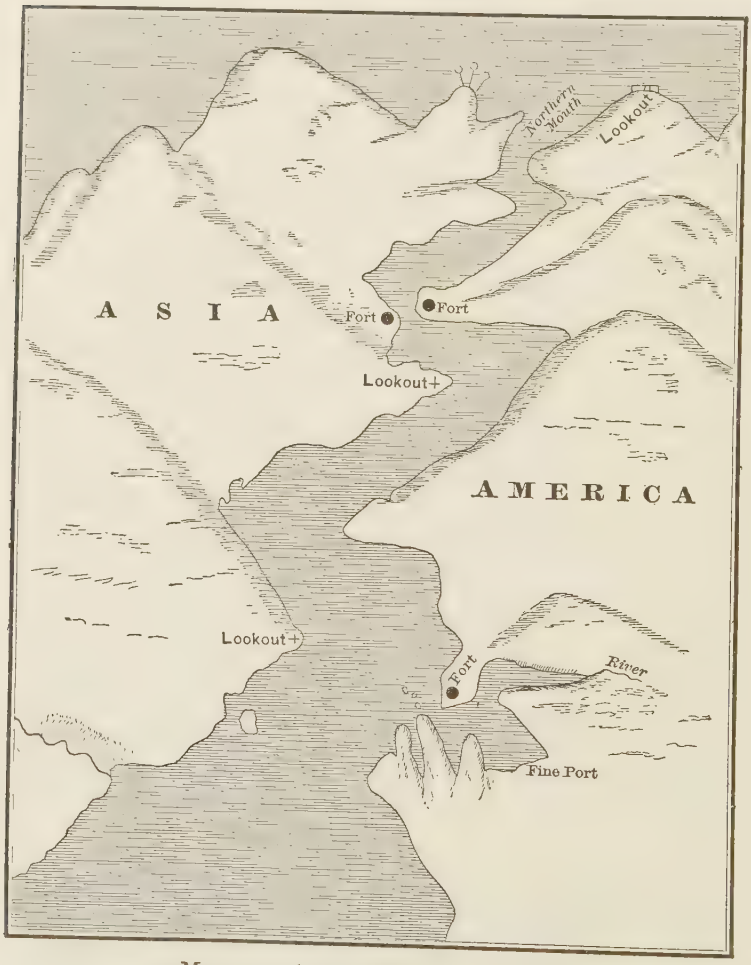
[25] *Amoretti, Viaggio del Mare Atlantico al Pacifico*, etc. Milan, 1811. I have used the following French edition: *Amoretti, Voyage de la mer Atlantique a l'océan Pacifique par le nord-ouest dans la mer glaciale par le Capitaine Laurent Ferrer Maldonado l'an mdlxxxviii. Traduit d'un manuscrit Espagnol et suivi d'un discours qui en démontre l'authenticité et la véracité.* Plaisance, 1812. Sm. 4to; three pl., containing twelve maps. The *Voyage* is on pp. 1–19, and the *Discours* on pp. 21–84.

[26] The authorities I have cited, particularly Navarrete and Amoretti, contain substantially all that need be said on the subject. To Navarrete's work are attached, pp. 251–61, as Appendix No. 3, some extracts from the *Gaceta de Madrid*, February 18, 1812, and the *Biblióteca Británica*, Nos. 431, 457–8, containing criticisms on Amoretti's work, especially by Baron Lindenau. The latter published a book on the subject. *Lindenau, Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, etc. Gotha, 1812. Malte-Brun, *Annales des Voy.*, xix. 390–6, in reviewing the works of Amoretti and Lindenau, approves the conclusions of the latter that Maldonado's story was fiction. But Lindenau thinks that Maldonado visited Hudson Bay, imagining the rest, and Malte-Brun thinks it possible that he had vague traditions from somebody who had actually penetrated the frozen ocean. In *Id.*, xxi. 393–4, the French editor notices a newspaper reply of Amoretti to Lindenau as follows: 'Si Maldonado a mal calculé les latitudes et les longitudes de manière à faire passer son vaisseau par-dessus le continent, c'est, selon M. Amoretti, une petite erreur pardonnable à un marin du seizième siècle. Si ce marin a évidemment copié de cartes antérieures à son voyage, avec toutes les fautes, c'est une preuve de la réalité de son voyage. Si, par malheur, sa description physique des lieux qu'il prétend avoir vus est contraire à tout ce qu'en disent les navigateurs modernes, c'est parce qu'apparemment *un tremblement de terre en a changé l'état!*—Tout cela est, comme on voit, totalement étranger à la géographie critique de nos jours; une semblable manière d'argumenter n'admet et n'exige aucune réponse.' In *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xi. 8–28, Lapie defends Maldonado's voyage, making wild work with northern geography, as will be apparent from his map, which I shall have occasion to reproduce. The *Quarterly Review*, xvi. 144–53, of 1817 shows the Amoretti document—really the only one existing on the subject, or a copy of the only one—to be an absurdly inaccurate forgery; but at the same time has no doubt that Maldonado's narrative, as seen by Antonio, etc., was a genuine account of an actual voyage to the Pacific *via* Cape Horn and up to Cook Inlet, which

Maldonado's story was briefly as follows: In February, 1588, having come from Spain or Portugal, guided by the notes of a Portuguese pilot named João Martinez, who it seems had made the voyage before, he entered the strait of Labrador in latitude 60°. His course after this entrance was 80 leagues N. W. up to latitude 64°; thence N. 120 leagues to latitude 72°; N. W. 90 leagues to nearly latitude 75°, where the strait ends, being from 20 to 40 leagues wide, with numerous ports, and its banks inhabited to 73°. Emerging into the Polar Sea at the beginning of March, he found the weather cold and stormy. Water froze on the ship and rigging; but ice was not encountered in any more troublesome form. The route was now W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. W. for 350 leagues to 71°, where on the return high land was found, and supposed to be a part of New Spain; thence he sailed W. S. W. 440 leagues more, to the strait of Anian, in 60°. He remained in this region during the months of April, May, and part of June, during which time he passed through the strait—fifteen leagues long, with six turns, less than one eighth of a league wide at the north entrance and over one fourth of a league at the south; coasted America for more than 100 leagues S. W. to 55°; thence sailed W. for four days, or 120 leagues, to a high mountainous coast; and returned north-westerly to and through the strait. While in a grand port at the southern entrance a vessel of eight hundred tons approached laden with china goods. The men were probably Muscovites, or Hanseatics, and made them-

was mistaken for the strait of Anian! The *N. Am. Review*, xlviii. 122, of 1839 adopts the *Quarterly's* view, so far as the authenticity of Maldonado's voyage is concerned. Malte-Brun, *Précis Géog.*, vi. 302–3, repeats his views as already cited. Greenhow, *Hist. Or. and Cal.*, 79–83, pronounces the story a fiction, but deems it not improbable, as in the *Quarterly*, that some unknown voyage made up the Pacific coast to Cook Inlet may have served as a foundation. In *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, v. 167–73, is a translation of the important parts of the narrative, with remarks thereon and references to various authorities. The document is regarded as a forgery by some Flemming, who attributed the voyage to Maldonado. *Barrow's Chron. Hist. Voy.*, 1818, 1848, contains an English translation of Maldonado's relation with the maps. Twiss, *Hist. Or.*, 64–6, gives a *résumé* from various authorities.

selves understood in Latin, but were suspicious and not inclined to be communicative. They came from a great city called Robr, Roba, or some such name, belonging to the king of Tartary. Maldonado returned




MALDONADO'S STRAIT OF ANIAN, 1609.

by the same route in June and July, and not only was not impeded by ice, but found it—the sun never setting at all—hotter than in the hottest parts of Spain.

The country round the strait of Anian is described in much detail. I annex the only one of the five sketches which has any interest. It may be compared with the map of Urbano Monti, already given. It will be noticed how carefully the sites for needed fortifications are pointed out. I am obliged to give to this and the other fictitious voyages more space than they merit; but my limits by no means permit me to give even a *résumé* of Maldonado's long descriptions; still less of the arguments that have been founded thereon. These arguments consist on the one side of resemblances, and on the other of discrepancies pointed out between the navigator's descriptions and the facts reported by later visitors to Bering Strait down to the time the argument was made. At present the resemblances may be said to consist solely in the fact that the Polar Sea actually affords an interoceanic passage by way of Bering Strait. The most startling discrepancies are that Maldonado's strait, as described and pictured, bears not the slightest likeness in length, width, and general features to the reality; that it is located some three hundred miles too far south; that Alaska's mild temperature, with its corresponding fruits and animals, has in later times disappeared; that Maldonado's distances make the longitude of the strait some 60° too far east—just as did the maps of his time; that throughout the voyage his distances and latitudes do not agree; and finally that oppressive heat and absence of ice have not in later times been noted as a leading characteristic of the waters above 70°. I give here the map of M. le Chevalier Lapie, 1821, which will also be referred to later to illustrate another voyage, to show his theory of Maldonado's route. The real strait of Anian, or Bering, leads into the frozen ocean north of Kiteguen, which is a western prolongation of Greenland; while Maldonado's strait was not Anian at all, but a passage leading from Norton Sound into a polar sea south of Kiteguen and connected in the

east with the straits of Davis and Hudson! The route in the west is shown by a dotted line.

The reader has no need of arguments in this matter. Starting with a strong presumption, arising from the nature of the pretended discovery and from the

LAPIE'S MAP, 1821.

spirit of the times, that Maldonado's claim is false, he will be led from presumption to conviction when the time that elapsed between the voyage and the narrative is noted, and particularly when he learns the man's reputation as liar and forger. On reading

the narrative he will not be likely to change his opinion, if he compares Maldonado's pleasure trip over sunny seas with the efforts of later navigators in the same waters. And finally, on recalling some of the maps that have been reproduced in these pages, which—or others of similar nature—Maldonado doubtless saw, he will conclude that an ingenious liar might have told a much more plausible story, and will be surprised that intelligent men should ever have defended the authenticity of such a voyage. There is not the slightest necessity to suppose, as some have done, that the *embustero* visited Hudson Bay, or made a voyage in the Pacific, or heard of Japanese navigations. His story was a lie pure and simple, manufactured in Spain from his imagination, and not plausible enough to deceive even men who on that topic were willing to be deceived.

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE NORTHERN MYSTERY—CONCLUSION.

### 1610–1800.

Spanish Junta—García de Silva—A New Phase—California once more an Island—Cardona—Dutch Map—Briggs' Treatise—Salmeron—Delgado's Voyage—De Laet—Winnepegs, or Men of the Sea—Nicolet—Botello and Casanate on Northern Geography—D'Avity—Acle—Melguer—An Exact Description—Ogilby—Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle—Peche—Teguayo—Paredes—Dampier—Luyt—La Hontan—Kino and Mange—Island or Peninsula?—Maps of Hacke, Heylyn, and Harris—Bartholomew de Fonte's Fictitious Letter—De l'Isle and Buache—Bibliography of a Hoax—Rogers—Velarde—Niel—Ugarte's Voyage—California a Peninsula again—Shelvocke—Coxe—Dobbs—Sedelmair—Vetancurt—Ellis—New Mouth for the Colorado—Venegas—Jefferys—Engel—Carver—End of the Mystery.

During these early years of the seventeenth century so much alarm was felt in Spain lest South Sea supremacy should be lost through the discovery of a strait that a junta was formed by the ministers of the court of Felipe III. with a view to prevent further search for the passage by the north-west, or north-east, and to send an embassy to England to urge the matter. It would be interesting to study the discussions of this junta; but the records are not extant, nor do we know how the embassy was received. It appears, however, that García de Silva, and probably others, opposed all restrictive measures, urging that exploration should be encouraged, and expressing a belief that the finding of a strait in the far north would in no way injure Spain, since it would not open a quicker or safer route to the Pacific, on account of



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the difficulties and danger attending the navigation of the polar seas. It is evident that the prevalence of this opinion among those highest in authority and those best qualified to judge in the matter was one of the chief causes for the official inaction of the next century and a half. There was no end of vague projects urged upon the government by private adventurers, oftener in America than in Spain; but actual results were confined for the most part to the pearl coast of the Californian gulf. In the highest Spanish official circles the Northern Mystery had well nigh lost its charm.[1]

Since, however, the work of actual exploration was confined to the gulf, a large portion of the Mystery was transferred to that region, and had its home there for many years, so far as Spanish views were concerned. Since 1540 for nearly a century the Californian peninsula and gulf had been described and mapped in very nearly their true positions and proportions; but all this was now to be changed. Lok in 1582, for no reason that can be known, had almost separated the peninsula from the main at a point in about latitude 45°, where he turned the coast abruptly eastward. Then Padre Ascension, in connection with the voyage of Vizcaino in 1603, had also given currency to the eastward trend, and seems, in conversation and written memorials, to have favored the idea that Aguilar's river was not only the entrance to the Anian Strait, but might also be connected with the gulf.[2] Next Oñate, in 1604, from observations and from Indian reports at the mouth of the Colorado, concluded

[1] *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 204–5; *Id.*, in *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, lxviii.–ix.; *Silva, Comentarios*, 1618, which seems not to have been printed until 1782, in *Hist. del Gran Tamorlan. Magin, Hist. Univ. des Indes*, 1611, contains the Wytfliet-Ptolemy maps that have already been noticed and reproduced from the originals of 1597. Magin's work is in the Mercantile Library of San Francisco, where is also a 1628 edition of *Linschoten, Voyage*, with a map of the northern countries, showing no new features.

[2] At any rate he clearly announced this view of the subject in 1620, *Ascension, Relacion*, 543–4, urging the occupation of California as a step toward the conquest of Anian, Quivira, etc.

that the gulf waters extended northward and eastward to the Atlantic, thus confirming Ascension's theory. And finally, in or about 1617, Nicolás de Cardona, who had talked with some of Oñate's officers, and who in 1615 had himself navigated the gulf—believing himself to have reached 34°, noting deep open water stretching far before him, and understanding from Oñate's men that the mouth of the Tizon was in 35°—boldly declared his belief that California was an island, and spoke of the main as the Contra Costa de Florida.[3] Cardona even fancied the gulf to be the strait of Anian itself, the northern outlet being perhaps a mere branch; and he had personally heard from the natives confirmation of the old tales about Quivira and the great lake towns. These rumors were convenient incentives for voyages which might afford opportunities for pearl-fishing.

The idea of California as an island once conceived, it soon became deep-rooted and popular. The next thing in order was for some adventurous Fuca or Maldonado to sail round it; and this seems to have been done in 1620. I have not been able to trace this story, however, to a definite origin. The real source of the new geographical idea as related in my text has not been known to modern writers.[4] From this

[3] *Cardona, Relacion del descubrimiento del Reino de la California;* and similar views in a document written some years later. *Cardona, Memorial sobre sus descubrimientos en la California;* both in *Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 30–57. These are memorials urging the importance of renewed efforts. The author begins: 'California is a far extended kingdom of which the end is only known by geographical conjectures and demonstrative notices, which make it an island stretching from N. W. to S. E., forming a mediterranean sea adjacent to...the incógnita contracosta de la Florida.' In 44°, according to Vizcaino and Ascension, the coast makes a turn to the east, 'y hasta hoy no se sabe á donde vá á parar.' Ancient and modern writers have closed the sea in 28°, but this seems an error. 'Luego la California es isla muy grande; y que este seno ó brazo de mar es el estrecho que llaman de Anian.' 'The Indians both of California and of the Florida main gave me many reports of a very great lake with many towns, with a king who wears a crown; and from the lake much gold is taken—and there are many cities with towers, one of them called Quivira; bearded men; horses,' etc. 'California is one of the richest lands in the world, with silver, gold, pearls,' etc.

[4] According to *Ogilby's Amer.*, 389–90, *Heylyn's Cosmography*, 968, and some other works, some adventurers on the coast in 1620 accidentally fell upon a strait, through which they were carried by the force of the current into the

time many, but not all, mapped and described California as an island, extending to Cape Blanco, in latitude 44°. But from the same period map-makers began to neglect the extreme north, to forget for the most part the details introduced so freely by Wytfliet, Löw, and others, and to leave all north of the great island a blank. I reproduce a map published by Purchas in 1625, which is essentially the same as a Dutch map of 1624.[5] It will be noticed that there are many radical changes besides that of changing the peninsula into an island; and chiefly that the New Mexican names from Coronado no longer appear on the Californian coast, but only such as are found in the narratives of actual voyagers. The name New Mexico appears for the first time, and on a Rio del Norte, though the river still flows from the great lake and into western waters. Traces are seen of Drake's voyage, though New Albion does not yet appear; and of Oñate's river discoveries. Astablan should be Aztatlan; but Rey Coromedo, Laqueo de Oro, and Rio

gulf of California, thus breaking up the peninsular theory. According to an inscription on a map of 1625 in Purchas, noticed later, California was proved an island by a Spanish chart taken by the Dutch. This is credited to *Janssonius, Monde Maritime*, by De l'Isle, in *Voyages au Nord, Recueil*, iii. 272–3, who also relates that his son was told by Froger that he had seen a pilot who assured him he had sailed round California. Greenhow, *Hist. Or. and Cal.*, 94, says it was on the strength of a statement made by the captain of a Manila ship in 1620 that Aguilar's river was thought to be an entrance to the gulf. Also *Twiss' Or. Question*, 63.

[5] *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iii. 852–3; *West-Indische Spieghel*, 65. The Dutch map is on Mercator's projection, differs somewhat in longitudes, and has vaguely outlined in the north between 50° and 60° a strait leading north into vacuity. Purchas' map is attached to *A Treatise of the North-west passage*, by Master Briggs, who mentions among the 'excellent prerogatives' of Virginia its position 'in respect of the South Sea, which lyeth on the West and North-west side of *Virginia*, on the other side of the Mountaines beyond our Falls, and openeth a free and faire passage to...China.' For by following up the rivers N. W. from Henrico City doubtless the mountains may be reached which send rivers into Hudson Bay. And Button's bay is nearly as far west as the Cape of California. Apparently Briggs' 'faire passage' from Virginia was by way of Hudson Bay! He mentions the map copied from one brought out of Holland, perhaps the *Spieghel*, and he thinks the old rumors of great continental stretches, of Quivira, etc., 'are cunningly set downe by some vpon set purpose to put vs out of the right way.' He says that Mercator was 'abused by a Map sent vnto him, of four *Euripi* meeting about the North Pole; which now are found to bee all turned into a mayne Icie Sea;' and that Gali has destroyed the old illusion that Cape Mendocino was 1400 leagues from the Cape of California.

Anguchi are unexplained names. Nothing is shown in the far north-west; though in the Dutch original a strait is vaguely outlined. It is noticeable that Purchas has another map—that of Hondius, introduced

Dutch Map, 1624–5.

in place of Herrera's—which makes California a peninsula, and is in fact substantially the same as those of Ortelius and Mercator, except that the New Mexican

towns Cicuic, Tiguex, and Quivira no longer appear on the coast, or anywhere else. Quivira the province is however retained. The strait runs north from Cape Fortuna, in latitude 55°.[6]

In 1626 Padre Zárate Salmeron spoke concerning the Northern Mystery in connection with his history of New Mexico. He tells how two Spanish fishing-vessels at Newfoundland were carried by a gale into the strait, one being driven into a river far southward to a great walled city, where the crew's adventures are given in some detail. During the return most of them perished from cold, but the vessel reached Florida, and one of the men came to Mexico in time to tell his story before dying.[7] Salmeron has no doubt that this was the city Coronado saw, that Aguilar would have seen had he entered the river, and "the same that Anian saw, and discovered, and reported to his Majesty"! The proper way to explore Quivira was either by land from New Mexico or by water from Florida. The padre's idea was that the St Lawrence extended to a point very near New Mexico; but he was sure there existed no strait between the latter and Florida. The St Lawrence is also called Strait of the Three Brothers, and was thought to extend from ocean to ocean. He made many inquiries among the natives about the lake of Copalla, whence came the ancient Aztecs, and he had no doubt of its existence. It might be reached from New Mexico by way of the Rio Chama and the Navajo country, thence following a great river through a level and fertile country; or by way of Moqui, up the Rio Buena Esperanza.[8]

[6] *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 857. The general map on the frontispiece of vol. i. also makes California a peninsula.

[7] Padre Velarde, *Descrip. Hist.*, 352, in 1716 had a narrative of what was perhaps the same voyage. He makes Miguel Delgado commander of the two vessels and the date 1601. The vessel went w. and then s. from Newfoundland for 300 leagues before reaching the river. All arrived sick at Habana, and most of them died. Velarde thinks this was probably not Anian, but another strait.

[8] *Salmeron, Relaciones*, 21–4, 38–9, 47–9.

In Joannes de Laet's map of 1633 all above Cape Mendocino, in 43°, is left blank. California is a peninsula, with the gulf extending to 35°, with a large island at its head, but there is no attempt to delineate the rivers. Nova Albion is in 40°, at Cape Fortunas, while at Cape San Martin, in 37°, is Seyo, a name of unexplained origin. These, with California and Novo Mexico, are the only inland names. In his text Laet explains that California is the vaguely known region stretching north-west to the possible strait of Anian, but whether it was island or peninsula he was not quite certain. Quivira is described from Gomara and Herrera; and Laet notes from Tribaldus that Oñate reached Lake Conibas, with its grand buildings.[9]

Meanwhile in Canada the French were hearing many rumors of the western nation of Winnipegs, or 'Men of the Sea,' with whom were wont to trade not only the Canadian Indians but also certain hairless and beardless people who came in large canoes upon the 'great water.' There was much reason to suppose these latter, really the Sioux, to be Chinese or Japanese. And in 1634–5 Jean Nicolet was sent by Champlain to visit the people of Ouinipeg, and perhaps to reach the great water. He had no difficulty in penetrating to the home of the tribe beyond Lake Michigan, on Green Bay and Fox River; and he went even farther, to a point where, hearing of the 'great water,' the Wisconsin flowing into the Mississippi, he believed himself to be within three days of the sea.[10]

If the gulf was part of the famous passage to the Atlantic, it was obviously important that Spain should know it; and indeed some action was taken on the matter in Mexico, in consequence of which a somewhat elaborate report was made in 1636 by Alonso Botello y Serrano and Pedro Porter y Casanate, the substance being repeated by the latter in

[9] *Laet, Novus Orbis*, 291, 302–6.

[10] See *Butterfield's Hist. Discov. of the Northwest*, Cincinnati, 1881, p. 37 et seq., and 67 et seq., with references to original Jesuit relations.

a later document.[11] The purport of this report was, that respecting northern geography nothing was extant and accessible but vague and contradictory statements, conveying no actual information; that it was of the greatest importance for the interests of both God and the king that the truth should be learned by exploration, especially in the matter of a not improbable interoceanic communication by the gulf.[12] Yet no immediate steps were taken in consequence of this investigation.

One of the maps in Pierre D'Avity's grand work of 1637 was decidedly behind its time; for it not only made California a peninsula, but placed Quivira on the coast, and retained the old western trend of the

[11] *Botello y Serrano* and *Porter y Casanate, Declaracion que hicieron en 17 de set., 1636—de las conveniencias que se seguiran de descubrir como se comunica por la California el mar del sur con el del N.* In *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xv. 215–27, with a list of books and documents consulted, some of which latter are no longer extant. *Casanate, Memorial del Almirante al Rey, recomendando una nueva Espedicion á la California*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 19–29.

[12] In past reports, 'grande incertidumbre, poca fijez, contradicciones de unos á otros sin fundarse los mas, ni ajustarse á las circunstancias.' 'We find opinions to be various, and definitions diverse respecting this discovery. Some make California an island, others mainland; some put a strait of Anian, others do not; one marks out a passage to Spain by way of Florida, putting a strait in California in 40°; another indicates Jacal, with its strait and the new northern sea assuring the navigation to Spain. Others doubt this, saying that these straits lead up to so high a latitude that the passage is impossible, by reason of cold. Some say this *ensenada* (the gulf?) runs N. W., others N., others N. E., and some that it ends in three rivers flowing down from lofty sierras. Many put Cape Mendocino in 40°, or 42°; and one modern scientific author puts one Cape Mendocino in 40° and another in 50°; others, knowing nothing of latitudes, describe vast reaches of territory from east to west not visited... We find no uniform course, no certain distance, no true latitude, sounding to undeceive, nor perspective to enlighten.' The finding of the passage will facilitate military and commercial communication with Spain; and in the opinion of different persons it will afford a means of succoring New Mexico, reveal the dwelling-place of white and clothed men, lead to the discovery of *La gran Quivira*, the towns of the crowned king, island of the giantess, lake of gold, rivers Tizon and Coral. By it the foe may be harassed on both seas and forced to abandon Jacal, and prevented from attacking California and drawing aid from Florida. 'If there is a strait, who can doubt that the foe knows it? The Conde del Valle says a Dutch vessel entered the strait of Anian, and that the enemy is advancing from Jacal day by day.' A priest saw seven ships in the gulf; Iturbi and Cardona had their vessels captured; Drake reached Mendocino; Cavendish took the *Santa Anna;* it is said that vessels leave the Atlantic coast ballasted with silver ore; it was sworn in Guadalajara that the French were in search of the strait, and had a plan of it; one man thought their leader was a Dutch pilot. Casanate in his memorial repeats most of the same matters. He also notes that Captain Martin de Vilay going north from Sinaloa found a walled city with good streets, large buildings, etc.

seaboard to Cape Mendocino, with most of the old names. A novel arrangement of the lakes in New Mexico will be noticed. I append a reduced copy, omitting most of the names. In his text D'Avity names Berg as the northernmost province of America, and declares that the coasts of Quivira are "bien peu connus," being somewhat out of the line of ordinary navigation.[13]

D'Avity's Map, 1637.

About the middle of the century, according to Padre Tello, a Flemish man named Acle sold at Compostela, Jalisco, a piece of cloth which he said he had bought forty days before in London. But this discoverer of Anian shot a Spaniard and fled, carrying his secret with him. It was in 1660 that the Portuguese Melguer is vaguely reported to have sailed from Japan to Lisbon through the strait of Anian and the frozen sea.[14]

Governor Diego de Peñalosa made a trip from

[13] *D'Avity, Le Monde*, Paris, 1637, general map of the world. In *Id., Description Generale de l'Amérique*, which is pt. ii. of the preceding, the map of America is much improved; the coast trend is N. W.; Quivira and New Albion are omitted; the old lake with its seven cities is restored; and the lake from which the St Lawrence flows is moved some 2000 miles eastward. A great island of Paxaros lies off the coast, in about 34°; Totonteac, Cíbola, and California are the provinces named; and the coast names are as in many earlier maps.

[14] *Mota Padilla, Hist. N. Galicia*, 74; *Amoretti, Voy. Maldonado*, 39, 75.

New Mexico in 1662, of which Padre Freytas wrote the diary, and in which he claimed to have reached the original Quivira, far to the north-east of Santa Fé. A memorial seeking license for northern conquest was sent to the king with the narrative, which was therefore filled with every imaginary wonder of the Northern Mystery that might favor his enterprise. Most of his statements were false, even if the whole account was not pure fiction. The whole region was a veritable paradise, abounding in all desirable products; and the city of Quivira was of great extent. Several thousand houses of from two to four stories were counted in the two leagues of streets traversed; and a party sent to explore could not reach the end of the town. The natives told also of provinces beyond, of Thegüayo, the province of the Ahijados, and others, so rich that ordinary dishes were made of silver and gold—to obtain which wealth the English, French, and Dutch were straining every nerve. It behooved Spain to act promptly. All the men from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America who had visited this land were waiting impatiently for Don Diego to be made duke, marquis, and count, with command over the new dominion. It was on the sea, not more than two hundred and fifty leagues from Santa Fé on the west, north, and east; and ships might visit it freely. Zaldíbar's visit to the west in 1618 is mentioned in confirmation, though he did not dare to penetrate to the marvels reported to him, by reason of terrible giants to be passed; at which cowardice Padre Lázaro protested, as did nature, finding expression in an earthquake.[15]

[15] *Freytas, Relacion del descubrimiento del pais y ciudad de Quivira. Echo por D. Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa*, in *Shea's Exped. of Peñalosa.* 'En el comun sentir todo lo que hasta oy está conquistado y poblado debaxo del nombre de America es sombra en comparacion de lo que contiene esta nueva parte del mundo nuevo amenazada de conquistar por los Franceses que confinan con ella, y de los Yngleses y Olandeses que tanto la desean, aunque no lo consiguiran los vnos ni los otros, porque ignoran el Arte de conquistar.' I have more to say of Peñalosa's expedition and career elsewhere. Nothing but a full reproduction would do justice to the absurdities of the narrative.

An 'exact description' of America was published in 1655. The author admits that the question of a separation or non-separation from Asia is too deep for him. The prevalent opinion seems to be that America is an island, separated from Anian, a province of Tartary, by the strait of that name. Noting the old reports about its having been navigated, the writer says: "But of what credit these testimonies shall be thought, for ought I know, the Reader must judge. I onely report them as I finde them...I fear the Proverb may somewhat prevail upon the English in

OGILBY'S MAP, 1671.

this point, Quod volumus facilè credimus." Strait or no strait, however, California 'in its largest sense' includes all the north-west region, and is divided into four provinces: Quivira, in the extreme north—to the strait, if there be one, or else to Tartary—with Acuco, Tiguex, and Cicuic, as its chief towns; Cíbola, lying between Quivira and Nueva Galicia; California proper, that is, the southern part of the island below

38°; and New Albion, that part of the island above 38° up to Cape Blanco. The people of Cathay and China "doe trade with the Maritime parts and People of Quivira." The great lake of Totonteac is the most noteworthy feature.[16] I copy the northern portion of Ogilby's map of 1671, which is in most respects identical with that of 1625 from Purchas. The proper location of Quivira in the north-east, and the small extent of land between Hudson Bay and the Pacific are points that attract attention.[17]

Père Marquette, passing down the Mississippi in 1673, noted the mouth of the Missouri, and wrote, "through this I hope to reach the gulf of California, and thence the East Indies;" for the Indians spoke of a meadow five or six days up the river, whence a stream ran westward. "If God gives me health I do not despair of one day making the discovery." And La Salle adopted the idea that the South Sea might be reached by ascending one of the great rivers; though the size of those rivers must have shown the probable distance to the Pacific to be much greater than had been supposed.[18] It was a few years later that Thomas Peche sailed from the Philippines northward, and one hundred and twenty leagues into the strait of Anian, but was forced to return down the American coast. Presumably there was not the slightest foundation for the story.[19]

About 1686, the attention of Spain having been called anew to reports of northern wealth, and the

[16] *America, an Exact Description*, London, 1655, pp. 89–92, 291–303. Jansz, or Blaeu, *America, qvæ est Geographiæ Blavianæ Pars Qvinta* (vol. xi. of his Atlas Major), Amstelædami, 1662, gives to California the same broad extent.

[17] *Ogilby's America*, London, 1671, general map, text, 298 et seq., where is the usual arrangement of the provinces of Quivira, Cíbola, California, and New Albion; but the author seems to be in much doubt about their relative positions. In the southern portions of the map, not copied, the region east of the Rio del Norte is called N. Mexico; and Tiguas, Socorro, and other names are given along the river; while farther east is N. Granada, with the towns of Zuny, Moqui, etc. See also *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 204 et seq.; *Id., Unbekante Neue Welt*, 231 et seq.; all three works being in substance the same.

[18] *Sparks' Life of Marquette; N. Amer. Review*, January 1839, 89. In 1680–2 Père Hennepin went up the Mississippi to the falls of St Anthony, while La Salle himself went down that river to the gulf.

[19] *Seixas y Lovera, Theatro Naval*, cited in *Jefferys' Great Prob.*, 18–19.

king having issued a cédula on the subject in 1678, Padre Alonso de Paredes, who had been a missionary in New Mexico, wrote a report on the subject not calculated to excite enthusiasm. Quivira he placed somewhere in Texas, though it might extend far northward. There was no evidence of gold or great cities there. Of Teguayo, or Tehuayo, a famous name now that had perhaps been current for a half century, nothing was known beyond Indian reports that it was a populous kingdom containing a great lake.[20] In 1686 also the English corsair Swan was on the coast. His chronicler, Dampier, could not satisfy himself whether California was an island or a peninsula; nor did he think the Spaniards desired to have the lake of California explored, lest foreigners should reach New Mexico, as Spaniards had escaped from New Mexico by that way at the late insurrection.[21]

Baron la Hontan made his famous imaginary journey to the far west in 1688. He ascended Long River, a tributary of the Mississippi, for some eighty days, passing natives more civilized than any at the east. He did not reach the head of the river, which was said to lead to a great salt lake, with populous

[20] *Paredes, Utiles y Curiosas Noticias del Nuevo-Mexico, Cibola y otras naciones confinantes. La antigua tradicion de Copala*, etc., 211–25. He says that Padre Benavides in his memorial of 1630 had spoken of the reported gold and silver of Teguayo and Quivira, and ex-Governor Peñalosa had made a proposition to discover and conquer those provinces, calling Teguayo *Tatago*. Paredes says that Teguayo is 180 leagues N. of the Yuta country, which is 60 leagues N. of Santa Fé. The strait of Anian is in 70°, the gulf of the same name being N. E. in the region of Labrador. Quivira is S. E. ¼ E., toward the bay of Espíritu Santo. See also *Freytas, Relacion.*

[21] *Dampier's New Voyage*, i. 264, 272. One map seems disposed to make California a peninsula, as indeed he says the latest Spanish charts represent it. His general map, i. frontispiece, makes California an island, and is for the most part like the Ogilby map, save that the north end of the island has three prongs, separated by small bays. The source of the St Lawrence is left open in a way to suggest a sea or passage to the sea. But a novelty is a vague coast stretching between 40° and 50° from near the end of California westward, named Compagnies Land, and separated from Asia just above Japan by a strait of Uries. This was published in 1699. In *Luyt, Introductio ad Geographiam*, 692, 704, are two maps of 1692, which from their resemblance to the others need not be copied; but there are some peculiar features. On the N. end of the island are two bays and points with the names *Tolaago* and *R. de Estiete;* while on the main opposite, in 48°, is a long square projection called *Agubela de Cato*, with a group of islands in the strait between. (See Aa's map of 1707, which is similar in these respects.) In the interior round the

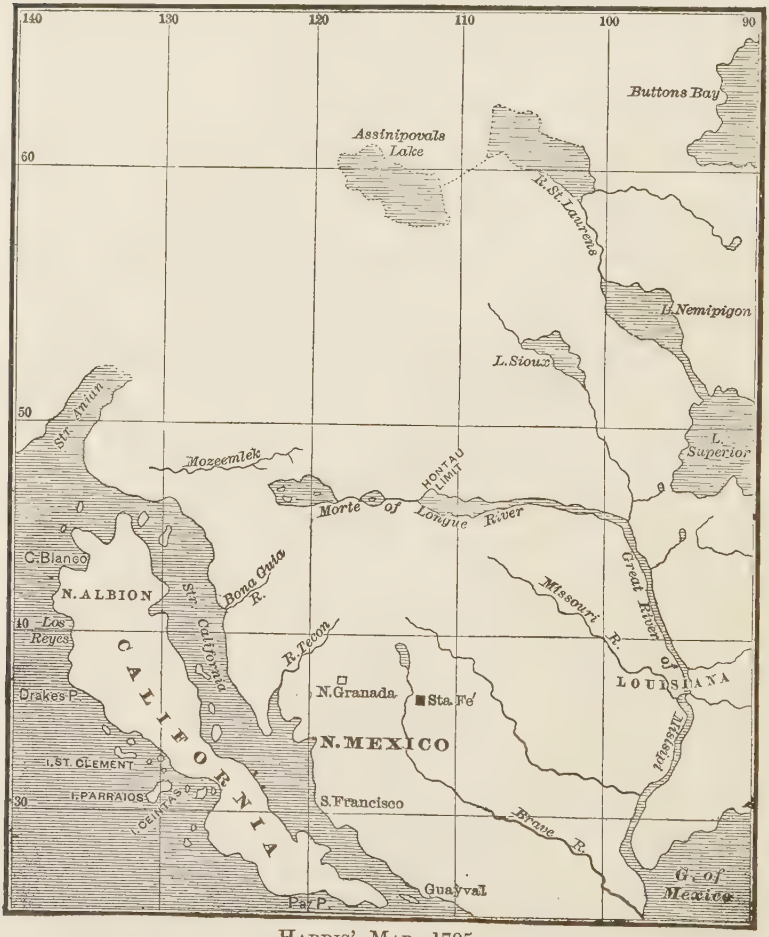
cities and large vessels. His story was pure fiction in all that related to Long River and the far west.[22]

In the last decade of the century Padre Kino began his labors in Pimería Alta. Though his chief object was the salvation of souls, both he and Captain Mange took a deep interest in the Northern Mystery. In their trip to the Gila and Colorado in 1699 they heard of a woman—perhaps the famous María de Jesus de Agreda, who was said to have travelled miraculously in these parts—who long ago had preached to them, and when shot had several times risen from the dead; they heard of white men who sometimes came to trade; but received no confirmation of Oñate's island of the giantess. Kino was inclined to disbelieve the theory that California was an island, and in 1700 from a hill near the head of the gulf he made some observations which strengthened his opinion, though they by no means settled the question, as has been erroneously claimed. In March 1701 padres Kino and Salvatierra stood with Mange on the mainland shore of the upper gulf, in 31° or 32°, as they thought, and held an *amigable disputa* on the geographical problem. To the padres it seemed that the shores united some thirty-six leagues farther north, in accordance with their missionary desires; but Mange deemed appearances at such a distance deceitful, and from the currents chose to believe still in an *estrecho*. Later in the year Kino crossed the Colorado, and was still convinced that all was *tierra firme*, though he did not go far enough to prove it.

great lake are the new map names Apaches, Xila, Taos, etc. The other map omits the features cited about the end of the island, but introduces others equally novel. California is not only separated from the main by a strait, but by another strait on the west from the *Terre de Iesso;* and north of California, in 50°, whether on dry land or in open sea is not apparent, are *Conibas* and *Cibola!* There is an opening from Port Nelson of Hudson Bay into an Icy Sea. In *Hacke's Col. Original Voyages* of 1699 is a map of the usual type, which has the *Meschasipi R.* (Mississippi River) very accurately located, but exaggerated in length. Between this river and the strait of Anian, just above 50°, is the name *Meadoios.*

[22] *La Hontan, Nouveaux Voyages*, 1702. I have not seen the work, and in current *résumés* there is not the slightest resemblance one to another.

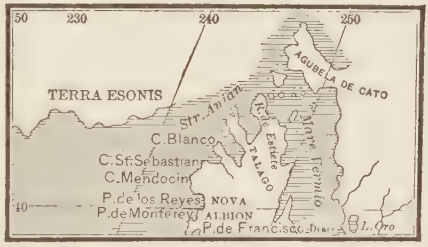
In his map of this period he made California a peninsula on the strength of his convictions. This map, a very accurate one of all these regions, too accurate for the present subject, may be seen in another part of this work. It was not published at the time, and was seen by but few cosmographers.[23]




HARRIS' MAP, 1705.

[23] *Mange, Hist. Pimería.* 290, 301–2; 324, 331–3, 337; *Apostólicos Afanes,* 282–5, 290–5, 308–9; *Salvatierra,* in *California, Estab. y Prog.,* 127–9, 152–3; *Venegas, Noticias Cal.,* ii. 75–6, 94–106; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus,* iii. 117–18, 124–6, 134–5; *Lockman's Trav. Jesuits,* i. 356, 395; Map in *Lettres Edif.,* v. 29. See also my *Hist. Northern Mex. States,* i.

The map published with *Hacke's Collection of Voyages* in 1699 was reproduced by Heylyn in 1701 and by Harris in 1705.[24] These have nameless streams flowing into the gulf of Mexico, which may be the Rio Bravo del Norte, with its mouth now transferred to the proper side of the continent. Heylyn's text is similar to that of the 'exact description' of 1655 already noted. He is sure that California is an island, and explains how some have been led into the error of regarding it as a peninsula in the past; and he also adds that Quivira is by some placed far in the interior, by the 'back of Virginia.' Harris has another map, which I reproduce in part. It shows La Hontan's fictitious discoveries; northern California as in several earlier maps mentioned but not copied; and Santa Fé, on the Brave River, or Rio Bravo del Norte, flowing into the right gulf, but still out of the famous lake. The accompanying fragment from Pieter vander Aa of 1707 explains itself so far as any explanation is practicable.




AA'S MAP, 1707.

Padre Kino in 1706 looked for the last time on the gulf waters and mouth of the Colorado, again convincing himself, but failing to convince his companions, among whom was Padre Niel, that the gulf there ended.[25]

In a London periodical, *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious*, in April and June 1708, appeared what purported to be a letter of Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte, describing a voyage made by

[24] *Heylyn's Cosmography*, frontispiece and pp. 966–8; *Harris, Navigantium*, i.; also in *Funnell's Voyage*, 1707. These maps show also a strait of Uriés on the Asiatic shores, separating the main from an eastern land, which, however, does not extend eastward to America, as in Dampier's map.

[25] *Apostólicos Afanes*, 323-6; *Niel, Apuntamientos*. 78. The latter puts the visit in 1705, and says that as there was no proof, 'quedó la cosa en opinion.'

him in 1640. It was partly in the first and partly in the third person; no reference was made by the editors to any original from which it might have been translated; but they mentioned an accompanying chart, not published and never heard of again. It was doubtless a deliberate hoax, prepared at the time by some one who had a superficial acquaintance with Spanish-American affairs; but, for the discussions to which it gave rise, the story must be noticed here, and is in substance as follows:

Fonte sailed from the 'Calo' of Lima April 3, 1640, with four vessels, under orders from Spain and the viceroys, issued because of information that Boston navigators had been seeking the northern passage. Diego Peñalosa was vice-admiral of the fleet; and the other two commanders were Pedro de Bonardæ, or Barnarda, and Felipe de Ronquillo. They touched at various points, and took a master and six mariners at Compostela. On this master's opinion that California was an island, Peñalosa, son of the sister of Don Luis de Haro, resolved to learn the truth, and his vessel left the fleet on the 10th of May. Fonte with three ships went on and by June 14th reached the river Reyes, in latitude 53°. He sailed about two hundred and sixty leagues in crooked channels among the islands of the Archipelagus de St Lazarus; and on June 22d sent Captain Barnarda up a fair river. Barnarda sailed N., N. N. E., and N. W., to a great lake full of islands, named Lake Valasco. Here he left his ship between the island Barnarda and the peninsula Conihasset, and in three Indian boats sailed 140 leagues W. and 436 leagues E. N. E., to latitude 77°. Meanwhile Fonte sailed up the river Reyes northeastward to a town of Conosset, on the south side of Lake Belle, where some Jesuit missionaries with him had been for two years. In the same region there was a river de Haro. At Conosset the admiral received a letter from Barnarda, dated June 27th, having entered Lake Belle June 22d with his two ships. July

1st he sailed, perhaps in boats, down the river Parmentiers, passing eight falls, until, July 6th, he reached lake Fonte, which was 60 by 160 leagues, and well supplied with islands. Then he sailed, July 14–17, eastward through a lake called Estrecho de Ronquillo to an Indian town, where he heard of a large ship, which on sailing to it he found to be a Boston ship, Captain Shapley, owned by Seimor Gibbons, major-general of Maltechusets. Instead of capturing this craft as a prize Fonte generously made presents to officers and men, and bought Shapley's fine charts and journals. Then he returned, August 6–16, to Conosset, where on the 20th he received another letter of August 11th from Barnarda. That officer had gone so far as to prove that there was no passage by Davis Strait. He had reached 79°, and one of his men had been led by the natives to the head of Davis Strait, which terminated in a fresh-water lake in 80°, beyond which were high mountains and ice. By a third letter Barnarda announced his arrival at Minhanset and the port of Arena, on the river Reyes, August 29th; and thither Fonte with great stores of salt provisions and one hundred hogsheads of maize returned from Lake Belle September 2–5. From this point the fleet sailed homeward, having proved that there was no northwest passage.

Absurd as all this appears related *en résumé*, it is still more so in the details, many of which are unintelligible. The story was founded probably, if it had any foundation, on something in one of Peñalosa's absurd memorials. No such voyage was ever made, even if such a man as Fonte ever lived;[26] no such

[26] Antonio Ulloa in a letter to Navarrete in 1792, *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 264–7, says that in 1736 he met, between Panamá and Guayaquil, an old pilot, Juan Manuel Morel, who showed him, among other old diaries, one of a voyage made by Admiral Bartolomé de la Fuente, who was despatched by the viceroy of Peru in consequence of a report that a Spanish vessel had found north of California a great bay stretching eastward, and had met in it a foreign ship. Fuente found no such bay and returned. Ulloa took a copy of the diary and lost it. He afterward told the story in London, and also corresponded with M. de l'Isle. Some of Peñalosa's exploits are mentioned on p. 109 of this chapter.

complicated net-work of channels cuts up the northern parts of America. Yet the authenticity of the voyage was seriously defended until the region in question became so fully explored as to make further defence absurd. The argument was, in substance, that through an unknown country channels may extend in any direction; inherent contradictions in the narrative, so far as the unknown parts are concerned, may be accounted for on the theory of the translator's blunders; and like blunders of translator and navigator must account for discrepancies between Fonte's discoveries and those of later explorers; that is, the interior was safe, and Fonte's entrance on the coast was moved from time to time so as not to come in conflict with advancing exploration. The arguments are not worth repetition, even if I had space for them. The map of De l'Isle and Buache, pronounced by Burney "as adventurous a piece of geography as was ever published," will be given in substance later. I append here a brief bibliographic notice of such writings on the subject as are before me.[27]

[27] The original is in *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious*, London, 1708. Arthur Dobbs, *Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, 123–30, reprinted the letter in 1744, and found in it an 'Air of Truth' which left no doubt of a N.W. passage, though probably not well translated, copied, or printed. The fact of there being a Shapley family in Boston 'confirms its being an authentick Journal.' De l'Isle's memoirs and the map made by him and Buache were presented to the French Academy in 1750 and 1752, being printed in the latter year. *De l'Isle, Explication de la Carte*, Paris, 1752, *Buache, Considerations géographiques*, Paris, 1753. They included Russian and Japanese discoveries. A rival geographer, M. Vaugondy, *Observations critiques sur les nouvelles découvertes de l'Admiral De la Fuente*, Paris, 1753, took upon himself to refute De l'Isle's arguments at the time. These memoirs, translated into Spanish and supplemented by long editorial comments in which Padre Buriel exposed the fictitious character of the narrative, were printed, 1757, in *Venegas, Noticias de Cal.*, iii. 296–436. In 1768 the author of *Jefferys' Great Probability of a Northwest Passage* devoted nine pages to Fonte's letter and 120 pages to 'observations' in defence of its authenticity. The work also contains a map of Fonte's discoveries. Forster, *Hist. Voy.*, London, 1786, pp. 453–5, deemed neither the letter nor the defence just referred to worthy of serious refutation. Clavigero, *Storia della Cal.*, i. 163, also declared it a hoax in 1798. But Fleurieu in 1797, *Marchand, Voyage*, introd., xxi.–xlii., could not realize the force of Forster's argument, and was himself disposed to believe in Fonte's voyage, or at least that he actually reached the archipelago and entrance of a great river. This author and many others are unduly influenced by the absurd idea that Spain made secret explorations and kept the results a profound mystery. Navarrete in 1802,

A Spanish description of America in 1710 describes the strait as discovered by Hudson and Frobisher; Quivira as called New Albion, in latitude 40°, by Drake; and Anian as reaching the Arctic circle, and even to Berg, the most northern kingdom of all; but admits that these coasts are not well known.[28] Captain Woodes Rogers, after his cruise in 1709–10, inclined to the belief that California was joined to the main, notwithstanding the reports of its circumnavigation, for he saw Spaniards who had sailed up the gulf to 42° where they found shoal water. "But the *Spaniards* having more Territories in this Part of the World than they know how to manage, they are not curious of further Discoveries." The map in Rogers' work, however, is one of the usual type, making California an island.[29] The French geographer De l'Isle discussed the question in 1715, reaching the conclusion that there were no means of deciding between island and peninsula, and announcing that therefore he had in his own maps left the coast line broken at Mendocino and the Vermilion Sea.[30]

*Sutil y Mex., Viage*, lxxvi.–vii., declared the voyage apocryphal, and in his *Viages Apóc.*, 134–61, gave his views at greater length; yet he made public the letter of Ulloa already noticed, the only document that has ever appeared to even suggest a remote possibility that Fonte's story was founded on fact. Burney, *Chron. Hist. Voy.*, 184–95, 1813, does not undertake to defend the narrative, which he prints in full, but is inclined to look at it with some indulgence and to consider the arguments in its favor worthy of some credit. Laharpe, *Abrégé des Voyages*, xvi. 30–44, also was disposed to credit the story as not altogether a fiction in 1816. The Chevalier Lapie in 1821, *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xi. 28–56, in turn became the champion of Fonte's cause. He makes the route of Fonte extend by channels, rivers—including a part of the Mackenzie—and lakes, from the Pacific coast, in about 58°, to Chesterfield Inlet of Hudson Bay. Barnarda entered in the same latitude by the Linn channel, or Rio Haro, went north into Lake Valasco, part of the Polar Sea, then eastward in that sea nearly to Baffin Bay and back, and finally up into the Icy Ocean and eastward nearly to 80°. The north-western portions of Barnarda's route, according to this author, are shown by - - - - - on his map. And finally in 1839 the *North American Review*, lxviii. 129–32, was permitted by its conscience to gratify its Americanism to the extent of hinting that there was at least room for argument in Fonte's favor.

[28] *America, Descripcion*, MS., 73, 128–9, with reference to a treatise called *Noui ad caurum trauntus supra Americam in Chinam Ducturi.*

[29] *Rogers' Cruising Voy. Round the World*, 312–13. The map has also the Company's land separated by a strait from Asia, but not extending far eastward.

[30] *Lettre de M. De l'Isle touchant la Californie*, in *Voyages au Nord, Recueil*, iii. 268–71. This writer seems to have had no clear idea of the earliest ex-

Padre Luis Velarde, a rector missionary of northern Sonora, wrote his views of northern geography about 1716, and very accurately so far as the known regions were concerned. Of the Colorado he says: "We know not in what latitude it rises; some say in the sierra of the Gran Teguayo; others in the Gran Quivira—kingdoms which many geographers locate in this northern America Incógnita, and about which many confused rumors are current in New Mexico; and others near the seven caves or cities from which came the Mexican nation." To the question of island or peninsula Velarde gave much attention, placing himself squarely on the record with Padre Campos, his associate, as a partisan of the island theory, in spite of Kino's belief to the contrary. The two had lately returned from the gulf coast, where they had satisfied themselves that Kino's observations could not have been conclusive; both had repeatedly questioned the Pimas and Yumas, who insisted that there was a strait, and reported the washing-ashore on the gulf coast of many articles that must have come by the strait. Padre Velarde was well acquainted with current theories on the Northern Mystery; had before him narratives of real and pretended expeditions; and had seen some old Dutch maps; but he was not certain whether the strait joined the Pacific above 40°, or turned eastward to Newfoundland or Florida; nor did he vouch for all Pima tales, as that of a country where men had only one foot and women two, though even this were not in philosophy impossible. "Lo cierto es que hay mucho incógnito per esta América Septentrional."[31]

plorations, and of the prevalent belief from 1540 to 1610 that California was a peninsula. He says the earliest maps made it an island; but no such maps are extant. He says the Spaniards of late think it an island, but that others do not accept that theory, which is not true. Indeed, though no fault can be found with his conclusions, they were bunglingly founded on a very few of the authorities then existing.

[31] *Velarde, Descripcion Hist.*, 347, 350–7, 388–9, with a map originally, which is not extant. The author refuses to credit Drake with having sailed round California, finding a lake of gold, a walled city, and a crowned king! but thinks another English pilot may have ascended the strait to 38°. He

A series of brief detached items is all that our topic presents for several decades, items the enforced grouping of which would serve no good purpose, and which I proceed to catalogue in chronological order. Knight and Barlow, sent to find the strait in 1719, were lost on Hudson Bay; but in England it was for years thought probable they had been successful and gone through to the South Sea.[32] Charlevoix is cited as having met in China in 1720 a Huron woman whom he had known in Canada. She had been carried thither by land from tribe to tribe.[33] In 1721 a Californian padre, Ugarte, in a Californian-built vessel, the *Triunfo de la Cruz*, but with an English pilot, sailed to the head of the gulf, and again proved, as Alarcon and Ulloa had done nearly two centuries before, to his own satisfaction and that of his associates that Kino had been right in declaring California a peninsula, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Mange, Niel, Campos, Velarde, and the rest.[34] Not all the world at once accepted this solution of the enigma; but a peninsula appeared on the best maps from this time; and even the great De l'Isle so made up his mind.[35]

Captain Shelvocke, who in 1721–2 found no end of gold dust in California, had no means of deciding

notes the blunder on many maps of making the Rio del Norte empty into the gulf of California. In 1715 the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo sought license to explore Gran Quivira, which was a month's journey from some place in Texas, lying on the slope of a hill that was bathed by a lake. This had been learned from one José Urrutia, who had lived in Texas. *Doc. Hist. Texas*, MS., 155–9. In 1718 or thereabout Padre Juan Amando Niel wrote his *Apuntamientos*, pp. 78, 80–1, 87, 111, on the earlier work of Padre Salmeron, which he reproduces. On the Mystery, however, he is quite as much in the dark as his predecessor, whom he blames unjustly for not having cleared up some of its darkest points. Niel identifies the mouth of the Rio Carmelo with Drake Bay, and places it opposite the mouth of the Colorado River, in 41°! He regards California as an island, having made personal observations on the subject with Padre Kino in 1705–6. Regarding the Quivirans and Aijaos as dwelling in the region north of Texas, he locates the famous kingdom of Tindan still farther north, in 50°, and the lake of Copala in the same latitude west of Tindan.

[32] *Hearne's Journey*, xxviii.

[33] *Carver's Travels*, 192–3.

[34] See Annals of Baja California, in an earlier volume of this series.

[35] Twiss, *Oregon Quest.*, 64, cites a map of De l'Isle of 1722 with the peninsula.

between island and peninsula, either from his own observations or those of others, Englishmen having no "time nor power to go about the discovery of it," and the Spaniards having grown "indolent and incurious." His map, however, is one of the old type, similar to that of Dampier and Rogers, showing an island. Shelvocke also believed "that America and Asia are joined by a tract of land to the northward."[36] It was in 1722 that Daniel Coxe let loose his powerful imagination on north-western geography. Referring to several otherwise unknown expeditions from New England to New Mexico and up the Missouri, he describes the northern branches of that river as "interwoven with other branches which have a contrary course, proceeding to the west, and empty themselves into a vast lake, whose waters by another great river disembogue into the South Sea. The Indians affirm they see great ships sailing in that lake, twenty times bigger than their canoes." The Missouri "hath a course of 500 miles, navigable to its heads or springs, and which proceeds from a ridge of hills somewhat north of New Mexico, passable by horse, foot, or wagon in less than half a day," to the rivers running into the great lake. Besides there was Hontan's Long River, or the Meschaouay, which comes from the same hills. Moreover, Coxe had a journal written by a man "admirably well skilled in geography," and who had been so lucky as to know one Captain Coxton, a privateer. Coxton while waiting to plunder the Manila galleon had used his spare time for exploration, and had in 44° found a great river leading to a great lake, with a very convenient island, where he remained several months. The nation he called Thoya, but the Spaniards called it Thoyago or Tejago, doubtless Teguayo. The people welcomed the privateer as a foe of the Spaniards, whom they had often repulsed in battle. I have no space for Coxton's wonderful geography of the Asiatic coasts and islands; but

[36] *Shelvocke's Voyage*, 399–400. London, 1726.

merely note that "there are upon the coast between America and Japan divers very large and safe harbors." Coxe himself, it seems, claimed to have found, by going up the great river Ochequiton, or Alabama, "a great sea of fresh water, several thousand miles in circumference," whence ran the river by which the

DOBBS' MAP, 1744.

English subsequently reached the lake. Coxe has not been fairly treated. His rank as a liar should be near that of Fuca, Maldonado, and the unknown author of Fonte's letter.[37]

[37] *Coxe's Description of the English province of Carolana*, London, 1722;

Mota Padilla in 1742 speaks of California as supposed to be an island.[38] In 1744 Arthur Dobbs published his views on a north-west passage in a work whose title, as appended in a note, sufficiently explains its purport.[39] Dobbs was less visionary than some earlier advocates of his cause, but was disposed to credit the tale of Fonte's discoveries. "All nature

Russian Chart, 1741.

also reprinted in *French's Hist. Col. Louisiana*, ii. 230–3, 253–6. See also *Dobbs' Account*, 149, 153, 166; and *North Amer. Review*, lxviii. 103–4. It is to be noted, however, that French's copy does not agree with that quoted by the *Review*, since the former says nothing at all of Coxe's own discoveries. In *Noblot, Géog. Univ.*, Paris, 1725, v. 592, California is described as doubtless an island; at which opinion at that date surprise is expressed in *Lockman's Trav. Jesuits*, i. 348–9. Campbell, *Span. Am.*, 83, notes a Dutch map of 1739 in which California is represented as a peninsula.

[38] *Mota Padilla, Hist. N. Galicia*, 177, 361.

[39] *Dobbs, An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay... with an abstract of Capt. Middleton's Journal, and Observations upon his Behavior... A letter from Bartholomew de Fonte... An abstract of all the Discoveries... The whole intended to show the great Probability of a North-west Passage, so long desired*, etc. London, 1744. The same author's *Remarks upon Middleton's Defence*, London, 1744, is of like purport, with a map.

cries aloud there is a passage, and we are sure there is one from Hudson's Bay to Japan," he writes; but founds his zealous faith not so much on the old cosmographical theories as on the reports of northern Indians, the discoveries of French, English, and Spanish travellers, and the tides in and about Hudson Bay. I give a reduction of Dobbs' map, which was largely founded on reports of a Canadian Indian named Joseph La France, though it also contains Baron La Hontan's pretended discoveries.[40] The author firmly believed that Middleton and others had by ignorance or negligence missed the strait; or, more likely, having found it, had been induced to conceal their discovery by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The provincial in his memorial of 1745 to the king of Spain suggested new explorations to settle the question of island or peninsula.[41] Father Sedelmair in 1746 also wrote of the matter as being still in doubt among the missionaries, but the mystery could be solved with others—those of Quivira and Tepeguaya, and of the white men who came south to trade—by founding missions on the Gila and Colorado.[42] But in 1746 Father Consag made his trip up the gulf waters in boats, and once more settled the vexed question, and declared California a peninsula, whereupon Sedelmair, rejoicing in this discovery, exclaimed: "May God grant that it be, as it probably

[40] Dobbs, 44–5, was told by France of an old Indian in the region of Nelson River, who fifteen years ago had gone to the west coast to fight his enemies, the Tête Plats. France's travels were in 1739–42. Dobbs, 109, mentions a land eastward of Japan, in 45°, shown on several charts, and coasted by Gama in a voyage from America to China. This reported discovery, as we shall see, was the cause of great trouble to the Russian explorers in 1741, who were guided by De l'Isle's chart. This same chart, which I have copied from the original in the Russian archives, shows the coast above California as in the adjoined sketch. Dobbs also cites the French writer Jérémie: 'The savages say, that after travelling some Months to the w. s. w. [on a strait from Hudson Bay] they came to the Sea, upon which they saw great Vessels, with men who had Beards and Caps, who gather Gold on the Shore (p. 19).

[41] *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, ii. 539.

[42] *Sedelmair, Relacion*, 855–8.

will, for the conversion of the whole continent as far as Japan, Yerdo, or Tartary!"[43] and Villa Señor y Sanchez, giving in 1748 the first printed account of Consag's trip, and declaring the southern part of the mystery at an end, turned his attention farther north, and by a process of reasoning satisfactory to himself showed that the American coast just above 44° turned westward to the strait of Uriz, by which it was separated from the Asiatic land of Hezo, and through which the Dutch had sailed on various occasions. What had been mistaken for the strait of Anian in past years was really the mouth of the great river of San Antonio flowing from the north and into the sea just above Cape Mendocino, where the coast turns westward. This was certainly a novel theory, or rather a very old one revived.[44]

In 1748 Henry Ellis published his narrative of the voyage of the *Dobbs Galley* and *California* to Hudson Bay; and he joined to it an historical account of previous attempts to find the north-west passage, and a statement of the agreements on which the existence of such a passage was founded. The work was more complete than any earlier one on the subject; and the author, though somewhat too indulgent to the travellers whose tales favored his theories, did not commit himself very fully to belief in the old fictions. Yet he was much impressed by the story of a Portuguese in London who had met a Dutchman who, having been driven to the coast of California, had found that country to be either an island or peninsula, according as the tide was high or low. Moreover, the coast above California trended north-east, a very strong argument in favor of a passage. Ellis did not know of the Russian discoveries.[45] In 1749 another

[43] Sedelmair's letter of March 20, 1747, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, serie iii. pt. iv. 841–2.

[44] *Villa Señor y Sanchez, Theatro Americano*, ii. 272–94.

[45] Ellis, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay, 1746–7*. London, 1748. Map and plates; also translations and reprints in later years. The same author published in 1750 *Considerations on the Great Advantages which would arise of the North-west Passage*. See also *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, iii. 237–87, for a *résumé* of Ellis' work.

work on the same topic was published, the argument being founded mainly on observations of the tidal currents.[46]

Before 1750 the Russians had made from the northwest important American discoveries, which materially circumscribed the Northern Mystery in that direction. They had discovered the real strait, and had proved the existence of a large body of land east of northern Asia, which had been visited at several different points. But between these points, and south of the southernmost, there was still room for many interoceanic passages. Accordingly in 1750–3 De l'Isle and Buache took up the pretended discoveries of Fonte, presenting such facts and rumors as could be made to sustain their theory as already noted, and concocting a map, which I append, and the absurdities of which are sufficiently apparent without explanation.[47]

Still had California a foothold for cosmographical mystery; for in 1751 Captain Salvador in a report to the king stated that the Colorado River before reaching the gulf sent off a branch to the Pacific Ocean, which branch was in reality the Rio de Filipinos or Rio Carmelo. Padre Niel had made the Colorado empty into the strait opposite the Carmelo, so that, now there was no strait, Salvador's theory was not without its plausibility. This, with its subsequent development of 1774, when Captain Anza wrote from the Gila of a report of the natives that a branch of

[46] *Reasons to shew, that there is a great Probability of a Navigable Passage to the Western American Ocean, through Hudson's Streights and Chesterfield Inlet.* London, 1749.

[47] *De l'Isle, Explication de la Carte*, Paris, 1752. I take a copy from that published in 1761 by Jefferys in *Muller's Voy. Asia to Amer.* It is also in *Marchand, Voy.*, pl. iii. It will be noticed that California is correctly laid down, and that the Russian discovery of Chirikof, in which the author's brother participated, is shown, but not that of Bering, in the same expedition. Coats, *Geog. Hudson Bay*, 37, 1751, says: 'These Miscota Indians tell us some visionary storeys of ships and men of a different make and complection frequenting there shores [Winipeggon Lake], for they are positive this lake is open to westward; and do attempt to describe their gilded beeks, and sails, and other matters, both tedious and tiresome, without we had better grounds.'

De l'Isle's Map, 1752.

the Colorado ran westward and northward, making the suggestion that that branch might terminate in San Francisco Bay, seems to have been the last phase of the theory that California was an island; though those were not wanting in even later times who from pure negligence repeated the old representations in their text and maps.[48]

In 1757 the great work of Venegas on California was published by Padre Burriel, a most intelligent editor, who devoted one of the three volumes to appendices on voyages of exploration and on the geography of the far north. In one sense Burriel was the first writer—if we except Cabrera Bueno, who had published accurate sailing directions of the coast from Cape Mendocino southward[49]—to take common-sense views on the subject, to reject the apocryphal voyages as wholly unworthy of credit, to restrict northern geography to actual discoveries, and to correctly map, in print, the peninsula and the regions of the Colorado and Gila as far as known.[50] He gives, however, a general map, showing the northern geographic myths, as in De l'Isle for the most part, but surrounds those parts with a dotted line, and closes his work as follows: "Well then, some one says, what seas, coasts, rivers, lakes, provinces, nations, peoples, are there in North America beyond California, Cape Blanco, Rio de Aguilar, Rio Colorado, Moqui, and

[48] Salvador, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, serie iii. pt. iv. 661–6. He urges this new route as the best for the occupation of California. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, iii. 190–1; *Arricivita, Crónica*, 452–3. In *Churchill's Col. Voy.*, viii. 663, is a map of 1755 by H. Moll, making California an island. Homes, *Our Knowledge of Cal. and the Northwest Coast one hundred years since*, Albany, 1870, p. 4, says: 'Many maps in the New York State Library, of as late date as 1741, represent it as an island, as those of Overton, Tillemon, De Fer, and others, and they extend California up to latitude 45°, including New Albion. Giustiniani's atlas of 1755 makes California an island reaching to latitude 47°. Engel in 1764 tries to prove that it is not true that California, owing to the winds and tides, is sometimes a peninsula and at other times an island.' The New York *Sun* in 1876 spoke of a geography published in London in 1849 in which California is described and mapped as an island.

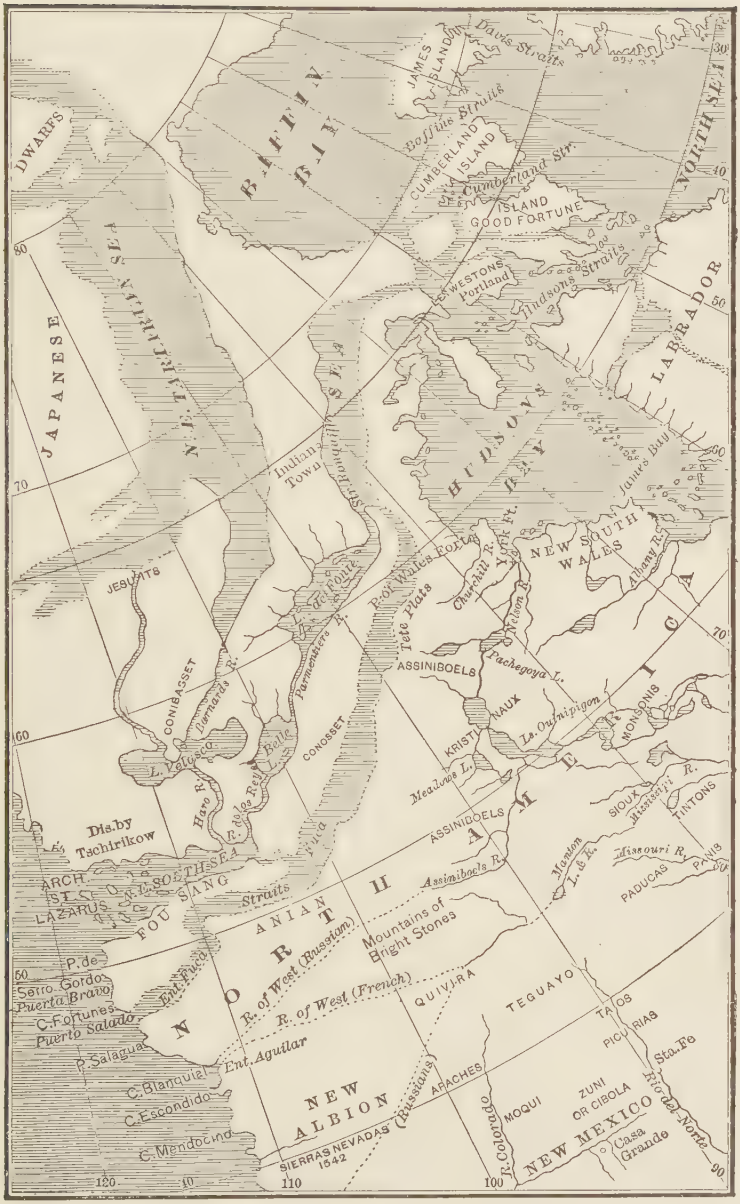
[49] *Cabrera Bueno, Navegacion Especulativa.* Manila, 1734.

[50] *Venegas, Noticias de la Cal.*, Madrid, 1757; vol. iii. is devoted to geography and a refutation of earlier fictions; map at end. Begert's *Nachrichten*, 1772, also did much to circulate accurate ideas of California geography.

New Mexico towards the north for 50 degrees? Except what has been learned on our Atlantic side, and the little made known by Russian voyages in the South Sea, I readily reply in a word, which causes me no shame nor ought to any good man, Ignoro, Nescio, Yo no lo sé."

JAPANESE MAP, 1761.

With Muller's narrative of the Russian discoveries Thomas Jefferys, geographer to his British majesty, published in 1761, besides De l'Isle's map which I have already given, two general maps, in which a con-




JEFFERYS' MAP, 1768.

tinuous coast is shown up to the far north, with indications of Aguilar's entrance, Fuca's entrance, and the "pretended entrance" of Fonte. One of the maps shows a River of the West flowing from Lake Winipigon into the Pacific at Aguilar's entrance, in 45°, while a possible river runs farther south to Pro de Anno nuevo; but in the other the great river is called St Charles, or Assiniboels, terminating at the mountains of Bright Stones; while the southern river is called River of the West, being doubtfully connected through Pike's lake and Manton's river with the Missouri. The lower course of these streams into the Pacific is not shown except as on the other map. The main coast above 50° is "supposed to be the Fou-Sang of the Chinese." A fourth map in this work is one that purports to be of Japanese origin, which I copy.[51]

In 1768 the same Jefferys published and furnished maps for another work, written perhaps by Theodore Swaine Drage, and devoted to the defence of Fonte's voyage by an enthusiastic believer in the north-west passage. I reproduce the general map, which not only shows De l'Isle's ideas of Fonte's discoveries as modified by the royal geographer, but also contains the general features of Jefferys' earlier maps, as already described. The western portions not shown on my copy are the Russian discoveries, of which details are given in another volume. It will be seen that in 1768 it was easier to find the interoceanic passage than to miss it; but earthquakes or something have since changed the face of nature in that region.[52]

It was in 1766–8 that J. Carver, the American traveller, made his visit to the upper Mississippi and

[51] *Muller's Voyages from Asia to America... Translated from the High Dutch of S. Muller.* London, 1761. Long the standard authority on the Russian discoveries. The map is 'taken from a Japanese map of the world brought over by Kempfer and late in the Musæum of Sr Hans Sloane.'

[52] *Jefferys' The Great Probability of a North West Passage; deduced from Observations on the letter of Admiral De Fonte.* London, 1768. On this map, as on Jefferys' earlier ones, are marked the 'Mountains of Bright Stones mentioned in the map of the Indian Ochagach.'

the St Pierre; and in his book, published ten years later, he joined to his adventures an account of far western geography, purporting to be founded on statements of the Indians to the author, but which might with his map have been compiled from earlier traditions, texts, and maps, as the reader will perceive. Nor does the map agree altogether with the

CARVER'S MAP, 1778.

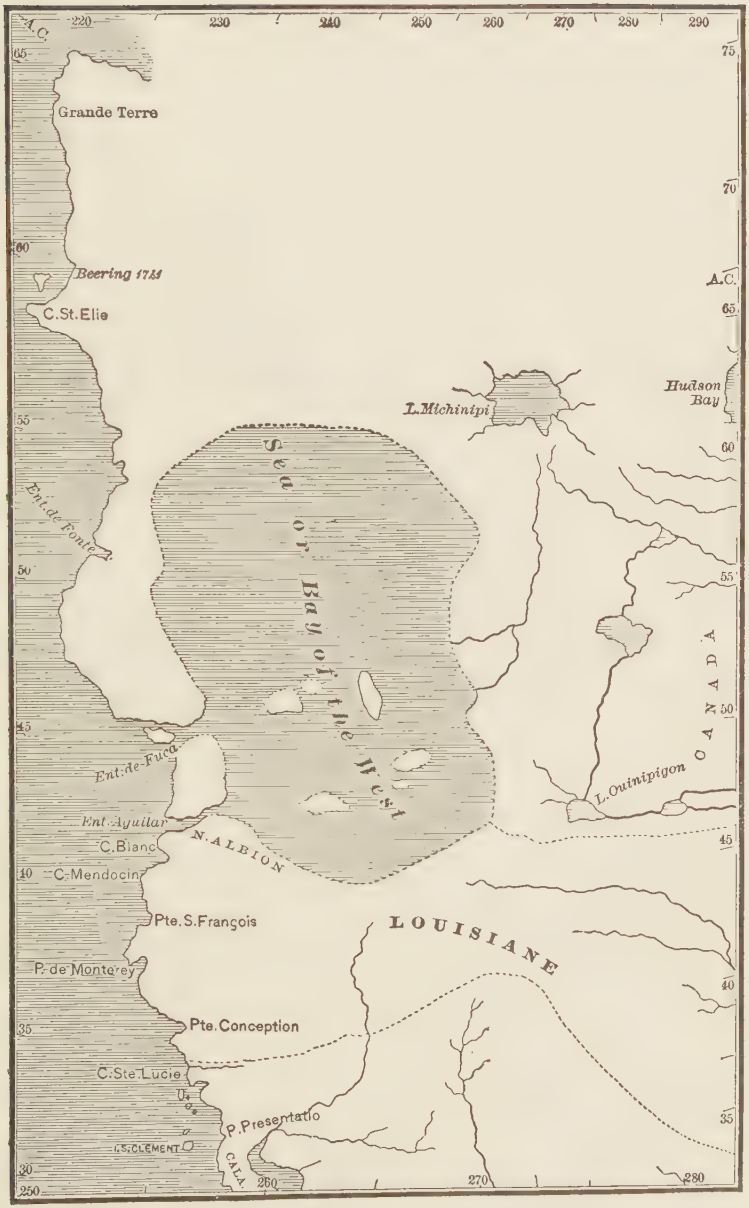
narrative. Carver's great achievement, however, was the invention of a new name for the mythic 'river of the west.' He called it the Oregon. The name sounded well, was adopted by the poet Bryant in his immortal *Thanatopsis*, and became permanent.[53]

[53] *Carver's Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768.* London, 1778. See especially ix. 76–7, 117–22, 542. He names 'the River Oregon [elsewhere called Oregan], or the River of the

We have now reached the period when actual exploration came to the aid of conjecture; and here, since it is not my present purpose either to speak of Alaskan discoveries or to follow the search for the north-west passage in Arctic waters, the topic of the Northern Mystery may properly be dropped. The only connection between the mystery and the voyages of the succeeding period, to be noticed in the next chapter, is that the former was gradually broken up by the latter; that the navigators were constantly seeking for the old mythic channels and failing to find them.[54] Indeed, to the Spaniards this search was the only important feature of their explorations. They had no desire for territorial possessions in the far north; long ago they had given up the hope of finding rich kingdoms there; but if, as was believed by many, there was a strait, it was of course important for Spain to control the Pacific entrance; and if there was no strait, there might be a great river giving access by water to the regions of New Mexico. This was the last phase of the mystery in Spanish eyes; and on its clearing up they promptly retired, leaving the north to English, Americans, and Russians. The nature of the coast, with its complicated net-work of islands and channels, rendered it necessary to explore every nook and corner before it could be absolutely

West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the straits of Annian' as one of the four great rivers which, rising within a few leagues of each other, flow respectively into Hudson Bay, Atlantic Ocean, Gulf of Mexico, and Pacific Ocean. The Indians spoke of a great lake, larger than Superior, N. W. of Winnepeek, which Carver thinks to be 'the Archipelago or broken waters that form the communication between Hudson's Bay and the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean.' The great range of mountains reached 47° or 48°; that part of the range west of the St Pierre was called the Shining Mountains, being covered with large crystals, and doubtless rich in gold and silver; while some of the nations farther west 'have gold so plenty among them that they make their most common utensils of it'—supposed to be Mexican tribes that escaped northward at the conquest. 'To the west of these mountains, when explored by future Columbuses or Raleighs, may be found other lakes, rivers, and countries, full fraught with all the necessaries or luxuries of life; and where future generations may find an asylum.' See *Hist. Oregon*, this series.

[54] The last actual voyage through the mythic strait was perhaps that of Baron Uhlefeld, in 1773, who made it on a Danish government vessel, the *Northern Crown*, according to a Danish periodical cited by Navarrete, *Viages Apóc.*, 177.




JANVIER'S MAP, 1782.

certain that no inland passage existed; therefore there was room for doubt and discussion not only until 1800, but throughout the next quarter century, during which period appeared many of the works cited in this chapter. The general summaries of Forster and Fleurieu appeared before 1800; later ones were those of Navarrete in 1802 and 1849, of Amoretti in 1811, of Burney in 1813, of Lapie in 1821, of the *North American Review* in 1839, and of Greenhow and Twiss in 1846. Many maps might yet be cited to illustrate how slow were geographers to take full advantage of new discoveries; but no new theories were evolved, and errors were either the result of negligence or were of local signification only. I present Janvier's map, published in Paris in 1782. It is somewhat remarkable, as another writer has said in substance,[55] that in California, Nevada, Arizona, and Utah, the very regions in which the wonderful riches of Cíbola, Quivira, Teguayo, and the 'great lake' were anciently located by blundering conjecture and groundless falsehood, should have been actually found in later times the greatest mineral wealth of North America.

[55] *Taylor's First Voy. to Cal. by Cabrillo*, preface.

# CHAPTER V.

## DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHWEST COAST.

### 1543–1775.

BARTOLOMÉ FERRELO—DID NOT PASS THE FORTY-SECOND PARALLEL—FRANCIS DRAKE—HIS VOYAGE—DIFFERENT VERSIONS—THE FAMOUS VOYAGE—THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED—FLETCHER'S FALSEHOODS—THE LIMIT CANNOT BE FIXED—DRAKE POSSIBLY REACHED LATITUDE FORTY-THREE—AND WAS THE DISCOVERER OF OREGON—GALI'S VOYAGE NOT EXTENDING TO NORTHERN WATERS—SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO AND MARTIN AGUILAR—POINT ST GEORGE, IN 41° 45′, THE NORTHERN LIMIT—REVIVAL OF EXPLORATION UNDER CÁRLOS III.—EXPEDITION OF JUAN PEREZ TO LATITUDE FIFTY-FIVE—INSTRUCTIONS AND RESULTS—NAMES APPLIED—INTERCOURSE WITH INDIANS—DISCOVERY OF NOOTKA—THE WHOLE COAST DISCOVERED—SECOND EXPLORATION UNDER BRUNO HECETA TO THE FORTY-NINTH PARALLEL—FIRST LANDING IN OREGON—SEVEN SPANIARDS KILLED BY INDIANS—DISCOVERY OF THE COLUMBIA—VOYAGE OF BODEGA Y CUADRA, AFTER PARTING FROM HECETA, TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH PARALLEL.

WE now come to the actual exploration of the Pacific coast above latitude forty-two. The first epoch of that exploration extends chronologically down to 1774, and includes four expeditions only: those of Ferrelo in 1543, of Drake in 1579, of Gali in 1584, and of Vizcaino and Aguilar in 1603. These are the only voyages, if we except the apocryphal one of Juan de Fuca in 1596, in which European navigators reached, or claimed to reach, with any degree of plausibility, the Oregon Territory. All of them belong more closely to the annals of the south than of the north, and have therefore been fully described in earlier volumes of this series.

Bartolomé Ferrelo, the successor of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, commanding two small vessels, the *San*

*Salvador* and *Victoria*, despatched by the Spanish government to explore as far northward as possible, being the first European craft to sail on Californian waters, left Cape Pinos, in latitude 39° as he believed, February 25, 1543. For three days he ran north-westward, one night's sailing meanwhile being southward, with a strong south-west wind, until on the 28th he was in latitude 43°. During one night he kept on north-westward, but on March 1st was struck by a gale and driven north-eastward toward the land and destruction. Before the vessels struck, however, there came a storm with rain, which drove them back and saved them. The highest latitude as estimated by Ferrelo was 44°. It does not appear that any land was seen above a point some twenty leagues from Cape Pinos; but at the northern limit birds and floating wood indicated the nearness of land, hidden by the fog; and farther south, between latitude 41° and 43°, indications of a large river were seen or imagined. On the return Cape Pinos was sighted on March 3d. The northern cruise had lasted six days.[1]

The narrative supplying no description of landmarks in the north, Ferrelo's northern limit must be determined by his latitude and by his sailing from Point Pinos. Taking his highest observation in 43°, deducting an excess of from 1° 30′ to 2° noted in all his latitudes on the Californian coast, and accepting his own estimate of progress after the observation of February 28th, we have 42° or 42° 30′ as the highest point reached. The result of the other test depends mainly on the identity of Pinos. If that point was

[1] The source of all real information about this voyage is the *Cabrillo, Relacion*, or original diary, probably written by Juan Paez, and printed in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 165–91, and in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, 173–89. Other works that may be consulted on the subject, containing comments and slight variations, are: *Herrera*, dec. vii. lib. v. cap. iii.–iv.; *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 181–3; *Laet, Novus Orbis*, 306–7; *Navarrete*, in *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, xxix.–xxxvi.; *Id., Viages Apóc.*, 32–4; *Taylor's First Voyage to the Coast of Cal... by Cabrillo; Burney's Chron. Hist.*, i. 220–5; and *Evans* and *Henshaw, Translation and Notes*, in *U. S. Geog. Surv., Wheeler*, vii. arch., pp. 293–314. There are plenty of further references, but they lead to no additional information.

as high as Point Arena of the present maps, as has been claimed by some, then perhaps latitude 42° is not too high for Ferrelo's position on March 1st; but if Pinos was the point still so called at Monterey, as the evidence most convincingly indicates, then it is tolerably certain that no higher latitude than that of Cape Mendocino was attained. To present the arguments would be to repeat needlessly my account of the voyage to California, to which I refer the reader.[2] At the most Ferrelo, without seeing land, passed some thirty miles beyond the present Oregon boundary; but it is almost certain that he did not enter Oregon waters; and it is my opinion, as expressed in a former volume of this series, that he did not pass Cape Mendocino.

Francis Drake's claims to be considered the discoverer of Oregon are in some respects better than those of the Levantine pilot, though not beyond the reach of doubt. The English corsair, having entered the Pacific by way of Magellan Strait, and having well-nigh loaded his vessel, the *Golden Hind*, with Spanish plunder on the coasts of South and Central America, set sail from Guatulco, on the coast of Oajaca, in 15° 40′, on April 16, 1579. His purpose was to find if possible a northern passage by which he might return to England, thus avoiding not only the long and stormy southern route, but also possible risky encounters with the Spaniards he had robbed. His course lay far out into the ocean north-westward until early in June, when he approached the land somewhere between 42° and 48°, according to his own observations or estimates. He even anchored in a bad harbor; but on account of rough weather, and particularly of excessive cold, very grossly exaggerated in the narrative, decided to abandon the search for a strait and to return southward, which he did, following the coast down to 38°, or thereabout, to a Californian

[2] See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i. chap. iii., this series, where also a long list of references is given.

port respecting the identity of which I have had much to say elsewhere.

In the first printed account, that published by Hakluyt in 1589, it was stated that the northern limit of Drake's voyage was latitude 42°, reached on June 5th;[3] and there was an inscription to the same effect on Hondius' map, made before the end of the century, which I have already reproduced.[4] As early as 1592 the English annalist Stow, as quoted by Twiss, wrote: "He passed forth northward, till he came to the latitude of forty-seven, thinking to have come that way home, but being constrained by fogs and cold winds to forsake his purpose, came backward to the line ward the tenth of June 1579, and stayed in the latitude of thirty-eight, to grave and trim his ship, until the five and twenty of July." Again, in 1595 John Davis the navigator wrote: "After Sir Francis Drake was entered into the South Seas, he coasted all the western shores of America until he came into the septentrional latitude of forty-eight degrees, being on the back side of Newfoundland."[5] Löw in 1598 gave the limit as 42°, probably following Hakluyt, as did Camden in 1615.[6] In an anonymous discourse of the century, written perhaps by one of Drake's associates, we read: "Here Drake watered his ship and departed, sayling northwards till he came to 48. gr. of the septentrionall latitud, still finding a very lardge sea trending toward the north, but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite, hee turned backe againe, still keping along the cost as nere land as hee might, vntill hee came to 44. gr.," that is, Drake

[3] *Hakluyt's Voy.*, London, 1589. I have not seen this edition, but take the statement of Twiss, *Hist. Or.*, 26–57.

[4] See map before given. The dotted line shows Drake's route, and the inscription, not copied, is opposite the northern termination of that line. I take the map from the Hakluyt Society reprint of *Drake's World Encompassed*, the editor of which work states that it was originally attached to a Dutch narrative of the voyage, *Corte beschryvinghe*, etc., apparently a condensed translation of a document similar to the *World Encompassed*.

[5] *Davis' World's Hydrog. Discov.*, as cited by Greenhow and Twiss.

[6] *Löw, Meer oder Seehanen Buch*, 48; *Camden, Annales Rervm Anglicarvm*, cited by Twiss.

Bay, on the California coast.[7] In his edition of 1600 Hakluyt made a change in the latitude and wrote: "Hee beganne to thinke of his best way to the Malucos, and finding himselfe where hee now was becalmed, hee saw that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde.[8] Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of June. The 5. day of June, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arcticke, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being grieuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38 degrees towards the line."[9]

Hakluyt's account was followed by Purchas and by most other early writers, except De Laet, who made latitude 40° the northern limit.[10] The author of the *Famous Voyage* is not known; but it is not unlikely that Hakluyt himself compiled it from papers and verbal statements of Drake's companions. A new account was compiled and published in 1628 by Drake's nephew from the notes of Francis Fletcher, who accompanied the corsair as chaplain or preacher, and of others.[11]

I proceed to quote all of this narrative relating to

[7] *A discourse of Sir Francis Drakes iorney*, MS. of British Museum, in Hakluyt Soc. ed. of *Drake's World Encompassed*, 183–4.

[8] Here we notice the search for a northern strait is ignored altogether.

[9] *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 440, 736–7.

[10] *Laet, Novus Orbis*, 307. Greenhow cites Laet as following Hakluyt.

[11] *Drake, The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios formerly imprinted; Carefully collected out of the Notes of Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this imployment, and diuers others his followers in the same*, etc. London, 1628; also eds. of 1632 and 1635. The latest and best is that of the Hakluyt Society of 1854, with appendices and introduction by W. S. W. Vaux. The appendices include the *Famous Voyage*, from Hakluyt, and also several MS. narratives or fragments on the subject—in fact all the evidence existing on the voyage.

the northern part, except a portion of the long disquisition on the climate:

"From *Guatulco* wee departed the day following, viz., *Aprill* 16, setting our course directly into the sea, whereon wee sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and *June* 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42° of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grieuously complaine thereof...the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnnatural congealed and frozen substance...It came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. further to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst vs, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keep themselues within their couerts...Our meate, as soone as it was remooued from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen vp...The land in that part of America, bearing further out into the West then wee before imagined, we were neerer on it then wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came vnto it, the more extremitie of cold did sease vpon vs. The 5 day of *Iune,* we were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which wee then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade wee could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate vpon vs, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea preuailed nothing, till the gusts of winde againe remoued them, which brought with them such extremitie and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them. In this place was no abiding for vs; and to go further North, the extremity of the coald...would not permit vs; and the windes directly bent against vs, hauing once gotten

vs vnder sayle againe, commanded vs to the Southward whether wee would or no. From the height of 48 deg., in which now wee were, to 38°, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in *June*, and the sunne in his neerest approch vnto them, being couered with snow... Wee coniecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely) or if there be, that yet it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though wee searched the coast diligently, euen vnto the 48 deg., yet found wee not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia."

I have thus placed before the reader all that is known about Drake's northern voyage. I do not deem it necessary to name the many writers who have repeated and some of whom have commented on all or part of the evidence cited.[12] Between the 43° of the *Famous Voyage* and the latitude 48° of the *World Encompassed* there has been much difference of opinion, especially during the territorial disputes between England and the United States, the question of original discovery of the Oregon Territory being involved. I may refer the reader to Greenhow and Twiss as champions in the partisan discussion.[13] The process of reasoning, or rather of special pleading, more ingenious than convincing, is to attack the general credibility of one narrative, pointing out and exaggerating its defects and discrepancies, and to conceal and explain similar defects in the other, naming also the eminent writers who have adopted its statements. As in most discussions, a large space is also devoted

[12] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. iii., this series, for a full list of authorities.

[13] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 71–5; *Id., Memoir*, 201–4; *Twiss' Oregon Question*, 23–57; *Id., Hist. Or.*, 26–49. Twiss in some respects has decidedly the best of the argument, chiefly because of his advantages in the matter of bibliography, and consequent ability to expose his opponent's blunders, many of his seeming triumphs therefore having no bearing on the question at issue.

on both sides to arguments bearing on the accuracy of the disputant's position on irrelevant or unimportant questions. I have no space for the examination of each petty point; but neither of the rival narratives has been proved spurious or wholly unreliable, or indeed free from serious defects.

From the marked differences in statements of writers who were contemporary with Drake, and whose good faith in this matter is not questioned, the reader will perhaps conclude with me that Drake's companions in their notes and verbal statements did not agree respecting the northern limit of the voyage; that observations in the north had been few and contradictory; that possibly the regular diary, if any had been kept, was lost, and memory alone depended on; and at any rate that the truth cannot be known respecting the latitude of the freebooters' landfall. But when it comes to a weighing of the probabilities between the *Famous Voyage* and the *World Encompassed*, that is between latitudes 43° and 48°, the reader will note several weighty considerations in favor of the former. The lowest latitude was that first announced. Richard Hakluyt was a compiler of great reputation; his opportunities in this matter were of course more than ordinary; and the fact that he changed the latitude from 42° to 43° indicates that his attention was called particularly to this matter. The compiler of the *World Encompassed*, on the other hand, is unknown as a writer; he is known to have taken some liberties with Fletcher's notes,[14] and he was exposed to the temptation at least of accepting the highest latitude named by his authorities, both to magnify the importance of his hero's services in searching for the strait, and to account for the excessive cold experienced. And as to Fletcher's veracity and accuracy, our faith is not strengthened by the many glaring

[14] This is the statement of Mr Vaux, the editor of the Hakluyt Soc. edition, 12, a portion of Fletcher's MS. on an earlier part of the voyage being extant.

absurdities of the narrative, by his deliberate falsehoods respecting the Oregon and California climate—notably the snow-covered hills in June—and the wealth of the country in gold and silver, or by the fact that Drake himself once termed him "ye falsest knave that liveth." Moreover, the advance of six degrees of latitude in two days against contrary winds is not reassuring, to say nothing of the statement that the coast above latitude 38° trends always north-west, without turning so much as a point to the eastward.

I am therefore led to conclude that Drake was probably, though not certainly, the first discoverer of the western coast from Cape Mendocino to the region of Cape Blanco, including fifty or sixty miles of the Oregon coast, but that his claim to discovery above latitude 43° is not supported by existing evidence. Two interesting questions might have arisen in connection with this voyage, but never did, since England took no steps to profit by Drake's discovery. The first is, what territorial rights, if any, do the discoveries of a privateer or outlaw confer upon his nation? And the second, did not Cabrillo's voyage, extending to latitude 43° or 44°, according to an official diary written in good faith, give to Spain for the next two centuries and more the same territorial rights as if he had really reached the latitude named, even though we may now be certain that he did not go so far?

The third voyage of the period, that of Francisco de Gali, requires but a brief notice here, since the claim that it extended to the Northwest Coast and to latitude 57° 30′ appears to have no other foundation than the misrepresentation or blunder of a translator. Gali came across from Asia in 1584 and sighted the coast in latitude 37° 30′. His narrative exists only in a Dutch translation by Linschoten of 1596, often reprinted and retranslated. A French translator changed the locality to latitude 57° 30′, and the course of sail-

ing to correspond. Navarrete repeated the error, as did others relying on his authority.[15]

On January 3, 1603, Sebastian Vizcaino, in command of two Spanish exploring vessels, the *San Diego* and *Tres Reyes*, the latter being commanded by Martin Aguilar, sailed from Monterey to the north.[16] Just above Point Reyes, on the 7th, the vessels parted, Aguilar keeping on his way and Vizcaino turning back to the old San Francisco. The commander went on also the next day with a light wind, and by January 12th was within fourteen leagues of what he supposed to be Cape Mendocino, in latitude 41° 30′. A furious wind with sleet sprang up next day from the south-east, threatening destruction. All but six men were down with the scurvy; they dared not go farther; and the vessel was hove to and awaited a favorable wind that might carry her to the south. In two days she drifted to Cape Mendocino; and on the 19th, when the fog cleared away with a change of the wind to the north-west, she was found to be in latitude 42°, at a white cape near high snowy mountains, which from the color of the earth and from the day was named Cabo Blanco de San Sebastian. Thence Vizcaino with a favorable wind followed the coast southward in search of the consort.

Meanwhile Aguilar, parting from his commander on January 7th, was in latitude 41° when struck by the south-east gale. The *Tres Reyes* ran before the wind to a shelter behind a great cliff near Cape Mendocino; and after the wind had calmed somewhat "they continued their voyage close along the land, and on January 19th the pilot of the *Fragata*, Antonio Flores, found himself in latitude 43°, where the shore makes a cape, or point, which was named Cabo Blanco, from which the coast begins to run to the north-west"—or, as Padre Ascension says, north-east—"and near it was found a very copious and

[15] For details of Gali's voyage see *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. iii., this series.
[16] For Vizcaino's voyage on the lower coasts see *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. iii.

soundable river, on the banks of which were very large ashes, willows, brambles, and other trees of Castile; and wishing to enter it the current would not permit it." Then Aguilar and Flores agreed, as they had many sick, and had already gone farther than the viceroy's instructions required, to turn back to Acapulco. Both died on the way, only Estévan Lopez and four men surviving to relate their northern discoveries.[17]

Thus is given in text and note all that is known of this voyage north of San Francisco, from all of which it appears that, as in the earlier voyages, there are difficulties in fixing the limit reached. If we take the latitudes as approximately correct we must suppose that Vizcaino reached the Point St George and Aguilar the Cape Blanco of modern maps just below latitudes 42° and 43° respectively. In the narrative no Californian latitudes south of Mendocino are given

[17] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, i. 715–25. Padre Ascension, who was on Vizcaino's ship, received from Lopez an account of what happened to the other vessel, and was Torquemada's authority, in his *Relacion*, 558, seems to confound the movements of the two vessels. He says: 'On the coast we saw the port of San Francisco... and we arrived at Cape Mendocino, which is in 42°, the highest latitude which is reached by the China ships. Here, it being midwinter, the cold and rigging cruel, and almost all the men sick, the sails were lowered, the *Capitana* was hove to, and, as she could not steer, the currents carried her slowly toward the land, running to the strait of Anian, which here has its entrance; and in eight days we had advanced more than one degree of latitude, to 43°, in sight of a point named San Sebastian, near which empties a river named Santa Inés. Here no one landed, because all were in poor health, only six persons being able to stand. The coast and land turns to the N. E., and this is the head and end of the mainland of California.' Then they turned about and examined the coast to the southward. In a cédula of August 19, 1606, the king, in alluding to Vizcaino's voyage, says: 'All that coast up to 40° runs one part with another from S. E. to N. W., and for the other two degrees up to 42° it runs almost due N. and S.' *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, i. 196. Vizcaino's map, as reproduced by Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, Atlas No. 4, shows nothing above Cape Mendocino but a 'half inch' of coast trending N. E. toward Cape Blanco. Cabrera Bueno, in 1734, *Navegacion Especulativa*, 302, who derived his information mainly from Vizcaino's exploration, but also to some extent, perhaps, from the observations of the Manila ships, begins his sailing directions with a cape in 42°, about eight leagues south of which was another point with some white cliffs, in 41° 30′, called Cape Mendocino, whence the coast runs S. E. to a point in 39° 30′, and thence S. E. ¼ S. to Point Reyes, in 38° 30′. Both latitudes and coast trend are very faulty, but the central point must be Point Arena, 30′ too high, like Point Reyes; and the northern points, eight leagues apart, must apparently be identified, if at all, with the false Mendocino eight miles above and the Point Gorda fourteen miles below, the real Mendocino.

to serve as a test; but Cabrera Bueno's latitudes, doubtless obtained from Vizcaino's log, show an excess of 30′ at Point Reyes and Monterey, increasing both north and south to a full degree or more. This test would bring Aguilar back to Point St George and Vizcaino to Trinidad. Again, there can be little doubt respecting the identity of Cape Mendocino, which was put in latitude 41° 30′, so that if we place capes San Sebastian and Blanco respectively half a degree and a degree and a half beyond Mendocino we still have Trinidad and St George as the points reached. If we turn to the description of landmarks we find plenty of difficulties, but very little to support either theory. There is nowhere in the region visited a large river just beyond a cape.[18] Ascension's statement that the coast turned to the north-east might be applied to that beyond any one of several capes for a short distance; but the north-western trend in Torquemada's narrative can apply only to St George; and indeed the small Smith River with its lagoons just above that point may quite plausibly be made to serve as Aguilar's river, since discoveries of a strait in those times were made to rest on very frail foundations. In view of such slight evidence as exists I deem it unlikely that Aguilar passed the present boundary line of latitude 42°.

Thus at the end of what has been termed the first epoch of Oregon history we find that Oregon was to all intents and purposes an undiscovered country. There is a strong probability that the Spaniards under Ferrelo and Aguilar had not passed the line of latitude 42°; and the probability that Drake had done so is not a very convincing one—that is, it rests mainly on the lack of evidence to the contrary. There is much reason to suspect that if Drake's observations of latitude had been more frequent, or if Fletcher

[18] Unless it be the Umpqua, where the trees are said to agree somewhat better with Aguilar's description than at other points; but the river is in 43° 40′, and these voyagers uniformly made their latitude too high.

had diverted a portion of his zeal from the climate to the description of landmarks, evidence might not be wanting that the Englishmen did not reach 43°; while if the Spaniards had abstained somewhat from such descriptions and observations it is very certain that their claim to have reached the same or a higher latitude could not be successfully disputed.

Nothing was accomplished by Spain on the western coast beyond the gulf of California for one hundred and sixty-six years after Vizcaino's return. During this period there was no lack of exploring projects urged upon the attention of the king, as we have seen in presenting another phase of this topic; but the government could not be roused to action. There was no longer a hope, save on the part of certain enthusiasts, of finding great and rich kingdoms in the north; the finding of a strait was no longer desirable to Spain. As before observed, the fear that it would be found and held by foreigners had been somewhat allayed in official circles; there was in many respects a decline of Spanish power and energy, besides a multiplicity of more urgent matters than the exploration of unknown coasts. But during the reign of Cárlos III., which began in 1759, there was a marked revival of enterprise in all directions; and that monarch was not more fortunate in his choice of ministers at home than in that of a representative in the New World, for which position he chose José de Galvez as visitador general. All the old motives for northern exploration remained in full force, the extension of territory, the conversion of souls, the occupation of ports for the Manila ships, the taking possession of a possible interoceanic strait, and the prevention of foreign encroachments; and there was an additional motive in the reports of recent Russian discoveries in the far north. Under the intelligent and energetic supervision of Galvez, who later became minister of the Indies, the Californian coast from San

Diego to San Francisco was promptly occupied in 1769 and the following years, as fully recorded elsewhere in this history.[19]

It had been intended to include in the general movement an examination of the coast far above San Francisco; and that examination was hastened by new reports of Russian expeditions, which came by way of Madrid from the Spanish minister in St Petersburg.[20] In 1773 an expedition was planned for the next year. The new transport *Santiago*, built expressly for the Californian service, was deemed the best vessel for the purpose; and to Juan Perez, the officer who in the late expeditions had been the first to reach San Diego and Monterey, was given the command. Laden with a year's supplies for the northern missions, and having on board also the returning presi-

[19] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. iv. et seq.

[20] *Maurelle, Compendio de Noticias adquiridas en los descubrimientos de la costa septentrional de la N. California, hecho por órden del Ex^mo Sr. Virey Conde de Revilla-Gigedo con la prolixidad posible* (1791). This is the title of a MS. in the collection of M. Pinart, which contains copies of the correspondence on Russian discoveries leading to the expedition of Perez. The correspondence *en résumé* is as follows: February 7, 1773, Conde de Lasci, Spanish minister in Russia, to Marqués de Grimaldi: Has heard that the Russian Tschericow in 1769–71 made a voyage to America; the result thought to be important, but kept a profound secret; will try to unravel it. April 11th, Arriaga, minister of navy, sends the preceding to viceroy, with orders to investigate. July 27th, viceroy's reply: No foreign establishments below Monterey; aid needed to explore beyond; has ordered Juan Perez to form a plan. September 25th, Arriaga to viceroy: Sends by king's order three letters of Lasci: first, of March 19th, has succeeded in getting from a man who has read the secret archives an account of the voyage of Cweliacow and Panowbafew in 1764; the new regions doubtless in California, and steps should be taken; second, of May 7th, Russian ambition is so vast that it intends not only to invade China but to send an expedition against Japan under an Englishman; third, of May 11th, the famous Haller has proposed to send a Russian squadron to the American archipelago. December 23d, Arriaga to viceroy: The king will send officers, etc. June 15, 1774, *Id.* to *Id.*, with another letter from Lasci confirming the others, and including a *Calendario Ruso de 1774*, which contains a mass of descriptive matter on northern geography, mostly quoted from Muller and Staehlin. August 25, 1773, viceroy to Córdoba, general of the fleet: Has resolved on an expedition in 1774. September 1st, Córdoba approves, but is ignorant of northern waters. July 18th, viceroy orders Juan Perez to form a plan. September 1st, Perez' plan: He proposes to strike the coast in 45° or 50°, and thence explore down the coast with the wind. The *Santiago* is the best vessel; and the best time from December to February. A year's supplies needed, and an order on the presidios for men in case of sickness. September 29th, viceroy approves plan, but Perez must go as far as 60°. Some other unimportant correspondence about outfit, etc.; also two orders from Spain to the viceroy to dislodge the Russians if found.

dent, Padre Junípero Serra, with another padre and several officials for California, the *Santiago* sailed from San Blas January 24th, and having touched at San Diego, arrived at Monterey on May 9th.[21]

The missionaries Crespí and Peña were appointed by President Serra to act as chaplains and keep diaries of the voyage in place of the chaplain Mugártegui, and surgeon Dávila took the place of the regular surgeon. There were eighty-eight persons on board, officers and men. On June 11th, after solemn public prayers for the success of the expedition, Perez set sail from Monterey. His instructions were to make the land wherever he might deem it best, but at least as high as latitude 60°, and thence to follow the coast southward as near as possible without risk. No settlements were to be made, but the best places were to be noted; and the commander was to take possession of such places for the king, erecting a cross at each and burying a bottle with the proper documents. If any foreign settlement was found, the formality of taking possession must be commenced above it. All such establishments were to be carefully examined, but not interfered with; neither to the inhabitants of such places nor to vessels met on the way was the nature of the mission to be divulged; if met below Monterey, Perez was to say his business was to carry supplies; if above, that he had been driven out of his course by the wind.[22] This voyage was well recorded, there being no less than four distinct diaries extant.[23]

[21] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. x., for an account of the voyage up to the departure from Monterey.

[22] *Perez, Instruccion que el Exmo Sr. Virey dió á los comandantes de buques de exploraciones 24 de Dic., 1773.* MS. in the Pinart collection. There are 32 articles, with many routine details on outfit, diaries, kind treatment of natives, etc. A Russian map of 'pretended' discoveries was furnished Perez. To the *Instruccion* is appended a *Formulario que ha de servir de pauta para extender las escripturas de posesion en los descubrimientos de que está encargado Juan Perez.*

[23] The first is *Crespí, Diario de la espedicion de mar que hizo la fragata Santiago*, printed in *Palou, Noticias*, i. 624–88; second, *Peña, Diario del Viage de Juan Perez*, MS., in *Viages al Norte de Cal.*, No. 1, copied from the Spanish archives, and not complete; third, *Perez, Relacion del Viage de . . . piloto y alférez de la Real Armada, 1774*, MS., in *Mayer MSS.*, No. 12; also in *Maurelle,*

By reason of calms the *Santiago* was still in sight of Point Pinos on June 15th; on the 17th they lost sight of land; on the 24th were south of the Santa Bárbara Islands; and it was not until the 29th that they again passed the latitude of Monterey. Then with winds generally favorable, but constant fogs, they kept to the northward, far from land; passed the line of latitude 42° on July 4–5, and decided on the 15th in a junta of officers to seek a port for water, being then in latitude 51° 42′. For the next three days, having followed the coast to latitude 55°, Perez tried in vain to round a point in that latitude, beyond which the coast turned to the east. As this is the first undoubted discovery of the territory herein designated as the Northwest Coast, I give his geographical observations from his movable station off the cape somewhat in full from three of the diaries.[24] There is some

*Compendio de Noticias*, 159–75; and fourth, *Perez, Tabla Diaria que contiene las latitudes, longitudes, variaciones, y vientos de cada 24 horas en el viaje de 1774 á los descubrimientos*, MS., in *Maurelle, Compendio* 179–85. See also brief accounts of this voyage in *Navarrete, Sutil y Mex., Viage*, 92–3; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, 331–2; *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 107; *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 53–4; *Greenhow's Mem.*, 69; *Id., Or. and Cal.*, 114–17; *Twiss' Hist. Or.*, 55–6; *Id., Or. Quest.*, 66–7; *Falconer's Or. Quest.*, 19; *Id., Discov. Miss.*, 62; *Bustamante*, in *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 119; *Palou, Vida*, 160–2; *Forbes' Hist. Cal.*, 114–16; *Calvo, Col. Trat.*, iii. 338; *Overland Monthly*, April, 1871, p. 299; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, August 7, 1863; *Nicolay's Oregon Ter.*, 30–2; *Findlay's Directory*, i. 349–50; *Poussin, Question de l'Orégon*, 38–9; *Id., U. S.*, 247; *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, 263–7; *MacGregor's Prog. Amer.*, i. 535.

[24] From the *Tabla Diaria:* July 19th, approached a point called Santa Margarita, thought to be in 55°. N. of this point is seen a cape called Santa Magdalena, from which the coast trends N. W. Sixteen leagues W. of that cape is an island called Santa Cristina, which is seven or eight leagues N. of Point Santa Margarita. Between the points Santa Margarita and Santa Magdalena is a large gulf, from which the current runs six or seven miles an hour. This is accurate enough for Point North and the southern extremities of Prince of Wales Island if we transpose the sixteen leagues and seven or eight leagues and reduce the latitude to 54° 10′. Peña's diary, or the fragment before me, does not include this part of the voyage. From *Perez, Relacion:* 18th, sighted land in 53° 53′; tried to follow shore for an anchorage, but were soon prevented by rainy and foggy weather and S. E. wind; 19th, turned E. N. E. toward a point cut down by the sea, called Santa Margarita, estimated to be in 55°. The coast from the point of discovery to Santa Margarita runs half N. N. W. and the other half N. From Santa Margarita S. extends a hill (loma) for three leagues, that seems detached from the main coast, but is not an island; and at its southern end half a league out at sea is a little island one league in circumference, and outside of it at the same distance a rock six or eight varas high, and within a gunshot four or five small rocks causing breakers visible from afar. There are also three small islands a gunshot from Point Santa Marga-

confusion, but no more probably than may be attributed to errors of copyists and printers. It is clear that this navigator struck the coast of Queen Charlotte Island, and followed it up to its northern point, Cape North, in latitude 54° 15′, which he called Point

rita. The coast runs S. from Santa Margarita to a high snowy hill, and thence the land falls away to a tongue-shaped point, whence it turns S. E. North of Santa Margarita the coast runs low and wooded to the east for ten leagues without any beach that can be seen; and in this space is a low point formed by a hill, with two rocks, the point forming apparently a sheltered bight, but not accessible on account of the strong current, the ships being kept six or seven leagues off the coast. Eight leagues N. of Santa Margarita they saw a cape called Santa Magdalena; and between the two points is doubtless a large gulf, judging by the strong current of six or seven miles. It was also seen that seven leagues west of Cape Santa Magdalena (and not sixteen leagues, as in the *Tabla*, perhaps by a copyist's error) was an island five or six leagues in circumference, called Santa Cristina, and N. W. from Santa Margarita about seven leagues. July 21st, observation taken in 55°. All this agrees as well with the country about Dixon Strait as the best modern maps agree with each other, except that the latitude is too high. From *Crespí, Diario*, July 18th: Land seen at a distance; no observation; end of land appeared about sixteen leagues N. W. ¼ N.; very smoky; 19th, land at dawn eight or ten leagues distant; calm; land seems to end in N. N. W., and thence to turn N. W. At noon observation in 53° 58′; fresher wind in afternoon; at 5 P. M., being three leagues from shore, saw that the coast continues low northward beyond the cape; tacked to get farther from shore; 20th, in morning fog and drizzling rain, with E. wind and heavy sea, course N. ¼ N. E.; at 9 A.M. turned N. E.; at 10 were three leagues from the point, which seemed to be formed of three islands; at noon no observation; at 3 P.M. two leagues from the point, the three islands now appearing as one, and not very far from the coast; by the said point was formed a good bight; at 4 P.M. tacked away from shore; 21st, fog and drizzle; at 8 A.M. turned toward the point, named Santa Margarita, from yesterday, the day of its discovery; course E. ¼ N.; at noon no observation; one fourth league from the point which was coasted eastward, with a view of reaching what seemed to be an anchorage, but they could not double the point, nor find out if it was an island or a point of the main, because the current was so strong; lay becalmed off the point all the afternoon. The point Santa Margarita is a medium hill (loma), lofty, cut down to the sea, covered with trees like cypresses. It is about one league long, making two points, one to S. E. ¼ S. and the other to the S. E., from which begins a great bight (ensenada). From the point the low land stretches eastward ten leagues or more, also wooded. In the N. is seen, sixteen leagues off (which again shows a transposition in the *Tabla*), a very high wooded cape, named Santa María Magdalena. From that cape the high wooded coast runs E. and W. as far as can be seen; and N. W. from that coast was seen a small island, named Santa Catarina (not Santa Cristina, as in the other accounts), although they were not sure if it was an island or connected with the main. Cape Santa Magdalena is N. of Point Santa Margarita, and between them there is something like a large bight, which could not be explored for the strong current to learn if it was *ensenada, bolson,* or *estrecho;* and if it is only an *ensenada* it may be that some great river causes the current. Cape Santa María Magdalena is about ten leagues from Point Santa Margarita, which is the width of the mouth of the bight, pocket, strait, or gulf. Cape Magdalena extends into the sea from the east, and west of the point and very near it is the island of Santa Catarina. July 22d, tried to double the Point Margarita to find an anchorage behind it, but in vain. At noon latitude exactly 55°.

Santa Margarita, in latitude 55°. The strong currents running out of the great gulf or strait, which he did not name, but which is now Dixon Entrance, prevented his rounding the point. In the north he could see the present Prince of Wales Island and others round it, naming the nearest point—Point Muzon of modern maps—Cape Santa Magdalena, and an island farther west, now Forrester Island, Santa Cristina, or as Crespí says, Santa Catalina. For further details I refer to the note already given.

Though Perez did not land, he had much friendly intercourse with the natives, who came off in canoes, singing and scattering feathers on the water in token of peace. They were entirely friendly, but only two had the courage to board his ship. At one time there were twenty-one canoes with over two hundred natives about the vessel. They were glad to barter their dried fish, furs, wooden boxes, and images, mats of wool or hair, and other native products, particularly for knives and anything made of iron, but cared very little for beads and other trinkets. They had already some few articles of iron and copper. In accordance with the viceroy's instructions the people were described as fully as possible by Crespí and the others.

The impossibility of reaching here an anchorage and obtaining fresh water, together with the unfavorable weather, which prevented a close examination of the coast from point to point, determined Perez and his companions to abandon the effort to reach higher latitudes. On July 22d the *Santiago* was headed southward. The coast was seen on the 23d and 24th, a range of high snowy mountains named Sierra de San Cristóbal, thought to extend from latitude 54° 40′ to 53° 8′.[25] Until the 30th they had occasional glimpses

[25] *Tabla Diaria; Perez, Relacion.* Crespí, *Diario*, 655, says that from Santa Margarita the coast is low for seven leagues south; and from that low coast, in 50°44′ (a typographical error), the lofty mountains begin, wooded, and the peaks covered with snow. The sierra extends from 54° 44′ to 53° 8′. It is 36 leagues long from N. W. to S. E. The latitude on July 23d was 53° 48′; on the 24th, 51° 21′; 25th, 53° 21′; on the 26th, 52° 59′; 27th, 52° 41′; 28th, 52° 20′; 29th, 51° 30′; 30th, 51° 58′; 31st, 51° 35′; August 1st, 50° 20′; 2d, 49° 24′; 3d, 48° 52′;

of the coast down to about latitude 52°, always off Queen Charlotte; but the fog and wind would not permit the close examination desired. Then for five days no land was seen, until on the 5th of August it reappeared, in 48° 50′; and on the 7th in the afternoon, after many efforts and prayers, they approached the coast[26] and anchored in 49° 30′, calling their anchorage San Lorenzo. The anchorage was a 'C'-shaped roadstead, affording but slight protection; the southern rocky point, extending three fourths of a league north-westward into the sea and causing breakers, was named San Estévan, for the pilots, one of whom was Estévan Martinez, while the northern point was called Santa Clara, from the saint whose *novena* was being observed.[27]

San Lorenzo has been identified by modern writers with Nootka Sound; the latitude is the same; later Spanish navigators had no doubt of the identity; and the description agrees as well with this as with any other of the numerous inlets on this part of the coast—better, indeed, in respect of the distance between the two points than with the northern inlet. It is, however, impossible to speak positively about the identity of an inlet on a coast where there are so many, the description being vague, and the latitude somewhat too accurate in comparison with that of other points as given by Perez. San Lorenzo may have been Esperanza Inlet, north of Nootka Island,[28] or possibly an

4th, 48° 34′; 5th, 48° 50′. These latitudes are chiefly from the *Tabla*, but there are some slight variations in the other records, especially in Crespí, who is one day behind in the August latitudes.

[26] Crespí still is one day behind in his diary.

[27] In *Perez, Relacion*, Point Santa Clara is described as six leagues from the vessel and Point San Estévan two leagues. Crespí makes the distance between the points four or five leagues. The low hills near the shore were covered with trees; one league farther inland was a higher range, also wooded; and in the north a still higher range, with snow-covered peaks. The shelter seems only from a N. W. wind. Peña says the sierra in the N. W. was also called San Lorenzo; the name Point Estévan is retained for its southern point.

[28] Especially if Point Estévan is the same as Point Breakers, as Greenhow, Findlay, and others think. In this case Point Santa Clara would be Woody Point; otherwise Point Macuina or Point Bajo. See account of Cook's visit in next chapter. There is confusion in both narratives. In the *Tabla* we read,

inlet south of Nootka Sound.[29] The Indians came out in their canoes to trade. Here, as farther north, they were friendly, having also some articles of iron and copper. A boat was lowered on the 8th[30] to go to the shore for water; but a strong west wind sprang up suddenly, forcing them to cut the cable and put to sea, dragging the boat and narrowly escaping the rocky point.

Keeping in sight of the land for seven days, but unable to approach it for the wind, fog, and rain, Perez ran down to latitude 44° 33′, having seen on the 10th or 11th a lofty mountain covered with snow in latitude 48° 7′,[31] called Santa Rosalía, and supposed by later writers to have been the present Mount Olympus of Washington. On the 15th or 16th, being in latitude 42° 37′, they were much troubled that the fog prevented their search for Aguilar's river and Cape Blanco, noting the fact that the latitudes of the earlier navigators were too high. Land again appeared on the 21st or 22d for a short time, when what was regarded as Cape Mendocino, in about latitude 40° 8′, was seen in the north; the Farallones were passed on the 26th; and on the 27th the *Santiago* anchored at Monterey. The voyage to San Blas lasted from October 9th to November 3d.

In this expedition Juan Perez, though he had not reached latitude 60°, as instructed, nor discovered any good ports, nor landed anywhere to take possession

'Este parage es justamente la boca de Nuca,' which is evidently Maurelle's interpolation of later date. The southern point at Nootka is still called Estévan on some maps, Point Breakers on others. Point Santa Clara must be the later Point Macuina, or at least cannot be Woody Point, as Greenhow states.

[29] The silver spoons found by Cook five years later came from a place south of Nootka Sound. *Cook's Voy.*, ii. 282.

[30] On the 9th, according to Crespí and Peña. My fragment of the latter's diary begins with August 9th.

[31] According to the *Tabla*, on the 10th they were in 48° 9′, and thought the mountain to be in 48° 5′; the *Relacion* has it that they saw it on the 11th, when they were in 47° 47′, and thought it to be in 48° 7′. Peña and Crespí say they saw it on the 11th, being in 48° 9′. The mountain was in sight both days. Peña notes that at first it seemed a *barranca blanca* close to the shore, with high broken snowless land above it; but later they saw that it was some distance inland, and that there were other snowy mountains.

for Spain, nor found either foreign establishments or proof of their non-existence, had still gained the honor of having discovered practically the whole Northwest Coast. He had surveyed a large portion of the two great islands that make up the coast of British Columbia, giving the first description of the natives; he had seen and described, though vaguely and from a distance, nearly all of the Washington coast, and a large part of the Oregon. He had given to his nation whatever of credit and territorial claims may be founded on the mere act of first discovery. To give any degree of precedence in these respects to later navigators who were enabled to make a more detailed examination is as absurd as to regard the officers of the United States coast survey, who have done such excellent service for geography and commerce, as the discoverers of the Northwest Coast. Whether Perez made the best use of his opportunities it is very difficult to decide. Maurelle in 1791 criticises most severely a commander who was driven back by thirst when he might easily have carried water for six months; who complained of the scurvy, when only one man was lost; who could find no anchorage on a coast where many good ports existed; and who with his associates could write so many diaries with so little information.[32] And Mr Greenhow says: "The government of Spain, perhaps, acted wisely in concealing the accounts of the expedition, which reflected little honor on the courage or the science of its navigators."[33] It seems to me, however, that the criticisms are severe, since the diaries contain a tolerably good account of all that was learned in the voyage; and Perez, a bold and experienced pilot, was a better judge than I, possibly better than the writers named, of the difficulties in the way of learning more. It should be added that no account of this voyage was given to the world until the ap-

[32] *Maurelle, Compendio*, 175–7.
[33] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 116.

pearance of Navarrete's *résumé* in 1802, which contained only a very brief outline of the facts.

The second exploring expedition of the epoch followed closely upon the first, being despatched in 1775. Naval officers had been sent out from Spain, as promised in correspondence already noted, to take charge of the San Blas department with its Californian and exploring service. They accordingly took command of the four vessels sailing to the north this year, two bound for California with mission and presidio supplies, the others for the coasts farther north. Bruno Heceta, lieutenant and acting captain, was commander of the expedition, and the vessel chosen for his flag-ship was the *Santiago* of the last year's voyage. Juan Perez went on her as *piloto*, or sailing-master, and second in command; Cristóbal Revilla was his mate; and the chaplains were the Franciscan padres Campa and Sierra, who became missionaries in California. The ship also carried a quantity of supplies for Monterey. The schooner *Sonora*, alias *Felicidad*, was selected as the consort, commanded by lieutenant Juan Francisco de Bodega y Cuadra,[34] with Alférez Antonio Maurelle as *piloto*. Supplies for a year's cruise were taken, and the force of both vessels numbered one hundred and six men. Heceta's instructions were the same as had been those of Perez, except that latitude 65° instead of latitude 60° was named as the northern limit. They sailed from San Blas on March 16th, the schooner towed by the ship; but the winds were not favorable, and it was not until May 21st that they reached the latitude of Monterey, where it was decided in council not to enter. They finally drew near the land in 42° on June 7th, and followed the coast southward until they discovered the port of Trinidad. Heceta's operations on the Californian coast, like those of Ayala and Quirós in

[34] Lieutenant Juan B. Ayala was at first put in command, with Cuadra as his second; but he had to be transferred to the *San Cárlos*.

the other vessels of this year, have been already recorded.[35]

The *Santiago* and *Sonora* left Trinidad on June 19th for the north, keeping together until the end of July.[36]

Little progress was made northward in the unfavorable and variable winds; but by the end of June they were over one hundred leagues away from the coast. Cuadra and Maurelle were in favor of going still farther out, so as to run far to the north when the winds should come; but Heceta chose to follow the judgment of Perez, as indeed his instructions required him to do, who represented the winds to be from a southern quarter, favorable to progress along the coast northward. When the wind came, however, it was from the west and north-west, driving them landward sooner than they desired. On July 9th they

[35] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. xi.

[36] *Heceta, Segunda Exploracion de la Costa Septentrional de Cal., 1775*, in *Mayer's MSS.*, No. 12½, is a narrative, no author being named, of the *Santiago's* movements down to August 15th, completed down to August 30th, by *Heceta, Viage de 1775*, MS., in *Viages al Norte*, No. 2. The schooner's movements are of course included down to the separation. *Heceta, Diario*, is the commander's narrative, substantially but not literally the same as the preceding, of which I have only an extract relating to the Columbia River region, given by Greenhow. *Bodega y Cuadra, Viage de 1775*, MS., in *Viages al Norte*, No. 2½, is a narrative by Cuadra himself of the *Sonora's* voyage from August 4th to November 20th, after the separation. *Maurelle, Diario del Viage de la Sonora, 1775*, MS., in *Viages al Norte*, No. 3, is the second *piloto's* narrative of the whole voyage of the schooner and of the ship so long as they were together, with reflections, tables, etc., at the end. *Maurelle's Journal of a Voyage in 1775*, London, 1781, published among *Barrington's Miscellanies*, is an English translation of a narrative similar to but not identical with that last named. It contains a map, introduced by the publisher to illustrate the voyage. *Bodega y Cuadra, Comento de la Navegacion*, MS., in *Viages al Norte*, No. 6, is a summary narrative by Cuadra, covering the same ground as that of Maurelle. *Heceta, Espedicion marítima*, in *Palou, Noticias*, ii. 219–43, 250–7, is a narrative of the voyage of both vessels, probably founded on the chaplains' diaries, but much confused in the printing. The original charts of this voyage, as of the preceding, if any were made, have never been published and are not known to be extant. Such are the original authorities on Heceta's expedition. For minor references to works that mention the voyage, but contain no additional information, see the references for Perez' voyage, note 23 of this chapter, and later pages in each reference; also *Fleurieu*, in *Marchand, Voy.*, i. lxvii.-lxxx.; *Murr, Nachrichten*, 401; *Farnham's Hist. Oregon*, 12-13; *Dunn's Hist. Oregon*, 299; *Swan's N. W. Coast*, 224-6; *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 352-4; *Fédix l'Orégon*, 62; *Rossi, Souvenirs*, 58–9; *Rouhaud, Régions Nouvelles*, 11; *Saint-Amant, Voy.*, 144; *Simpson's Narr.*, i. 260; *Northern Pass. Summary*, 28–9. Greenhow, pp. 430–3, gives a quotation from Heceta's report, and a long quotation from Maurelle is found in *U. S. Gov. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. No. 101*, pp. 42–7.

recognized their proximity to the coast, supposing themselves to be near the northern point of Fuca Strait, according to the French map of M. Bellin, and on the 11th sighted land in latitude 48° 26′. Searching southward in vain for an inlet or port, the vessels anchored on the 13th in latitude 47° 23′,[37] the schooner behind a point and a line of shoals, which proved a very dangerous anchorage, and the ship outside some miles farther south.

The place where the Spaniards were now anchored was the Point Grenville of modern maps, in latitude 47° 20′. A barren island farther north, which they discovered and named Isla de Dolores, was Destruction Island. They had proved that Fuca's imaginary strait did not exist between latitudes 47° and 48°; and their landfall had been a few miles too far south to reveal the strait that now bears Fuca's name. To the anchorage, which one diary at least calls Rada de Bucareli,[38] according to Navarrete, or to the point, as Greenhow says, the name of Mártires was applied, in consequence of the disaster to be mentioned presently. I do not find any record of the name, however, in the original narratives. On July 14th Europeans set foot for the first time on the soil of the Northwest Coast. Captain Heceta, with Padre Sierra, Surgeon Dávalos, the second piloto, Cristóbal Revilla, and a few sailors, landed in the morning to erect a cross and take formal possession, though the time did not permit the celebration of mass. But few Indians were present at the ceremony, and they were altogether friendly; indeed they had before visited the ship in a canoe, carrying skins to barter and inviting the Spaniards to land.

[37] This is the latitude given in *Heceta, Espedicion*, and *Maurelle, Diario*. In *Heceta, Segunda Explor.*, it is 47° 24′, and in *Maurelle's Journal* 47° 21′. In the table at the end of *Id.* the latitudes by observation and reckoning respectively are given as follows: July 9th, 47° 37′ and 47° 44′; 10th, 47° 35′ and 47° 45′; 11th, 48° 26′ and 48° 32′; 12th, 47° 39′ and 48° 1′; 13th, 47° 28′ and 47° 41′; 14th, 47° 20′ and 47° 24′. The variations are no greater than would naturally result from the observations on two vessels.

[38] So called also in *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe, 12 Abril, 1793.*

The schooner, anchored a few miles farther north, was also visited this day and the preceding by large numbers of Indians, who were eager to trade, especially for articles of iron, and who were very demonstrative in their assurances of friendship, urging the strangers to visit their ranchería. After he succeeded in removing the *Sonora* from her dangerous position among the shoals, Cuadra resolved to send a party ashore to obtain wood and water. He trusted to the friendly disposition of the natives and to past experience at Trinidad. Six men, under command of the boatswain Pedro Santa Ana, were accordingly sent to land in the boat. The Indians, some three hundred in number, were hidden in the woods near the landing, and no sooner had the Spaniards left the boat than they rushed to attack them. Two sprang into the sea and were drowned; the rest were immediately killed and torn in pieces, the boat also being broken up for the nails. Cuadra could afford no succor, having no boat, even if he had been able to man one. The savages even came off in their canoes and surrounded the schooner, as if to prevent her departure; but one of the canoes venturing too near had six of its men killed by the guns of the Spaniards. On rejoining the ship, Cuadra and some others desired to march with thirty men against the Indians to avenge the massacre, but a council decided that such an act would be unwise.

The council also discussed the expediency of sending the *Sonora* back to Monterey, on account of her small size—thirty-six feet long, twelve feet wide, and eight feet deep—the rough weather, and the difficulty of keeping the vessels together. But Cuadra and Maurelle insisted on being allowed to proceed, urging that they were not likely to experience worse weather than that which they had survived; and Heceta, with the assent of most of the officers, decided in their favor. Six men were furnished to replace the seven lost; and on the evening of the 14th the two vessels set sail.

The course was westward, and losing slightly in latitude, by the end of the month they were over one hundred leagues from the coast. Meanwhile, on the 19th, Perez and the surgeon in writing advised a return southward, on account of sickness, contrary winds, and the lateness of the season; but Cuadra and Maurelle again opposed such action, and the commander yielded again to their advice. On the 30th a wind from the north struck the vessels and separated them. Let us follow Heceta and the *Santiago:* On the morning of July 31st, in latitude 46° 42′, the schooner being no longer in sight, a council was held on the ship, in which the officers favored a return to Monterey, because the scurvy had not left men enough fit for duty to manage the vessel in case of a storm. Heceta yielded so far as to turn his course toward the coast, but in doing this he also sailed as far north as possible, and on August 10th they sighted land, being in latitude 49° 30′, that is, in the region of Nootka. In the north-west was seen a mountain resembling the peak of Teneriffe, in about latitude 50°, and another farther south resembling the cuchillada de Roldan in Valencia. Next day the master, mate, and surgeon renewed their warnings, Perez claiming that showers like those of the past year would surely leave not a man for duty, and Heceta determined to follow the coast southward. On the 12th they noticed that in the first fifteen leagues above latitude 49° there were two salient points, with a bight three or four leagues deep, with a beach and low hills, which may have been Clayoquot Sound, or perhaps by an error of latitude Barclay Sound, farther south. The natives came off to trade, selling one of their four canoes and urging the Spaniards to land.[39]

According to the narratives, Heceta kept near the shore, anchoring often, and having clear, favorable

[39] According to *Heceta, Esped. Martt.*, this was on August 13th, when they were in 49° 5′; the 14th they were in 48° 32′, and the *condestable* died; the 15th in 48° 3′ (or 47° 34′ in afternoon according to another account); Greenhow's account of this part of the voyage is very erroneous.

weather; but if this had been strictly true he could hardly have missed the entrance to the strait. He saw two small islands about a league from shore, in latitude 48° 4′,[40] and located Dolores, or Destruction Island, in latitude 47° 58′, or eighteen miles too far north.

On the 15th, in latitude 47° 34′, ten Indians came off in a canoe to trade. The sailors pretended to recognize some of those engaged in the massacre of July, and efforts were made to entice them on board with a view of holding some of them as hostages, if by chance any Spaniard had survived; but the savages were too wary, and when at last the grappling-irons were thrown at the canoe they struck an Indian in the back but did not hold.

Still keeping near the wooded shore, and noting some rocks, or small islands, Heceta in the afternoon of the 17th discovered a bay with strong currents and eddies, indicating the mouth of a great river or strait, in latitude 46° 9′,[41] which but for the latitude the navigator would have identified with Fuca Strait, but which he now named Bahia de la Asuncion, calling the northern point San Roque and the southern Cabo Frondoso. It was subsequently called by the Spaniards Ensenada de Heceta; and was of course the mouth of the Columbia River between capes Disappointment and Adams.[42] No exploration was attempted, because there were not men enough to raise the anchor if it were once lowered, or with safety to man the launch. Next day, in latitude 45° 43′, a point

[40] The charts show many small rocks along the coast between Destruction Island and Cape Flattery. These *islotes* may have been Flattery Rocks or any of the others. It is clear enough that Heceta did not examine this part of the coast so closely as was pretended.

[41] According to *Heceta, Esped. Marít.*, it was in 46° 11′. In *Heceta, Diario*, the reader is referred to the map for the latitude; but in the tables at the end, according to Greenhow, the latitude of the 17th is given as 46° 17′, probably at noon. The true latitude of the entrance at its middle is about 46° 15′.

[42] Heceta's statement that the points ran in the angle of 10° of the third quadrant—that is, 10° west of south—is unintelligible, the true direction being about 40° of the second quadrant, or nearly S. E. In the *Esped. Marít.* the points are said to be a league and a half apart, the inlet 'haciendo horizonte' in the east, and supposed to be a river.

named Cape Falcon, perhaps Tillamook or False Tillamook.[43] Next were seen three farallones, called the Tres Marías, in latitude 45° 30′[44]; then came a flat-topped mountain called the Mesa, or Table Mountain, in latitude 45° 28′[45]; and on the 20th in 43° they saw ten small islands and more, noting three others in latitude 42° 36′,[46] passing Mendocino on August 26th, and anchoring at Monterey on the 29th. Thirty-five sick men were landed next day, ten remaining on board, one of whom died.

I have now to follow Cuadra in the *Sonora*. At dawn on July 31st the ship could not be seen; and the captain sought her in the very direction that he wished to go for purposes of exploration—that is, straight out to sea.

Cuadra and Maurelle state in their narratives that the separation was accidental, and imply that their subsequent course westward was in accordance with the proposed course of both vessels, no change having been ordered, though such a change was probable. But in another account it is stated with much plausibility, and probably on good authority, that the separation was deliberately planned by the two commanders to appear accidental. Heceta realized that very soon he would be forced to yield to the clamors of his officers and men and to order a return. But Cuadra not only desired to go on, but was confident of success; and accordingly it was arranged that the bold explorer should lose sight of the ship

[43] A lofty sierra, called Santa Clara de Monte Falcon, the latitude of the day being 45° 41′, according to the *Esped. Martt.* The bearing from Cabo Frondoso, according to the *Diario*, was S. 22° W., the coast running thence S. 5° E. In the *Segunda Explor.* the same bearings are given, and the point, not named, is said to be 'a short distance' below Cape Frondoso. Greenhow identifies Falcon with Cape Lookout (45° 20′), for no reason that I know of. The bearings given above do not agree with either point.

[44] Only mentioned in the *Segunda Explor.* The latitude may be a copyist's error, as the discovery is mentioned after that of the Mesa.

[45] La Mesa is on the Coast Survey Chart in 45° 30′. Greenhow identifies it with the Clarke Point of View of Lewis and Clarke, in 1805.

[46] All these are variously described as *islotes*, *farallones*, or *piedras*. Perhaps those of 43° were just below Cape Blanco, in 42° 50′. These rocks are numerous all along the coast.

and subsequently use his own judgment as to the direction in which he should search for her.[47]

The little craft kept on to the west until August 5th, when the navigators thought themselves one hundred and seventy leagues from land, and were in latitude 45° 55′.[48] Then the favorable south-west winds began to blow, and a junta of officers was held. They were short of food and water, and the season was deemed late; but the officers were unanimous in favor of going on, and the crew agreed not only to obey orders, but to contribute for a solemn mass in honor of our lady of Bethlehem, that she might enable them to reach the latitude named in the viceroy's instructions. Consequently on the 15th, when according to Bellin's map—which had been founded on Russian discoveries, eked out with imagination—they should have been one hundred and thirty-five leagues from the coast, land was found in latitude 57° 2′, in the region of the later Sitka, the navigators noting and naming Mount Jacinto, now called Mount Edgecombe. Cuadra subsequently went up the coast to about latitude 58°, returned to latitude 55° 17′, and went again up to latitude 58°. A very complete examination was made from the limit of Perez' voyage, and formal possession was taken at two points; but details of this northern exploration belong to the annals of Alaska, in a later volume.

Most of the men were now sick with scurvy, rendering it very difficult to manage even so small a craft in rough weather. Accordingly on September 8th the *Sonora* was headed southward. It was a most perilous trip; more than once it seemed certain that the vessel must be lost, for a part of the time the officers only were able to work, and both Cuadra and Maurelle were attacked with fever. Still the gallant explorers did not altogether lose sight of their mission;

[47] *Heceta, Segunda Exploracion.* 'Hasta la presente no se ha sabido si fué ó no voluntaria la separacion.' *Heceta, Esped. Marít.*

[48] 46° 47′, according to the tables in *Maurelle's Journal.*

they still kept as near the shore as they could without sure destruction. On the 11th they saw land, in latitude 53° 54′, and kept it generally or at least occasionally in view from a distance down to about latitude 47°; and again they scanned the coast very closely from latitude 44° 30′ down to latitude 42° 49′ in search of Aguilar's river, of which no trace could be found.[49] Then they directed their course for San Francisco, but discovered instead the bay to which the commander gave his name of Bodega, reaching Monterey on October 7th. As soon as the sick had recovered, both vessels sailed for San Blas, where they arrived November 20th. Juan Perez died two days out from Monterey.

Thus the whole extent of the Northwest Coast from latitude 42° to 55° was explored and formally taken possession of for Spain by Perez, Heceta, and Cuadra, in 1774–5. The results of these most important expeditions were not published, as they should have been, by the Spanish government, and for many years were known only through the little-circulated English translation of *Maurelle's Journal*, which was not, however, so faulty a work as it has generally been represented. The charts, which must have been tolerably complete, have unfortunately never been published, and are not even known to exist in manuscript. By this mistaken policy on the part of their nation the Spanish discoverers lost much of the honor due them, but popularly given to later navigators, who in most instances substituted for the original new geographical names of their own choice. It does not appear, however, that by her error Spain eventually lost anything of territorial rights, or even possessions.

[49] There is no agreement between the different accounts respecting the latitudes at which land was seen on the southern trip, but all agree on the search for Aguilar's river. Maurelle, *Journal*, notes that on the 20th they were at the scene of the massacre of July; on the 24th were close to land, in 45° 27′, and searched for the river down to 45° (?) 50′, where they found a cape with ten small islands—probably Cape Blanco, in 42° 50′.

# CHAPTER VI.

## EXPLORATION OF THE NORTHWEST COAST.

1778–1788.

CAPTAIN COOK'S EXPEDITION—INSTRUCTIONS—DISCOVERIES AND NAMES—MAP—AT SAN LORENZO, KING GEORGE SOUND, OR NOOTKA—ORIGIN OF THE FUR-TRADE—VOYAGE OF ARTEAGA AND CUADRA TO ALASKA—ENGLISH FUR-TRADERS FROM 1785—HANNA'S VOYAGES—LA PÉROUSE—ARCHIPELAGO OR MAINLAND?—MAP—EXPEDITION OF STRANGE, LOWRIE, AND GUISE—MCKEY AT NOOTKA—PORTLOCK AND DIXON—QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES—BARCLAY DISCOVERS THE STRAIT—DUNCAN AND COLNETT—MARTINEZ AND HARO IN ALASKA—SPANISH POLICY FORESHADOWED—THE STARS AND STRIPES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC—VOYAGE OF KENDRICK AND GRAY ON THE 'COLUMBIA' AND 'WASHINGTON'—AN ORIGINAL DIARY—MURDERERS' HARBOR—WINTERING AT NOOTKA—VOYAGE OF MEARES AND DOUGLAS—UNDER PORTUGUESE COLORS—LAUNCH OF THE 'NORTH WEST AMERICA'—THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT.

THE famous Captain James Cook in his third and last voyage, coming from the Sandwich Islands, of which he was the discoverer, on March 7, 1778, sighted the northern seaboard in latitude 44° 33′. He commanded the English exploring ship *Resolution*, and was accompanied by Captain Clerke with the *Discovery*.[1]

[1] *Cook, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, undertaken by the command of his Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. To determine the Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in his Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the Years 1776–80.* London, 1784; 4to, 3 vols., maps, charts, and illustrations. The portion of the narrative relating to the northwest coast is found in vol. ii. pp. 258–343; also table of latitudes, route, winds, etc., in vol. iii. pp. 506–9. The octavo edition of the same date, in four volumes, is an abridgment of the original. There were other editions and translations; and there is hardly a collection of voyages that has not a longer or shorter account of this expedition. *Ledyard's A Journal of Capt. Cook's last voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, etc., Hartford, 1783, is another account by a man who accompanied Cook. *Sparks' Life of John Ledyard*, Cambridge, 1828, covers also the same ground.

Cook had left England in 1776, knowing nothing of what the Spanish navigators had accomplished, though aware that they had visited the northern coast.[2] His special mission was to search for a passage to Europe, either by Hudson Bay, or the northern sea recently found by Hearne, or by the sea north of Asia; and in the search he was, of course, to explore all the northwestern regions of America. His instructions were to fall in with the coast of New Albion in 45°, that is, beyond the supposed limit of Cabrillo and Vizcaino, and after refitting, to follow the coast northward, but not to begin his careful search for a passage until he had reached the latitude of 65°. Every precaution must be taken to avoid encroachment on the Spanish dominions, or troubles with any foreigners;[3] but we also read in his instructions, "You are also, with the consent of the natives, to take possession in the name of the king of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as you may discover, that have not already been discovered or visited by any other European power; and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces and testimonies of your having been there." It would appear, notwithstanding the allusion to Drake in the use of the name New Albion, that it was not England's intention to found any territorial claims on the freebooter's discoveries, but to claim by virtue of Cook's discovery all lands beyond the unknown limit of the recent Spanish voyages.[4] As to the main object of the ex-

[2] *Cook's Voy.*, ii. 332. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 124, quotes from the *London Annual Register*, 1776, a brief notice of the voyage to 58° 20′ in 1774, from the official gazette of Madrid.

[3] 'You are also, in your way thither, strictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident; in which case you are to stay no longer there than shall be absolutely necessary; and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic Majesty. And if, in your farther progress to the northward, as hereafter directed, you find any subjects of any European prince or state upon any part of the coast you may think proper to visit, you are not to disturb them, or give them any just cause of offence, but on the contrary to treat them with civility and friendship.' Secret Instructions. *Cook's Voy.*, i. xxxii.–iii.

[4] Else the words 'discovered or visited' would have no force, and there would be some allusion to Drake's latitudes.

pedition, a powerful incentive was the recent offer by the English government of a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the officers and crew of any vessel discovering a passage to the Atlantic north of 52°.

Captain Cook's explorations along what is herein termed the Northwest Coast are shown on his map, which I reproduce.[5] For six days he remained in sight of land, unable to advance northward on account of

COOK'S MAP, 1778.

contrary and variable winds. The coast seen by him was between 44° 55′ and 43° 10′; and he named capes Foulweather, Perpetua, and Gregory, which names were permanent, except that the last is also called Arago.[6] He noted the absence of any strait like that whose discovery had been attributed to Aguilar; but

[5] In his general chart, showing less detail, we find *C. Blanco* just below *C. Gregory;* 'C. Mezari seen by the Spaniards in 1775,' in 43°; and in 53° 'Land seen by the Spaniards in Sep. 1775.' In the map attached to *Maurelle's Journal* we find also *C. Mezari* and *Cook's Harbour*, 1778. The name *Mezari* is perhaps a blunder for the Spanish *Mártires*.

[6] The latitudes of these capes were calculated by bearings as 44° 55′, 44° 6′, and 42° 30′; the true latitudes are 44° 45′, 44° 19′, and 43° 20′.

he did not see the Umpqua River, the largest on the coast except the Columbia. After being driven away from land down to 42° 45′, the navigator again turned north-eastward, and sighted the coast in 47° 5′ on March 22d, naming and describing Cape Flattery, in 48° 15′, though unable to decide whether or not it was an island. "It is in this very latitude where we now were," writes Cook, "that geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. But we saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed." The English navigator was very lucky in his conclusions; for if when off Cape Gregory he had seen the Umpqua River, or off Cape Flattery he had seen the broad entrance just beyond that point, he might have put himself on record as confirming the discoveries of both Aguilar and Fuca.

Driven away by the winds, Cook sighted land again on March 29th, in 49° 29′, at what he called Hope Bay, with Point Breakers on the south and Woody Point on the north, in 50°. Drawing nearer the shore, two inlets were seen, into the lower of which, below Point Breakers, the ships entered and found a tolerably good harbor, anchoring on the shore of an island, within what was named Friendly Cove and Ship Cove. This southern inlet—the connection of which with the northern, forming a large island, was not discovered at this time—was called at first King George Sound; but soon Captain Cook deemed it best to retain what he understood to be the native name of Nootka. The San Lorenzo of Juan Perez was either this same Nootka Sound or the inlet immediately above or below it.[7] The natives came off in their canoes to meet Cook, as they had met

[7] See Perez' voyage, in preceding chapter. Cook has left a degree of confusion in local geography which has been reflected in later maps and writings. Woody Point is the one which still retains the name. Cook's narrative gives the impression that Hope Bay was bounded on the south by Point Breakers, and included both inlets; and later writers have followed this in most cases, by identifying Point Breakers with the mainland Point Estévan, south of Nootka Sound; but Cook's chart of Nootka, vol. ii. p. 279, and even his text, when

Perez, casting feathers upon the waters in sign of friendship. They remained friendly during the month of the Englishmen's stay, being eager to trade their furs and other products for anything that was made of metal, but not caring for beads or cloth. They came on board the ships without the slightest timidity, and gave no other trouble than that resulting from their petty thefts, which the closest watch could not entirely prevent. They were ready to fight with their neighbors for the exclusive privilege of trading with the strangers, and they expected the latter to pay for the wood, water, and grass obtained from their country. Cook's long stay enabled him to give an extended and accurate description of the country and of its people, but this description, like the earlier and somewhat less complete ones of Perez and Cuadra, has of course no place in these pages.

Captain Cook noticed, as Perez had done before him, that the natives had many articles of iron and copper, which must have come from abroad; and he rightly concluded that all could not have been obtained from any one foreign navigator visiting the coast. Two silver spoons worn as ornaments by a native who came from a place south of Nootka, suggested an earlier visit by the Spaniards; and the failure of the Indians to exhibit any surprise at sight of the ships pointed in the same direction; but it could not be learned from the Indians that they had ever seen a ship before, and their astonishment at the penetrative power of a musket-ball indicated that the discharge of fire-arms was new to them. Accordingly Cook concluded, incorrectly, that the Spanish vessels had never been at Nootka; yet it is not stated that he took possession of the country for England.

Having made the somewhat extensive repairs re-

closely examined, shows that Point Breakers was on the island—either the Point Bajo or Point Macuina of later maps, or Perez' Point Santa Clara, if he was at Nootka Sound—and that the mainland point below was not named at all. Modern maps differ widely in both names and coast contour on this part of the coast.

quired by his vessels; obtained full supplies of water, wood, fish, grass, and spruce-beer; and made some tours of exploration round the shores of the sound, of which a chart was published with his narrative, Captain Cook sailed on April 26th from Nootka for the north, to undertake explorations very much more extensive and important than those here recorded, but which belong to a later volume, the *History of Alaska*. Of the Northwest Coast he had seen much less than Perez, Heceta, and Cuadra; nor, with the exception of Nootka Sound, had his description of the regions visited been more complete than theirs. Like the Spaniards, he had missed the entrance of the strait; and like them he had not suspected that the northern shores were those of islands, and not of the main. But Cook had established the longitude of the coast much more accurately than his predecessors by mere dead-reckoning had been able to do; and by the accidental carrying away of a small collection of furs, whose great value was learned in Siberia and China, he originated the great fur-trade which became the chief incentive of all later English and American expeditions to these regions. Moreover, the results of his voyage were fully and promptly made known to the world, as those of the Spaniards had not been; and thus were practically won for Cook and England the honors of discovery and of naming the points explored. Spain, with her unwise policy of concealment, had no just cause for complaint, though to the real discoverers individually great injustice was done.

Orders for a new Spanish expedition to the north were issued in 1776 as soon as the results of the last one were known. Delays ensued for various reasons, chiefly the lack of suitable vessels, and it was not until the beginning of 1779 that everything was ready. One vessel, the *Favorita*, was brought up from Peru, and another, the *Princesa*, was built for the voyage at San Blas. Heceta had at first been named as com-

mander, but before the preparations were completed Lieutenant Ignacio Arteaga was appointed in his place. Lieutenant Cuadra was, as before, second in command, though he ought to have been first, in consideration of former services. The expedition sailed from San Blas February 11, 1779, and returned to the same port November 21st. The explorations of Arteaga and Cuadra in Alaska were extensive, and in a sense, Cook's achievements being unknown to the Spaniards, important; but they are not to be recorded here, for the *Princesa* and *Favorita* did not touch the coast between latitudes 42° and 55°, nor even California until the return.[8] The north-west coast was regarded as already fully explored, and as a legitimate possession of Spain. By a cédula of May 10, 1780, the king ordered that voyages *de altura* should cease.[9]

It was seven years after Cook's departure before the Northwest Coast was visited by another European vessel. In 1785 a brig of sixty tons was despatched from China under Captain James Hanna in quest of furs. It was an English expedition, but it is not quite clear whether this pioneer craft of the fur-trade sailed under Portuguese colors or under the English flag with a license from the East India Company. Hanna left China in April and reached Nootka in August. The natives attacked his small force of twenty men, but were repulsed, and thereupon became friendly and willing to trade. Having obtained from

[8] *Arteaga, Tercera exploracion hecha el año 1779 con las Fragatas del rey, la 'Princesa,' mandada por el teniente de navío don Ignacio Arteaga, y la 'Favorita' por el de la misma clase don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, desde el puerto de San Blas hasta los sesenta y un grados de latitud*, MS.; an official account made up from the original diaries, with tables, etc., in *Viages al Norte de Cal.*, No. 4. *Maurelle, Navegacion Hecha por el Alférez de Fragata de la Real Armada Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle destinado de segundo capitan de la Fragata 'Favorita,'* MS. Maurelle's original diary, in *Id.*, No. 5. *Bodega y Cuadra, Segunda salida hasta los 61 grados en la Fragata 'Nuestra Señora de los Remedios,' álias la 'Favorita,' Año de 1779*, MS. Cuadra's diary, in *Id.*, No. 6½. *Bodega y Cuadra, Navegacion y descubrimientos hechos de orden de S. M. en la Costa septentrional de Californias, 1779*, MS.; the same diary in *Mayer's MSS.*, No. 13, and also in the Pinart collection. As to the visit to California in returning, see *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. xv.

[9] *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe, 12 Abril, 1793*, p. 123.

them a valuable lot of five hundred and sixty sea-otter skins, which were sold for twenty thousand six hundred dollars, the captain proceeded up the coast, naming Sea-otter Harbor and St Patrick Bay, in 50° 41′, near the northern end of the island. The former name has been retained; the latter changed to St Joseph. Leaving Nootka in September, he reached Macao in December. Such is the only information extant respecting this first voyage of its class, derived at second-hand from the statements of other voyagers. Of a second voyage by Hanna in the *Sea Otter* of one hundred and twenty tons, in 1786, we know still less—barely the fact that such a voyage was made; and that he spent two weeks in August at Nootka, obtaining only fifty skins, and fifty more on other parts of the coast, which he left on October 1st. Hanna seems to have discovered and named Smith Inlet and Fitzhugh Sound.[10]

The famous French navigator La Pérouse, setting out in 1785 on a scientific exploring expedition round the world, an expedition destined to be fatal to him, as was that of 1778 to Cook, was instructed to examine such parts of north-western America as had not been explored by Cook, to seek for an interoceanic passage, to make scientific observations on the country, with its people and products, and to obtain reliable information about the fur-trade. He was to learn the extent of the Spanish establishments, the latitude beyond which peltries might be obtained without giving offence to Spain, and in general the induce-

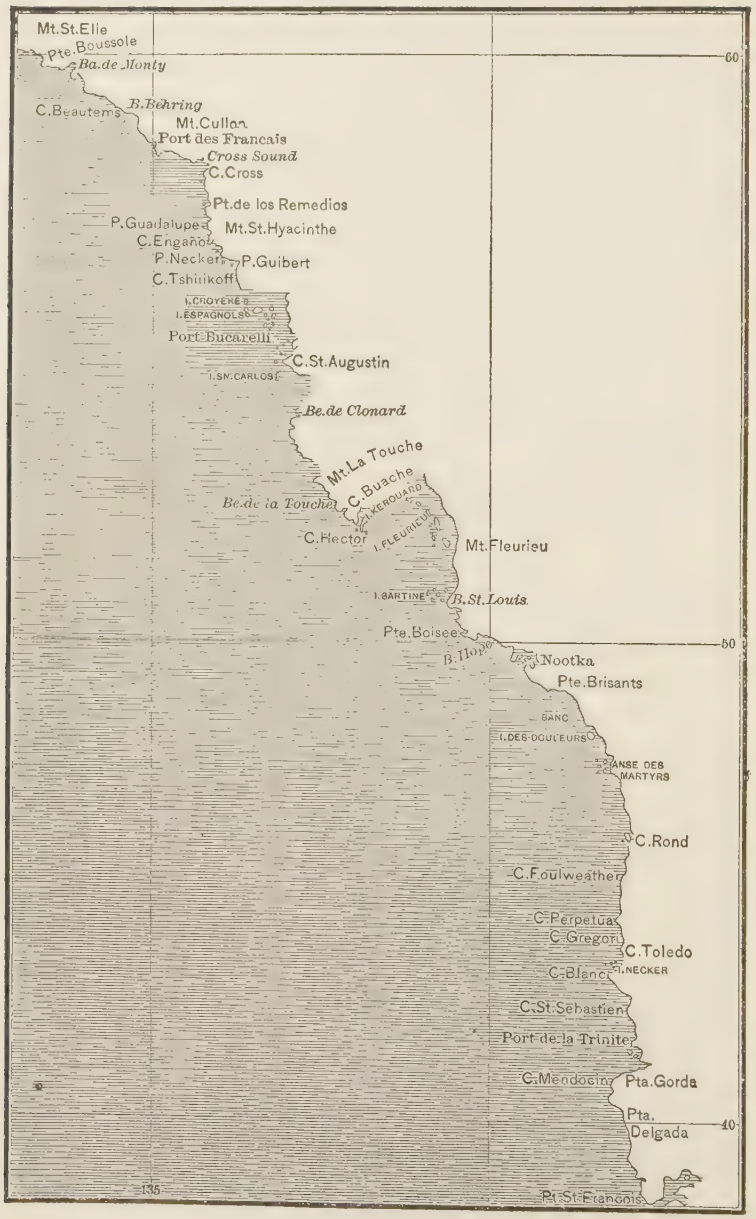
[10]Also Virgin Island and Pearl Rocks, according to *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 369–70. *Dixon's Voy.*, pp. xvii.–xviii., xxii., 232, 315–17, and *Portlock's Voy.*, 3, make the earliest mention, in 1789; that in *Meares' Voy.*, pp. l.–ii., of 1790, is somewhat more extensive, the author having seen Hanna's original journal. 'He discovered several sounds, islands, and harbours, which he named Fitzhugh's Sound, Lance's Islands, and some particular parts which he named after Henry Lane, Esq.; but particularly an harbour which he called Sea Otter's Harbour.' Hanna's chart or sketch of that harbor and of St Patrick Bay is published by Meares, 326. Dixon also used Hanna's chart. Perhaps the geographical discoveries mentioned were made in the second voyage. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 165–6, says Hanna sailed under Portuguese colors; but he had no other authorities than those I have mentioned.

ments for French enterprise in that direction. His explorations, from a geographical point of view, were neither extensive nor important, so far as they affected these latitudes;[11] and, though the scientific observations of himself and a talented corps of associates are of unquestioned value, his information on commercial and other practical topics was published too late to attract or merit much attention. Especially were his discoveries unimportant as touching the Northwest Coast.[12]

Coming from the Sandwich Islands on the *Astrolabe* and *Boussole*, the former under the command of M. de Langle, the French navigator saw land on June 23, 1786, and spent a month and a half on the Alaska coast, below Mount St Elias, chiefly at Port des Français, in 58° 37′. It was on August 9th that La Pérouse entered the waters about the present boundary. He noticed, but was unable to explore, the entrance which the Spaniards had found before, and which Dixon a little later named. He followed the coast southward without landing, in haste to reach Monterey after his long delay in the north. The southern extremity of the great island he named Cape Hector; and he was the discoverer of the broad entrance south of that point, believing, though unable to prove it, that he was at the mouth of a great gulf like that of California, extending north probably to 57° He does not state definitely his opinion that the gulf communicated with the Dixon entrance, but implied that it did so, and with other entrances farther north—indeed, that the whole coast seen was that of a great archipelago. The names applied

[11] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. xxi., for his visit to California; also *Hist. Alaska*, this series.

[12] *La Pérouse, Voyage . . . autour du monde*. Paris, 1798; 8vo, 4 vols. and folio atlas. That part of the narrative pertaining to the coast between 55° and 42° is in tom. ii. 254–78. In tom. i. 345–64 is a translated extract from Maurelle's *Journal* of the Spanish voyage of 1779. In the atlas, maps 3, 15, 16, 17, 29, and 31 show all or part of the territory, on different scales. There are several editions both of the French original and of an English translation. L. A. Milet-Mureau was the editor of the original.




La Pérouse's Map, 1786.

are shown on the map which I copy, and which is remarkably complete, if we consider the limited material on which it rested. Though far superior to any map made before 1786, its value was of course much impaired by the fact that it was not published until 1798. La Pérouse's names were superseded by others which later English navigators applied before the French narrative was known to the world. The voyage was continued down past Nootka and the southern coast, with occasional glimpses of the coast as the fog lifted; the latitude of several points was fixed more accurately than ever before, the English and Spanish names being retained, and that of Necker Island being applied to the rocks off Cape Blanco;[13] the line of 42° was passed on September 6th, and on the 14th they anchored at Monterey.

In 1786 at least three distinct fur-trading expeditions were despatched to the American coasts; one of them, consisting of the *Nootka* and *Sea Otter*, under captains Meares and Tipping, was fitted out in Bengal, and, its trading operations being confined to Prince William Sound and the Alaskan coast, requires no further notice here.

The second expedition, also from India, was fitted out by the merchants at Bombay, and was under the supervision of James Strange. The vessels were the *Captain Cook* and *Experiment*, commanded by Lowrie, or Lorie, and Guise,[14] sailing under the flag of the East India Company, David Scott being the chief owner. They reached Nootka in June, obtaining six hundred sea-otter skins, though not so many as they had hoped for, because the natives had promised to keep their furs for Hanna, who arrived in August. One John McKey, or Maccay, was, however, left at

[13] The name *C. Toledo*, not heard of before, may have come from some copy of Heccta or Bodega's chart. La Pérouse and others refer vaguely to a chart of Maurelle, of which, however, I know nothing.

[14] According to Vancouver, *Voy.*, i. 369, the *Experiment* was commanded by Mr S. Wedgborough.

Nootka, at his own request, and under the chief's protection, to recover his health and to act as a kind of agent or 'drummer' for the traders; and he lived for over a year among the savages with a native wife, well treated but enduring many hardships. Subsequently Strange sailed on up the coast to Prince William Sound, and thence to Macao. He seems to have discovered—and named, according to Captain Dixon's statement—Queen Charlotte Sound; and he probably named capes Scott and Cox.[15]

The third expedition of the year was one fitted out the year before in England by an association of merchants called the King George's Sound Company, acting under licenses from both the South Sea and East India monopolies. Their ships were the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*, commanded by Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon. Both of these gentlemen had been with Cook, and each of them published a full account of their voyage; so that in this respect, as also in respect to the vessels' outfit, the expedition bore much resemblance to one of exploration. High officials took an interest from a scientific standpoint in the enterprise, and several gentlemen's sons were committed under tutors to Captain Portlock to be educated for a seafaring life. Leaving England in August 1785, Portlock and Dixon sailed round Cape Horn, touched at the Sandwich Islands, as was customary in these voyages, and in July 1786 arrived at Cook River, in Alaska.

Soon the navigators started down the coast, intending to touch at several different points, and finally to winter at Nootka. Some of the harbors, however, were not found where sought, and others could not be entered by reason of bad weather, so that the vessels did not anchor at all. They were on the coast, gen-

[15] *Meares' Voy.*, liii.–iv.; *Dixon's Voy.*, 232, 317–18, and other references on Hanna's voyage in note 8. Meares saw McKey's journal, and he says Strange named Friendly Cove. Dixon used Guise's chart for his general map, to be copied presently, and he got an account of McKey's adventures from Barclay, who carried him away.

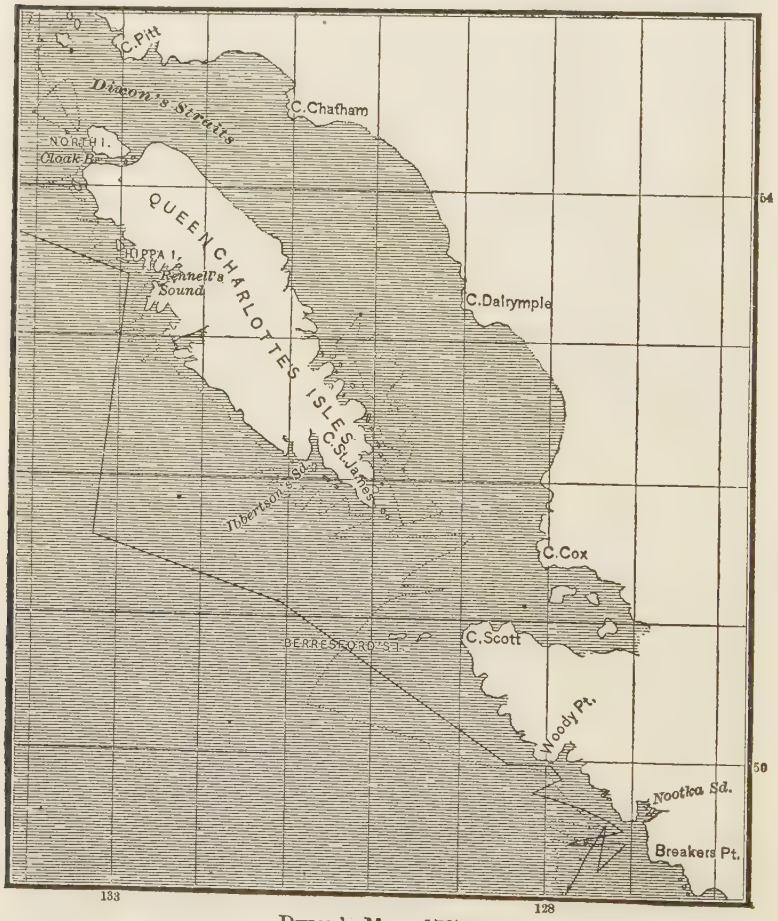
erally in sight of it at a distance, from 55° down to Nootka, from the 17th to the 28th of September, but their work as explorers was limited to the naming of Split Rock, off Cook's Woody Point. From this region they went to winter at the Sandwich Islands, this first voyage being in most respects a failure.[16]

Portlock and Dixon repeated their voyage in 1787, with much success, both in respect to trade and geographical exploration. Leaving the islands in March, they proceeded to Prince William Sound, where they met Captain Meares, whose first voyage of 1786–7 has already been mentioned. The vessels parted company in May, the *King George* remaining on the Alaskan coast and the *Queen Charlotte* proceeding southward. It was on July 1st that Dixon passed the boundary line and was off the 'deep bay,' whose currents had baffled Juan Perez thirteen years before, and which from this time bore Dixon's name. He did not enter it, any more than the Spaniards and Frenchmen had before him; but far within, to the eastward, he saw a point of land to be remembered, and passed on down the coast. Keeping close to the shore, without landing, but trading extensively with the Indians, who came off in their canoes, he named several points, some of which had already been named by La Pérouse, though this was of course not known to the Englishman.[17]

[16] *Portlock, A voyage round the world; but more particularly to the north-west coast of America; performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the 'King George' and 'Queen Charlotte,' Captains Portlock and Dixon.* London, 1789; 4to, map and twenty copperplates. The part relating to the present topic is on pp. 135–42, app., xxiv. The map does not cover our territory. *Dixon, A voyage round the world*, etc. (as above). London, 1789; 4to, map and plates; also a second edition of the same year. The narrative is in the form of letters as chapters, each bearing a date and the initials 'W. B.' (Wm. Berresford). The part of the text relating to this subject is on pp. 76–83. The map will be noticed presently.

[17] The names applied, most of them still retained, were Forrester's Island (Santa Cristina, Catalina, or San Cárlos of the Spaniards and La Pérouse), Cape Pitt (Magdalena of Perez), Cape Chatham, North Island, Cloak Bay, Hippa Island, Rennell Sound (La Touche of Pérouse?), Ibbertson Sound, Cape St James (Cape Hector of Pérouse), Cape Dalrymple, Dixon Straits, Queen Charlotte Islands, Cape Cox (Fleurieu of Pérouse), Berresford Islands (Sartine of Pérouse), and Cape Scott.

By the end of July Captain Dixon had rounded Cape St James and reached a latitude of 53° within the strait, seeing in the north land which he believed to be that seen through the deep bay on July 1st, and thus proving to his own satisfaction "the land we have




DIXON'S MAP, 1787.

been coasting along for near a month, to be a group of islands." Accordingly, from his own name and that of his vessel, he applied the names Queen Charlotte Isles and Dixon Straits. It will be remembered

that La Pérouse had already conjectured the true geography of this region, which Dixon did not quite prove; but it is also to be noted that La Pérouse's editor had Dixon's narrative and map before him. This map, which affords all necessary detail about the voyage, and is far superior to any that preceded it, I reproduce.[18] That part of the coast from Cape Cox to Woody Point, showing the first indication that the Nootka region might be on a great island, was laid down from the earlier explorations of Hanna and Guise.

On August 6th Dixon sighted Woody Point, and two days later he met at sea captains Duncan and Colnett, learning from them that Captain Barclay was at Nootka, or had just left that port for the south, and that there was no prospect for successful trade there. Accordingly the *Queen Charlotte* was headed for the Sandwich Islands, where she arrived early in September.[19] Portlock and Dixon sold in China, as the result of their expedition, 2552 sea-otter skins, 1821 of which had been obtained by Dixon on Queen Charlotte Islands, for $54,857. The whole number obtained by Hanna, Strange, Meares, and Barclay, down to the end of 1787, was 2481 skins: so that the expedition was very successful in comparison with the others.[20]

[18] The map from Berresford Island northward was from Dixon's own survey; from Cape Cox to Woody Point, from Guise and Hanna; from Point Breakers-south, from Barclay. Other navigators of this period were not so frank in stating the origin of their charts.

[19] *Dixon's Voy.*, 198–247, considerable space being given to a description of the natives; *Portlock's Voy.*, 307; *Meares' Voy.*, liii.–iv. and appendix; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 169–70.

[20] *Dixon's Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares, Esq., in a letter to that gentleman, by George Dixon, late Commander*, etc. London, 1790; 4to. Meares, in his published narrative, to be noticed later, had spoken very slightingly of Portlock and Dixon's expedition, as one of great pretensions and slight results. Moreover, he blamed those officers for the manner in which they had relieved his own great necessities when they found him on the Alaskan coast in a very precarious situation. I have no room for the quarrel in its details. The truth seems to be that Portlock, while affording all the relief in his power, did it in such a way as to advance his own interests and to prevent Meares from engaging in any further trade during the trip. In reply to Meares' strictures, Dixon published his *Remarks*, in which he displayed more ability than was needed to point out the various inaccuracies, inconsistencies, and falsehoods of his rival's narrative.

Two other expeditions of 1787 have to be recorded here, one commanded by Colnett and Duncan, the other by Barclay. Both, as we have seen, were at Nootka about the time that Dixon passed that port; and it is from that officer's statements and those of other voyagers of the time that all information about these expeditions must be derived, no direct accounts being extant.

Captain Barclay, whose name is also written Berkely, commanded the *Imperial Eagle*, which sailed from the Belgian port of Ostend, under the flag of the Austrian East India Company, in November 1786, and arrived at Nootka in June 1787. He did not go farther north, but was successful in trade, obtaining eight hundred skins. He utilized the services of McKey, whom he carried away to China, and from him learned that the region where he had lived for a year was probably not a part of the continent. McKey had formed that opinion from his travels in the interior and from reports of the natives. Before leaving Nootka Barclay met Duncan and Colnett, whose needs he relieved by selling them surplus supplies. In July he sailed southward, and discovered Barclay Sound, and then the strait for which earlier navigators had sought in vain, but which he neither entered nor named. Meares states that the whole exploration below Nootka was made in the ship's boat, which, though possible, seems unlikely.

Continuing the voyage down past Cape Flattery, the commander sent a boat to enter a river in 47° 43′, where the crew, consisting of five men, under Mr Millar, were murdered by the natives. From this occurrence the name Destruction River was applied to the stream, now the Ohahlat, but was transferred in later years to the island just below its mouth, called by the Spaniards in 1775 Dolores.[21] The

[21] Greenhow and others are wrong in their theory that the Spaniards named it Dolores from the disaster that occurred farther south. The name was that of the day on which it was discovered. Meares calls the region

southernmost point of Barclay's observation, he being the first since Cook to visit the coast below Cape Flattery, was what he called Point Fear, in 47° 9′, probably seen at a distance; and, departing in August or early in September, he reached Canton in November. Mrs Barclay had accompanied her husband, and was, perhaps, the first European lady to visit this region.[22]

Captains Duncan and Colnett commanded the *Princess Royal* and *Prince of Wales*, which were fitted out by the same company that despatched Portlock and Dixon, left England in September, and arrived at Nootka in July. Here, as we have seen, they met Barclay, and a little later Dixon. From the latter they learned that the best opportunities for trade were to be found on Queen Charlotte Islands, and thither presumably they directed their course, instead of going to Prince William Sound, as had been intended. Of their subsequent movements we know, from fragmentary references in the narratives of other traders, only that Duncan wintered on the coast, returning the next year to Nootka; that his trip was a successful one commercially; and that he sailed through the strait between Queen Charlotte Island and the main.

Whether this was in the autumn of 1787 or the spring of 1788 is not clear; but I deem it as likely to have been in the former, though Greenhow and Meares imply the latter. At any rate, he was the first to make this passage and prove the correctness of the earlier conjectures of La Pérouse and Dixon.

Queenhythe, that is, Quenaiult, the name of a stream farther south. Meares the next year at Nootka found among the natives a seal that had belonged to Millar, and also what was supposed to be his hand or that of one of his men. Dixon, *Remarks*, 33, gives the latitudes from Barclay's chart, as given on a map published by Dalrymple in 1789, as follows: West point of Barclay Sound, 49°; south point, 48° 50′; north point De Fear's (De Fuca's?) entrance, 48° 33′; south point, 48° 26′; centre of Tallock's Island (Tatouche?) 48° 24′; Cape Flattery, 48° 8′; Pinnacle, 47° 47′; Destruction River, 47° 43′; Point Fear (possibly Grenville), 47° 9′.

[22] *Dixon's Voy.*, 231-3, 320; *Id., Remarks*, 9, 12, 18, 33; *Meares' Voy.*, lv. 28, 124, 132, 172; *Portlock's Voy.*, 307; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 171, 460.

Duncan also discovered, and named for his vessel, the Princess Royal Isles.[23]

In 1788 the Spaniards sent another expedition to the far north, which, however, concerns my present topic only indirectly, since it did not touch the coast between 42° and 55°. The vessels were the *Princesa* and *San Cárlos*, commanded by Estévan José Martinez and Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, whose mission was to ascertain what the Russians were doing. The royal order was issued in consequence of a report of La Pérouse—on his visit to Chile before going north—that the Russians had already four establishments, one of them at Nootka. The preliminary correspondence on the expedition of Martinez shows very clearly the form that Spanish policy was beginning to assume. There was no objection to the occupation by Russians of the far north; but it was feared that by Russia or some other foreign power posts would be established farther south, not only encroaching on Spanish territorial rights, but threatening Spanish settlements.

There was of course no doubt respecting the right of Spain to the lands she had discovered up to the region of 60°; she had some theoretical rights beyond that region, which, however, there was no apparent intention of attempting to enforce; and even the region from Nootka southward was beginning to appear of slight comparative value, to be occupied only as a political necessity to prevent foreign encroachment and secure the possession of any desirable strait, river, or port that might possibly be revealed by new explorations. Accordingly Martinez was instructed not only to learn as much as

[23] *Dixon's Voy.*, 230–4; *Id., Remarks*, 8–10, 19, 28; *Meares' Voy.*, lv. 195, 199–201; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 170, 199. Dixon says that Duncan's course was laid down in Arrowsmith's chart, and denies Meares' implication that Douglas preceded him in sailing through the strait. According to Vancouver, *Voy.*, i. 369–70, he also named Calvert Island and Port Safety. Vancouver had his chart.

possible of Russian operations in Alaska,[24] but on his return to follow the coast and to make as close a survey as possible of every place which would have attractions for foreigners, and whose occupation by Spain might therefore become necessary. The latter part of the instructions, for no good reason that is known, was not obeyed, the voyagers returning to Monterey and San Blas direct; but they understood that the Russians, though they had no establishment at Nootka, intended to found one there; they learned something also of the operations of English traders in northern waters; and their reports on these matters, as we shall see, caused Martinez and Haro to be sent in 1789 on a new expedition.[25]

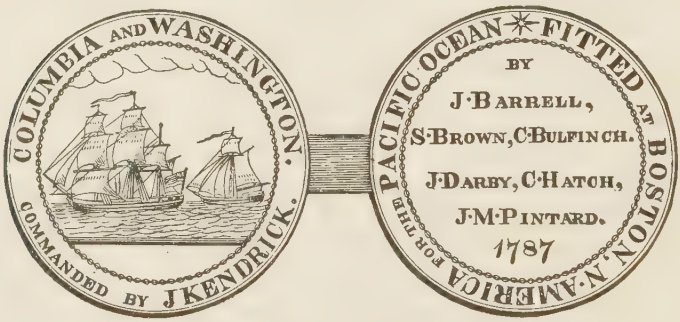
Now the flag of the United States appears for the first time in these waters; and the 'Bostons' come into rivalry with the 'King George men' as explorers and traders. The history of this territory for the year 1788 is little more than a record of what was done by the Americans Kendrick and Gray, and by the Englishmen Meares and Douglas. It seems more convenient to begin with the voyage of the former, though the others arrived first in the field.

The first American fur-trading expedition to the northern Pacific was fitted out by a company of six Boston merchants, who were influenced chiefly by the reports of Cook and Ledyard, there being no evidence that they had any knowledge of English traders' operations. A medal commemorative of the enterprise was struck off in copper and silver, and the copy here given explains its nature. John Kendrick was chosen to command, sailing on the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, of two hundred and twenty tons, while Captain

[24] I use this modern name in these years for convenience, to avoid tiresome repetitions of geographical definition.

[25] *Martinez* and *Haro, Cuarta exploracion de descubrimientos de la costa septentrional de California hasta los 61 grados...1788*, MS., in *Viages al Norte de Cal.*, No. 7. It contains not only Martinez' diary, but various instructions, correspondence, tables, etc., connected with the voyage.

Robert Gray commanded the sloop *Lady Washington*, of ninety tons. The vessels were laden with articles deemed best fitted for barter with the Indians, chiefly implements of iron and copper. Various passports and letters were obtained from the federal government, from the state of Massachusetts, and perhaps from the minister of Spain in the United States.[26] I have been so fortunate as to obtain an original diary of this voyage, kept by Robert Haswell, the second mate of the *Lady Washington*, a very important docu-




THE COLUMBIA MEDAL.

ment, not consulted by any writer before me. Indeed it does not appear that any other log of either vessel has ever been seen; and consequently nothing but a brief mention of the expedition has been published As a narrative of the first visit of an American vessel

[26] So it is stated by Greenhow and others, possibly without good authority. At any rate the governor of California, in obedience to instructions from Mexico, issued orders for the seizure of the two vessels should they appear in Californian ports. See his famous order to that effect in *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. xxi. The medal is given in connection with a brief account of the voyage in Greenhow's *Or. and Cal.*, 179–81; and *Bulfinch's Or. and El Dorado*, 1–6. The latter gives some details about the origin of the enterprise in a conversation at the residence of Dr Bulfinch—perhaps a relative of the writer—in Boston. The voyagers also carried a number of small copper coins issued by the state. One of the medals is preserved in the office of the secretary of state at Salem. *Oregon Relics*, MS., 1. See also *Hist. Mag.*, vii. 197. Bulfinch says the medals were struck in bronze and silver; Kelley, *Thornton's Or. Hist.*, MS., 66–84, says in both gold and silver. Charles Bulfinch, one of the owners, in a statement of 1838, *U. S. Gov. Doc., 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Rept. No. 470*, pp. 19–23, and in other government reports, mentions the medal in copper and silver. He names Joseph Barrell as the originator of the scheme. Most of the many writers on Gray's later discovery of the Columbia River, 1792, mention this first voyage briefly.

to the north-west coast this diary merits much more space than I can give it here—in fact it should be published entire.[27]

Many Boston merchants and other friends of the navigators spent Sunday on board the vessels; the evening was devoted to parting hilarity; and on Monday, October 1st, the start was made from Nantasket Roads, whither the guests had been carried from Boston Harbor. Progress southward in the Atlantic was attended by many delays, for which Captain Kendrick is blamed by Haswell, as for other unwise proceedings during the voyage; and it was the middle of April 1788 before they rounded Cape Horn into the Pacific, the sloop and ship being parted in a gale a month earlier. Nootka was the rendezvous, and thither Captain Gray made all haste in the *Lady Washington,* without touching on the coasts of South America or Mexico.

It was on August 2d that Gray, with 'inexpressible joy,' first saw the shores of New Albion, in latitude 41° 28′; and on the 4th ten natives came off in a canoe to greet the strangers. Notwithstanding the latitudes and landmarks mentioned I find it impossible to trace with any degree of accuracy the progress made along the coast, almost always in sight of land; and it is not easy to understand how Gray could identify a point near latitude 43°, possibly Cape Blanco, with Mendocino [28] On August 14th the sloop

[27] *Haswell's Voyage round the world on board the ship 'Columbia Rediviva' and sloop 'Washington,'* 1788–9; MS., 65 pp. This narrative, and another of a later voyage, were given me by Captain Haswell's daughter, Mrs John J. Clarke of Roxbury, Massachusetts. The journal extends from the beginning of the voyage to June 1789. Haswell started on the *Columbia*, but was transferred to the *Lady Washington* before entering the Pacific. He names Joseph Ingraham as second mate of the *Columbia*, Howe as Kendrick's clerk, Roberts as surgeon, Treet as furrier, and Nuttin as astronomer. A Mr Coolidge is often named, who was probably first mate of the *Lady Washington*.

[28] August 5th, latitude 42° 3′. August 6th, past a cove formed by a small bay in N. and an island in S. [Mack's Arch or Rogue River?] August 7th, ran for an apparent inlet in a large deep bay to the S. and E. of Cape Mindocin, but passing round an island found the inlet to be only a valley between two hills [Port Orford?]; at 6 P. M. Cape Mindocin was N. N. E. six or seven leagues; a dangerous reef extends six leagues from the point; rounded the cape and stood in for land; latitude 43° 20′; here is a very deep bay north of

crossed the bar at the entrance of a harbor that had been previously examined by the boat, and anchored in what was doubtless Tillamook Bay. Gray thought it likely that here was the mouth of the famous River of the West; and before his departure he had good reason to name his anchorage Murderers' Harbor. On the arrival of the Americans the Indians were very friendly, receiving with joy trifling presents, and furnishing without payment vast quantities of berries and crabs, which were very acceptable to the scurvy-stricken crew. Skins were

the cape, probably with sounds and rivers, but not explored. [This agrees, were it not for preceding difficulties, with Cape Gregory and Coos Bay.] August 9th, ten or eleven leagues N. of the cape the boat was sent to explore the shore, the sloop sailing along about a mile away; at 2:30 P. M. passed an inlet, in 44° 20′, apparently the mouth of a very large river, with not water enough for the sloop to enter. Natives appeared very hostile. [This, according to the latitude, must be the Alseya of modern maps.] In 45° two Indians of different languages and of friendly disposition came off. August 10–11, latitude 45° 2′, 44° 58′; boat out in search for a landing; slight trade with natives. August 12th, the boat obtained two loads of wood from a small inlet. August 13th, latitude 45° 56′ at noon; in evening passed a tolerable harbor, with a bar. August 14th, returned to explore the harbor, which, after exploration by the boat, the sloop entered, anchoring half a mile from shore in two and one fourth fathoms; latitude 45° 27′. 'Murderers' Harbor, for so it was named [for reasons see my text], is, I suppose, the entrance of the river of the West. It is by no means a safe place for any but a very small vessel to enter, the shoal at its entrance being so awkwardly situated, the passage so narrow, and the tide so rapid that it is scarcely possible to avoid the dangers.' [This must be Tillamook Bay, really in 45° 34′.] Meares, *Voy.*, 219–20, supposed it to be near his own Cape Lookout. Gray in 1792 told Vancouver that he had [no date given] been off a river in 46° 10′, where the current kept him for nine days from entering; and Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 181, 234, erroneously concludes that this Murderers' Harbor 'was the mouth of the great river since called the Columbia...because there is no evidence or reason to suppose that Gray visited that part of the coast on any other occasion prior to his meeting with Vancouver.' August 18th, Gray got over the bar after striking several times. August 19th, latitude 47° 11′. [It seems strange that he missed Shoalwater Bay and Gray Harbor.] August 21st, at 7 A. M. Green Island bore N. four miles, and Quinelth N. N. E. seven miles; latitude 47° 30′. August 22–4, contrary winds; latitude 47° 43′. August 25th, craggy and detached rocks and reefs; latitude 47° 57′. August 26th, some distance off shore, but in sight; latitude 48° 5′; 'to the E. N. E. lay a very deep bay, in whose entrance lie many islands,' named Company Bay, and doubtless has good harbors. [This was Barclay Sound, so that he missed the entrance of the strait named Fuca by Meares a little earlier.] August 27th, snowy mountains in the distance; latitude 48° 43′. August 28th, calm; latitude 48° 53′; visited by many natives familiar with English names. August 29–31, narrowly escaping wreck on sunken rocks; reached Hancock's Harbor, in 49° 9′ [Clayoquot Sound], were visited by the chief Wicananish, and set sail. September 1–2, a gale; driven S. to 48° 9′. September 3–5, to latitude 48° 50′. September 6–9, to sight of Point Breakers; latitude 50° 22′. September 10th, latitude 49° 53′. September 11–15, gales; in Hope Bay. September 16th, anchored in Nootka Sound.

also purchased in exchange for iron implements, though copper was more in demand. The natives freely gave up their furs, and took what was offered in return without the slightest complaint. Wood and water were obtained; and then, while waiting for a tide, the two mates, Coolidge and Haswell, went ashore with seven men for the benefit of their health, and to get a load of grass and shrubs for the vessel's live-stock. This was on Saturday, August 16th. The Indians received them in a most friendly manner, invited them to their houses, and amused them with a war-dance and an exhibition of skill with arrows and spears. Presently, however, while the officers were searching for clams at a little distance, and the men were cutting grass near the boat, an Indian seized a cutlass which the captain's servant—a native of the Cape Verde Islands, named Marcos Lopez—had left sticking in the sand, and ran away with it, Lopez following in pursuit. The chiefs were offered rewards to bring the boy back unhurt, but refused, urging the Americans to seek him themselves. On the officers and one man doing so they found Lopez, who had caught the thief, surrounded by a group of Indians, who at once killed Lopez with their knives and arrows, and then attacked the three, as did another large body of savages in the rear under the chiefs who had sent them that way. The situation was desperate, but by a diligent use of their pistols the three Americans, after killing the boldest of their assailants, succeeded in reaching the shore and in wading off to the boat, all wounded, the sailor very seriously. The savages pursued in canoes, but the boat reached the sloop, and a few discharges of the swivel-gun drove the savages back; but all night they kept up their whoops and howling on shore. Two days more passed before the *Lady Washington* could leave Murderers' Harbor, striking dangerously on the bar; and meanwhile the swivel-gun had to be fired again.

Proceeding up the coast and trading often with the

natives, the navigators met with nothing remarkable in the way of adventure or discovery. Haswell writes: "I am of opinion that the straits of Juan de Fuca exist, though Captain Cook positively asserts they do not, for in the very latitude where they are said to lie, the coast takes a bend which very probably may be the entrance." A little farther north they noted the entrance of Barclay Sound and called it Company Bay. They found frequent indications of the Englishmen's visits; narrowly escaped shipwreck; and, the last day of August, entered Hancock Harbor, as they named Clayoquot, where they were honored with a visit from the chief Wicananish. Beyond this point they had gales and fog; and it was not until September 16th, almost a year from Boston, that the *Lady Washington* was towed into Nootka Sound by the aid of boats from the vessels of Meares and Douglas lying at anchor there.

Captain Gray's intercourse with the Englishmen, whose operations in this region will presently be noticed in detail, was very agreeable, and they showed him many polite attentions, besides permitting their smith to assist in certain repairs to the sloop. Yet Captain Meares did his best to discourage the Americans from engaging in trade, and especially from wintering on the coast, to do which he insisted was madness and sure destruction. He even went so far as to assure Gray on his word of honor, but most falsely, that his vessels had not succeeded in obtaining over fifty skins during the season. During the stay of the Englishmen no trade whatever, either for furs or food, could be carried on in the sound, the natives being unapproachable. Haswell states that this was in consequence of Meares' custom of taking their property by force, preventing their escape by a free use of musket-balls, and giving them in payment such trifles as he chose. On September 19th or 20th the Americans witnessed the launching of Meares' new schooner, firing a salute; and on the 22d their

boats helped to tow the *Felice* out of the harbor.[29] On his departure Captain Meares offered to carry letters to China; but by his consort's boats returned the packet, on the plea that it was not certain at what port in India he might touch, thus preventing Gray from sending the letters by some of his officers or men.[30]

On September 22d or 23d the *Columbia* and Captain Kendrick made their appearance. Nothing is known of her trip from Cape Horn save that it had been a stormy one, that she had touched at Juan Fernandez, and had lost two men from scurvy. October 1st was celebrated as the anniversary of departure from Boston, Captain Douglas of the *Iphigenia* firing a salute, and the officers of all four vessels dining on board the *Columbia*. The two vessels under Captain Douglas were towed with Kendrick's aid out of the harbor on October 26th, bound for the Sandwich Islands. On the departure of the Englishmen the natives lost all their fear, and supplied all the food that was needed. Kendrick decided to winter at Nootka, and made preparations to build a house on shore and to rig the sloop into a brig, though both of these schemes were abandoned; indeed, if we may credit Haswell, Captain Kendrick was much addicted to whims and ever varying plans never put into execution. The winter passed without other excitement than that arising from hunting and fishing adventures, the discussion of Kendrick's various petty schemes, the stealing of a boat and divers water-casks and cannon by the Indians, troubles with one or two refractory sailors,[31]

[29] According to Meares the launch was on the 20th and his departure on the *Felice* on the 24th.

[30] Meares feared some information on trade would be sent that might be prejudicial to his interests. Much sharp practice was common enough among rival fur-traders, and as a rule I omit both sides of petty quarrels; but it seems proper, for reasons that will appear later, to add Haswell's accusations to the mass of testimony showing Meares not to have been an honorable man.

[31] John Green, Meares' boatswain, while confined in the house on shore for mutiny, had escaped, and had applied for admission to the American sloop. Gray refused, having promised Meares not to receive him; but some of his

and an alarm of fire one day in the ship in dangerous proximity to the powder. Both vessels remained at anchor in the sound until March of the next year; and their subsequent movements will be noticed in a later chapter. I have now to follow the voyage of the English traders, whom we have seen at Nootka.

The ships *Felice Adventurer* and *Iphigenia Nubiana*, of two hundred and thirty and two hundred tons respectively, were fitted out by a company of English merchants in India, and were put under the command of John Meares and William Douglas, the former being a lieutenant retired from the British navy, whose former voyage to the Alaskan coast has already been mentioned, and who published an elaborate narrative of his expeditions. This work contains a large amount of valuable information on the Northwest Coast; but the author, as appears from his own statements, as well as from the testimony of other traders, both English and American, is not to be implicitly trusted in matters affecting his own interests.[32]

men supplied Green with food, and when Kendrick came he was taken on board the *Columbia*. But he refused to sign the articles, and Kendrick landed him again among the savages. Meares in his narrative blames the Americans for their course in this matter, and very likely with reason. George Monk, a seaman, also ran away, but was pursued and captured.

[32] *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America. To which are prefixed, an Introductory Narrative of a Voyage performed in 1786, from Bengal, in the ship 'Nootka'; observations on the probable existence of a north west passage; and some account of the trade between the north west coast of America and China; and the latter country and Great Britain. By John Meares, Esq.* London, 1790; 4to, portrait, maps, and charts. The 'Introductory Voyage,' pp. i.–xl., contains the author's version of his troubles with Portlock and Dixon, with original correspondence. In the 'Observations,' pp. xlii.–lxvi., the author argues that the north-west passage may yet be found, relying not on the old fanciful theories, but chiefly on the facts that Hudson Bay had not been completely explored, and that the late voyagers, including himself, had found on the Pacific side a complicated net-work of islands and straits, some of which latter might very likely afford the desired passage. Though marked by some inaccuracies of statement, the argument is far stronger than most of those on this subject that I have noted in earlier chapters; and the author introduces a brief sketch of the late trading voyages. The 'Account of the Trade' is on pp. lxvii.–xcvi. The voyages of Meares and his associates fill 372 pages of text. There are three general maps or charts, showing all or part of the north-west coast on different scales, to be copied a little later; there are local sketch-charts of Friendly Cove, p. 108, Port Cox, p. 143, Port Effingham, p. 172, Sea-otter Harbor, p. 305, and Raft Cove, p. 372; coast views of Nootka, Port Effingham, and land in 49° 3′, p. 104; en-

In order to evade excessive port charges in China, and also to obviate the necessity of obtaining licenses from the East India and South Sea companies, one Cavalho, a Portuguese, was made nominally a partner in the concern, and through his influence with the governor of Macao the vessels were furnished with Portuguese flags, papers, and captains. All of these were to be used as occasion might demand, either in the Chinese ports or in case of embarrassing meetings with British vessels, when the real commanders would appear in the Portuguese version of the ship's papers as supercargoes. Among the instructions from the 'Merchants Proprietors'—Daniel Beale of Canton being elsewhere named as the 'ostensible agent of the concern'—was the following: "Should you...meet with any Russian, English, or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility and friendship; and allow them, if authorized, to examine your papers, which will shew the object of your voyage:—But you must, at the same time, guard against surprize. Should they attempt to seize you, or even carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. You will, on your arrival in the first port, protest before a proper officer against such illegal procedure...Should you, in such conflict, have the superiority—you will then take possession of the vessel that attacked you, as also her cargo; and bring both, with the officers and crew, to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes, and their crews punished as pirates." Of course, the only trouble deemed likely to occur was with vessels belonging to rival English companies, in which case this

trance to Fuca Strait, p. 156, and Cape Lookout, p. 161; portrait of author, frontispiece; the chiefs Maquilla and Callicum, p. 109; launch of the schooner, p. 221. In the appendix, besides tables of the voyage, are over 60 pages, not numbered, of instructions and other documents, including Meares' *Memorial* of 1790 on his wrongs at the hands of Spain. There was an octavo edition of the *Voyages*, London, 1791, 2 vols.; also a French translation, 1794; Italian, 1796; German, 1796; and Swedish, 1797. Meares also published an *Answer to Mr George Dixon*, London, 1791, which was intended as a refutation of *Dixon's Remarks*.

was to be a purely Portuguese expedition; but it was to be as purely English if Spaniards or Russians should venture to interfere. This trick of sailing under double colors was not permissible under the laws or customs of any civilized nation, unless directed against a hostile nation in time of war; and England assuredly would assume no responsibility in consequence of such a trick, directed against herself, unless it might be advantageous to her own interests to do so. So far as is known, Meares had no occasion to use his Portuguese colors in American waters, except when the *Lady Washington* made her appearance at Nootka, and before her nationality was known;[33] but on his return to China his device was successful, so far as the evasion of port charges was concerned, until the 'little game' was exposed by legal proceedings arising from Cavalho's bankruptcy after the complaisant Portuguese governor's death.[34]

The vessels left Macao in January 1788. The *Iphigenia* directed her course to Alaska, with instruc-

[33] Haswell, *Voy.*, MS., 35, describes the vessels as 'under Portuguese colors' on his arrival; but he says nothing of any flag later either on the vessels or house.

[34] Meares in his narrative says nothing to indicate that the expedition was anything but an English one from beginning to end. In his *Memorial* he admits the ruse as against the Chinese, carefully suppressing, of course, the other phase of the matter, and insisting that the vessels and cargoes were 'actually and *bona fide* British property.' The instructions and other documents published in Meares' appendix are in English, and for the most part addressed to Meares and Douglas as captains; but in some of the documents relating to the troubles of the next year Cavalho and Company are named as owners of one of the vessels; in one document Francis Joseph Viana is named as captain of the *Iphigenia*, with Douglas as supercargo; Meares, in his *Memorial*, once names Viana as 'second captain'; Douglas, in his *Journal*, once mentions instructions in the Portuguese language; Gray and Ingraham testified in later years to the fact that the vessels were under Portuguese colors, captains, and papers; and finally Haswell found the vessels under Portuguese colors. All this is sufficient to support the conclusions in the text, which are mainly identical with those of Mr Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 172–3. This writer says: 'There is no sufficient proof that any other [than the Portuguese flag] was displayed by them during the expedition.' This is in a sense true, but his partisanship is somewhat too apparent in the statement that the Portuguese subjects figure as the real commanders 'in all the papers;' and that 'the documents annexed to the *Memorial* conclusively prove that all these deceptive appearances were kept up at Nootka;' and he certainly has no reason to imply, as he does, that the idea of this being an English and not a Portuguese expedition was entirely an after-thought, devised for the purpose of obtaining English protection.

tions to follow the coast southward; and her movements will be noted later. The *Felice*, Captain Meares, had a force of fifty men, crew and artisans, a considerable number of each class being Chinese. Comekela, a native chief of Nootka, brought away by one of the earlier voyages, returned home on this vessel, while the *Iphigenia* carried also Tiana, a young Hawaiian chief, bound homeward to the Sandwich Islands by way of America. Especial pains is said to have been taken with the outfit; but the Americans state that the vessels were very poorly provided with everything except articles of trade. America was sighted on May 11th; and two days later the *Felice* anchored in Nootka Sound, having sighted, without speaking, the *Princess Royal*, Captain Duncan, which had just left the harbor on her homeward trip.[35] Comekela, who is called a brother of Maquinna and a relative of Callicum, the two being the great chiefs of Nootka, was received by his countrymen with great festivities of welcome.

The Englishmen had come prepared to build a small vessel; and their first occupation was to erect a house for the workmen and stores. Maquinna, the chief, made no objections, but gave them a spot for the house, promised native assistance, and appointed Callicum as a kind of guardian to protect the strangers in their operations. In return for his kindness Maquinna was given two pistols, for which he had shown a fancy, and was promised the building itself when the builders should leave the coast. Meares, however, chose to operate on the native fears as well as their gratitude, by explaining his power; and round the new house, which was two stories high, built of wood, he threw up a breastwork, and on it mounted a small cannon. There is nothing in Meares' narrative or instructions to indicate an intention of acquiring permanent possessions at Nootka, either for

[35] That part of Meares' narrative relating to his experience in America begins on p. 103.

himself or any nation, but everything to show that the house was built for temporary purposes only. The circumstances of the case, and the testimony of men who arrived a little later, point in the same direction. In later years, however, when claiming the protection of England, Meares set up the claim that he had bought the land, and also stated that the English flag had been raised over the building. It matters little which version was true; but obviously the narrative is to be trusted rather than the *Memorial*.[36]

On the shore outside the enclosure the keel of a vessel was laid, and the work was pressed forward with all due speed. The natives remained friendly, and many otter-skins were purchased. At first the trade was regulated by a fixed scale of prices; but later, so says the narrative, a system of mutual gifts was adopted—a system which, according to Mr Haswell, as the reader will remember, consisted in the Englishmen seizing all they could get their hands on, and giving the Indians such trifles as could best be spared. But this accusation must be taken with much allowance, since Captain Meares was by no means so stupid as to ruin his prospects for future trade by such wholesale theft. At some one of the later interchanges of gifts the savages may have deemed themselves overreached, whence the dissatis-

[36] Haswell simply says: 'Captain Meares, arriving here some time before Captain Douglas, landed his second officer, Mr Funter, and a party of artificers, who first built a tolerably strong garrison, and then went to work building a small schooner of about 30 tons.' Captain Gray and Mr Ingraham subsequently testified that 'On the arrival of the *Columbia*, in the year 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts, covered with boards, made by the Indians; but this Captain Douglas pulled to pieces, prior to his sailing for the Sandwich Islands, the same year. The boards he took on board the *Iphigenia*, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used as firewood on board the *Columbia*... As to the land Mr Meares says he purchased of Maquinna or any other chief, we cannot say further than we never heard of any; although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well. Besides this, we have asked Maquinna and other chiefs, since our late arrival, if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka Sound; they answered *No;* that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land.' *Gray and Ingraham's Letter to Cuadra, 1792*, in Greenhow's *Or. and Cal.*, 415–16. I may add that Kendrick also, according to Haswell, built a small house for temporary use in the autumn of 1788.

faction noted by the Americans. At any rate, they stole a grindstone, were not admitted within the enclosure of the house, and finally retired to another bay to fish, returning, however, to steal the ship's pinnace, which was broken up for the nails. Maquinna still protested his fidelity; and it was just before the vessel's departure that the final ownership of the house was promised him, as before related.

On June 11th, leaving a force at Nootka to work on the schooner, Meares sailed for the south, and spent two weeks in Clayoquot Sound, which he named Port Cox, being lavishly entertained by Wicananish, the chief of that region. A valuable lot of otter-skins was secured, and dissensions between the chiefs were healed by a treaty which gave to Wicananish, for sale to Meares, all furs then in possession of the Indians, but allowed Hanna and Detootche the right to sell such skins as should be taken later by their people. The next day after leaving Port Cox, Sunday, June 29th, the navigator sighted a great inlet in latitude 48° 39′, reaching its southern shore and receiving a visit from the chief Tatootche. The inlet was named for its "original discoverer, Juan de Fuca," and has retained the name. Meares coolly assumes the honor of rediscovering this strait, knowing of no other navigator "said to have been this way" except Cook and Maurelle, and ignoring Barclay's discovery, of which he was perfectly aware.[37] The boat was sent out to explore the island which still bears the name of Tatouche. A near view was had of Classet village on a high steep rock; and there were also seen, on July 2d, Cape Flattery, Queenhithe river and island, Queenuitett village, Saddle Hill, and Destruction Island. On the 4th they named Mount Olympus, in latitude 47° 10′; and next day Shoalwater Bay, with the capes Low Point and Shoalwater at its entrance.

[37] He several times speaks of Barclay's voyage in his narrative; and in his *Observations*, p. lv., he says: 'The boat's crew, however, was despatched, and discovered the extraordinary straits of John de Fuca, and also the coast as far as Queenhythe.' Meares gives in a large engraving a view of the entrance.

On Sunday, the 6th, they rounded a promontory in about latitude 46° 10′, with great hopes that it would prove the Cape San Roque of Heceta; and so, indeed, it was, the bay beyond being the mouth of the great river of the west. But Meares found breakers extending completely across the bay, which he named Deception, and the cape Disappointment, and wrote: "We can now with safety assert, that no such river as that of Saint Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish chart." Farther south he named Quicksand Bay, which was probably Tillamook, called Murderers' Harbor by Gray a little later, though Meares describes it as entirely closed by a low sandy beach. The adjacent headland was named Point Grenville, and a southern one, in latitude 45° 30′, Cape Lookout. The name is still applied to a cape farther south, in latitude 45° 20′, the original being still known by the name of La Mesa, which Heceta gave it in 1775, and sometimes by that of Cape Meares.[38]

Having "met with nothing but discouragement," Meares now abandoned his southern explorations, much against his inclinations,[39] and on July 11th arrived at Barclay Sound, which, or part of which, he renamed Port Effingham, the eastern headland of which he called Cape Beale. While trade was in progress here, Mr Duffin was sent with thirteen men in the long-boat to explore the strait of Fuca, and, if possible, the country farther south. He started on the 13th, and was absent a week. He followed the northern shore of the strait for about

[38] Point Grenville has no name on modern maps, unless it was south of the bay, as is implied. The identity of these different points, as I have given them, in accordance with Davidson, *Direct. of Pac. Coast*, 87–8, is not quite clear. It is not impossible that Meares' latitude was wrong; that he missed Tillamook altogether; that Grenville was La Mesa; Quicksand Bay, Natahats Lagoon (or even Tillamook, as before); and Lookout, the point still so called; nevertheless, a group of rocks, one of them arched, as described by Meares, found according to Davidson off La Mesa, and not off Lookout, should be conclusive. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 177, is wrong in identifying Lookout with the Falcon of the Spaniards, which was False Tillamook, and he cites the latitude as 45° 37′, as indeed Meares gives it in one place.

[39] He had hoped to reach 42°, where 'it is said Captain Caxon found a good harbour.' I do not know the meaning of this allusion.

twelve miles, perhaps to the San Juan of modern maps, neither diary nor map being quite intelligible, and in what he called Hostility Bay, perhaps False Nitinat, was attacked by the savages, who wounded him and several of his men, but were repulsed after a hard fight.[38] Though Duffin's journal is geographically somewhat vague to us, it presented no difficulties whatever to the captain, who coolly says: The boat "had sailed near thirty leagues up the strait, and at that distance from the sea it was about fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon stretching to the east for 15 leagues more.—Such an extraordinary circumstance filled us with strange conjectures as to the extremity of this strait, which we concluded, at all events, could not be at any great distance from Hudson's Bay." He also writes: "We took possession of the straits of John de Fuca, in the name of the King of Britain," though Duffin mentions no such act; and in his memorial of later date he claims to have obtained from Wicananish on this trip "the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, and also his permission to build any storehouses, or other edifices, which he might judge necessary; that he also acquired the same privilege of exclusive trade from Tatootche, the chief of the country bordering on the straits of John de Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the

[40] Duffin's *Journal* is given in Meares' appendix, as also his instructions. The following are the points bearing on geography: July 13th, small sandy bay; 14th, village of Attah on sandy bay; course E. and E. N. E. along shore; Nittee Natt [Nitinat] village; Point Entrance at noon bore E. by S. 4 leagues, Tatootche Island, S. E. by E. 10 leagues; 15th, small sandy bay; Nittee Natt, rivulet and bar with surf; Point Entrance bore S. by E. [supposably Bonilla Point]; 16th, sandy cove and village; passed Point Entrance; steered east into the strait; at noon entered a deep bay, a good harbor for vessels of 100 or 150 tons [Hostility Bay, or False Nitinat?]; 17th, fight with Indians; 'turned out of the bay' and 'stood over to the other shore' [of the bay or strait?]; place called Port Hawkesbury, Tatootche bearing S. W. [which indicates San Juan, but how did he get there?]; 18th, 'wind S. S. W.; at 4 P.M. tacked off the south shore four miles, and stood over to the north shore of the straits; at 7 tacked again off shore half a mile; at sunset the entrance of Port Hawkesbury N. by E.; Tatootche Island, S.; Point Entrance, W. S. W., off the latter 8 leagues, and from the former 3 leagues; sailed N. W. by W.,' and returned to ship. Meares says the return was on the 20th. See. Meares' map later.

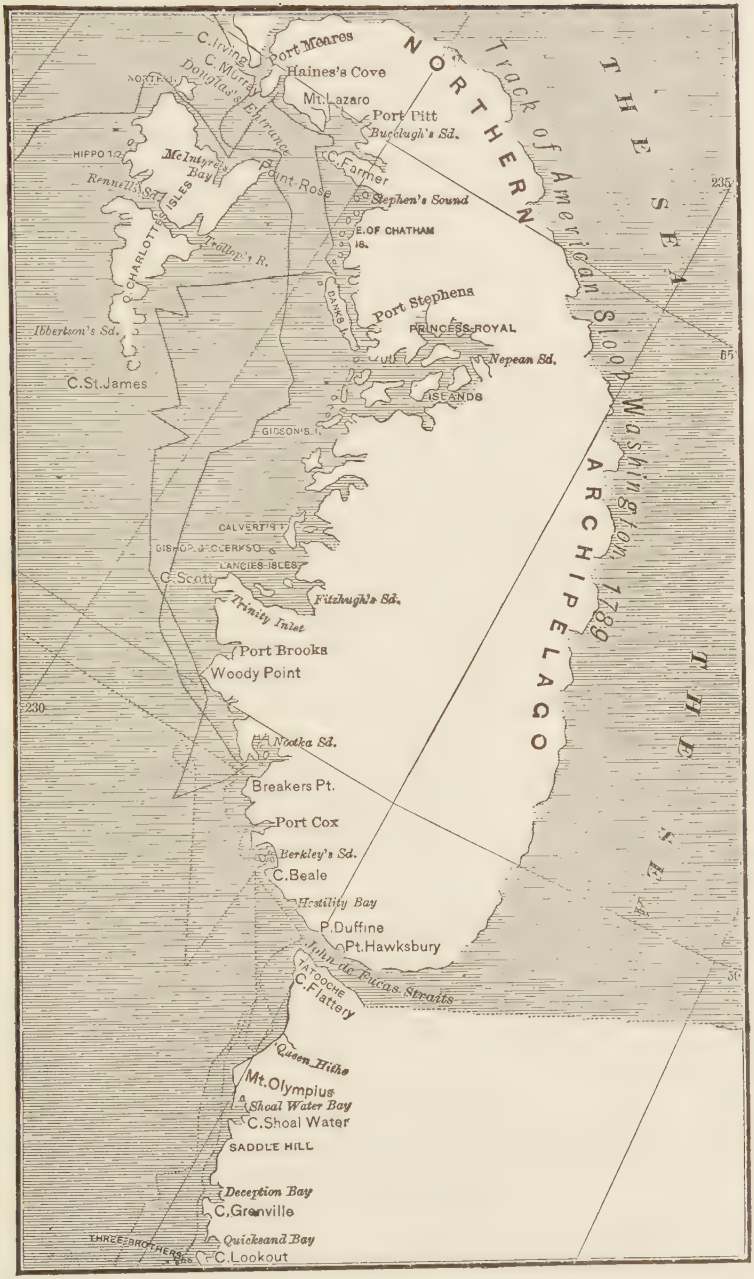
said strait, which one of your Memorialist's officers took possession of in the King's name, calling the same Tatootche." Avoiding a harsher term, we may call these statements gross exaggerations.

Returning to Nookta on July 26th, it was learned that all had been reasonably prosperous during the *Felice's* absence; but when she was ready to sail again for Port Cox a mutiny occurred to prevent embarking. The mutineers, headed by the boatswain, who had been disgraced for previous insubordination, were barely prevented from seizing the vessel; but all submitted and returned to duty except eight, who, rather than submit to be ironed, having their choice, were turned on shore among the savages, who for a while made slaves of them. On August 8th Meares sailed for Port Cox, and just outside the harbor met again the *Princess Royal*, Captain Duncan, now nearly ready to leave the coast. After a successful voyage he returned on the 24th to Nootka, where, on the 27th, Captain Douglas arrived in the *Iphigenia* from the northern coast.

Coming from the Alaskan waters, it was on August 20th that Douglas found himself in Dixon, or, as he chose to rename it, Douglas entrance; and thence he proceeded through the strait between Queen Charlotte Islands and the main, as Duncan had done before him, though Meares has the assurance to claim the honor for his associate.[41] The only other name applied, so far as the journal shows, was that of Point Rose; but Douglas returned through the strait the next year, as we shall see. Meares' map, which I reproduce here, shows the route and names given for both trips, and also the supposed track of the American sloop round another great island in 1789, of which I shall speak elsewhere.[42]

[41] Douglas' *Journal* of this part of his voyage is found in Meares' *Voy.*, 329 et seq. For Meares' remarks see *Id.*, lxiii.–v. and 211–12. He knew perfectly well that Duncan had preceded Douglas in the strait.

[42] On the original map, not copied, is an inscription to the effect that Queen Charlotte Island was named by Dixon in 1787, though discovered by Lowrie



C.Irving
C.Murray
Port Meares
Haines's Cove
Douglas's Entrance
Mt.Lazaro
Port Pitt
Bucclugh's Sd.
NORTHERN
Track of American Sloop Washington 1789
THE SEA
HIPPO I.
McIntyre's Bay
Rennell's Sd.
Point Rose
C.Farmer
Stephen's Sound
E.OF CHATHAM IS.
CHARLOTTE ISLES
Trollop's R.
DANKS I.
Port Stephens
PRINCESS ROYAL
Nepean Sd.
ISLANDS
Ibbertson's Sd.
C.St.James
GIBSON'S I.
ARCHIPELAGO
CALVERT'S I.
BISHOP & CLERKS
LANCIES ISLES
C.Scott
Fitzhugh's Sd.
Trinity Inlet
Port Brooks
Woody Point
Nootka Sd.
Breakers Pt.
Port Cox
Berkley's Sd.
C.Beale
Hostility Bay
P.Duffine
Pt.Hawksbury
John de Fucas Straits
TATOOCHE
C.Flattery
Queen Hithe
Mt.Olympius
Shoal Water Bay
C.Shoal Water
SADDLE HILL
Deception Bay
C.Granville
Quicksand Bay
THREE BROTHERS
C.Lookout
235
65
230
50

The two vessels being now reunited, every effort was made to fit the *Felice* for her trip to China with the valuable cargo of furs that had been collected. The exiled mutineers were received back for duty, except the boatswain, who was confined in the house, and soon escaped. Work on the new and old vessels progressed rapidly.

On September 17th the *Lady Washington*, Captain Gray, made her appearance, as already related, in time to witness, on the 19th or 20th, the launch of the new schooner, which was named the *North West America*, the first vessel ever built on the coast. The launching was an event of much interest to English and American spectators, as well as to the Chinese builders, and one of great wonder to the natives. It is made the subject of an engraving in Meares' book.[43]

A few days later the *Felice*, taking on board the *Iphigenia's* furs,[44] and a lot of spars for the China market, sailed from Nootka. She touched at the Sandwich Islands, and early in December anchored at Macao.

The *Iphigenia* remained about a month at Nootka after the *Felice's* departure, the time being spent in preparing the *North West America* for a trip to the Sandwich Islands, where the two vessels were to winter. The *Columbia* arrived on September 22d or 23d, the day after Meares' departure, and the Americans, eager to get rid of their rivals in trade, gladly aided in the preparations for departure. The house on shore, if we may credit Gray and Ingraham, was demolished, part of the material being put on board

and Guise in 1786. And in Meares' instructions to Douglas for the second trip through the strait, in appendix, we read: 'You have the credit of discovering the Great Island, the north-west side of which, comprehending nearly four degrees of latitude, is entirely undiscovered.'

[43] *Meares' Voy.*, 221. In the engraving and text the English flag is represented as flying over both schooner and the house on shore. Haswell says nothing of this.

[44] Meares' solemn assertion to Gray that not over 50 skins in all had been obtained, as also his mean trick of refusing to carry letters for the Americans, has already been noticed.

the English vessels and the rest given to Captain Kendrick; and on October 26th or 27th the two vessels set sail, being towed out of the harbor by the Americans, and reached the islands in December. Captain Kendrick's vessels, as we have seen, wintered at Nootka.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE NOOTKA CONTROVERSY.

### 1789–1790.

Voyages of 1789—Movements of Kendrick and Gray—Cruise of the 'Lady Washington'—End of Haswell's Diary—The 'Columbia' Goes to China and Boston—Kendrick in the Strait—Trading Trip of Douglas and Funter—Meares in China—A New Partnership—Voyage of Colnett and Hudson—Plans for a Permanent Establishment—Metcalf's Voyage—Spanish Expedition under Martinez and Haro—Seizure of the 'Iphigenia'—Motives of Capture and Release—A Spanish Fort at Santa Cruz de Nutka—Seizure of the 'North West America'—Taking of the 'Argonaut' and 'Princess Royal'—Colnett versus Martinez—Prizes Sent to San Blas—Restoration by the Viceroy—The Spaniards Quit Nootka—American Policy—Merits of the Controversy—The News in Europe—Spain and England—Diplomacy and Impending War—Spain Yields—The Nootka Treaty.

Northwestern annals of 1789 offer little of interest outside of certain somewhat startling events at Nootka; but before recording those events it will be well to name the different vessels that visited the coast, and to follow their movements independently of the Nootka troubles, in which all were directly or indirectly involved.

Kendrick and Gray, as we have seen, had passed the winter at Nootka, and were therefore first in the field for the spring trade. On March 16th the *Lady Washington* sailed for Clayoquot, where she arrived next day, and where she lay for ten days, the men engaged in trading, hunting, and making a survey of what they called Hancock Harbor. "I really think," writes Haswell, "there is a great inland communication by

rivers. The whole land we could see I have reason to suppose to be islands."[1] Then they sailed down the coast, noting Company Bay, or Barclay Sound, passing Nitinat village and Patchenat, or Poverty Cove, and entering what they were sure was the strait of Fuca, probably to about the same point reached by Meares' boat, where on April 1st they "saw the sun rise clear from the horizon up the straits."[2] It is evident that Meares had told them nothing of his own or of Barclay's discoveries. Noting Tatooche Island, or Chandec, they were tossed by the winds below Cape Flattery for several days, and returned to Clayoquot on the 9th, joining Wicananish in a successful whale-hunt. Subsequently Captain Gray repeated his southern trip, exploring Cechasht Cove and Company Bay by means of his boat, and returning on April 22d to Nootka, where he found Captain Douglas and the *Iphigenia*. The American vessels were anchored seven miles up the sound, at Mawinah, Moweena, or Kendrick Cove; and the officers made some explorations in the inland channels. Returning to Friendly Cove ready for sea, Captain Gray learned that the *North West America* had arrived and departed for northern waters. Leaving the sound on the 3d of May, he met the *Princesa,* commanded by Martinez. Gray was bound north, but for a week the winds prevented his getting beyond Hope Bay;[3] and before his departure on the 10th he sighted another vessel under Spanish colors, the *San Cárlos.*

This trip of the *Lady Washington* to the north is not so clearly described by Haswell as would be desirable, it being impossible to fix all the positions. They passed,

[1] *Haswell's Voy.*, MS., 43 et seq. The author introduces quite a long description of Nootka and its people.

[2] Hall J. Kelley, *Discov. Northwest Coast*, claims to have seen Gray's log and Hoskins' journal in 1829; but his brief remarks contain so many blunders about the voyage that we can have no confidence in statements that cannot be proven erroneous. He says that Gray entered Fuca Strait 60 miles in 1788; and also that Gray's journal mentions 'the large river, called by the Indians Tacootche, flowing into the eastern part of this [Fuca] sea, in latitude 49 degrees;' that is, Fraser River.

[3] The westernmost inlet of the bay he says was called Chicklesset.

however, between the continent and the great island, and penetrated the maze of islands and channels beyond as far as 55° 43′.[4] To Queen Charlotte, Gray gave the name of Washington, apparently not aware that any other navigator had discovered its separation from the mainland. "Had we not met with the misfortune of running ashore in the storm our discoveries would have been very interesting. As it was, we discovered that the straits of Admiral de Font actually exist. As far north as we went is a vast chain of islands, and the entrances between them may be taken for gulfs and straits; but when explored large rivers and lakes may be found. This coast can never be thoroughly surveyed until it is done at some national expense, whose commanders are interested by commerce."[5] Commercially the trip was successful, large numbers of skins being obtained, especially on the western side of Queen Charlotte Isles, on the return. At one place the unsophisticated savages gave two

[4] May 3d to 15th, from Hope Bay passed between Cape Ingraham and a group of islands; across to opposite shore fourteen leagues; a large bay with a dangerous reef on west; farther west, coast craggy, with low detached islands; latitude 52° 37′ [no date]; good open bay in 52° 50′, with a remarkable ridge of barren mountains on N. shore; saw land S. W. by S., far away. May 16th, land 90 miles in extent and six miles from coast, N. N. E. to continent; waited until 19th for Indians who promised furs; this bay [probably that in 52° 50′] named Derby Sound, for one of the owners. May 21st, 'A large inlet trending to the westward, probably the entrance of Admiral de Font's Straits;' gales and complicated movements; the great island estimated to extend 170 miles, from 52° to 54° 30′. May 22d, N. W. and W., 'edging into the continent;' latitude 55° 30′. May 24th, a terrible gale, which so strained the sloop that it was resolved to return to Nootka; place named Distress Cove, in 55°. May 25th and 27th, near Distress Cove, generally in 55° 10′. May 28th, latitude at noon 55° 43′; a chain of islands, which could not be explored; returned to Washington Island; Custa, a village on a sandy bay [not far from Dixon's Cloak Bay] under chief Cuneah; estimated latitude 54° 15′; entrance of the strait [Dixon Entrance] in 54° 20′; passed south in foggy weather. June 8th, latitude 53° [54°?] 8′. June 10th, latitude 53° 32′. June 11th, in an inlet and good harbor, in 52° 12′, named Barrell Sound, for one of the owners; on shore found a very curious fortified rock, called Touts, with flat top and perpendicular sides 40 feet high. Thence [no more dates given] to the islands off Cape Ingraham; and to Nootka.

[5] Duncan and Douglas had preceded Gray in the straits, as we have seen. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 199, says: 'Gray explored the whole east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, which had never before been visited by the people of any civilized nation, though Duncan... had... sailed through the sea separating it from the main land;' and then claims that Douglas did not precede Gray. All this is wrong, to say nothing of the fact that Gray's exploration was of the main rather than the island coast.

hundred sea-otter skins, worth about eight thousand dollars, for an old iron chisel.

Captain Gray arrived at Nootka shortly after June 14th, and as he sailed up the sound to rejoin Kendrick at Mawinah, he saw the two Spanish vessels at anchor, with the *Princess Royal*, Captain Hudson, and noted that Martinez had fortified Hog Island near Friendly Cove. Here, after relating briefly what had occurred at Nootka during the absence of the *Lady Washington*, Haswell's diary comes to an end. Before either of the vessels sailed again, the writer, with Captain Gray, was transferred to the *Columbia*. After witnessing the transactions between the English and Spaniards, and perhaps taking some part indirectly in them, to be noted presently, the Americans decided to send the ship to China with the furs collected under command of Gray, while Kendrick was to remain and continue trading operations with the sloop. The crew of the *North West America*, a Spanish prize, was put on board the *Columbia*, as is subsequently related, to be carried to China, and also a quantity of supplies, ostensibly for their support, which enabled Kendrick to reinforce advantageously the crew and replenish the stores of the *Lady Washington*. Soon after the middle of July the two vessels left Nootka and went down to Clayoquot,[6] where the transfer of skins and supplies was made, and the *Columbia* sailed for China. We have no details of the voyage, except that they reached Canton early in December, and loading with tea, proceeded on their voyage round the world, the first under the flag of the United States, and arrived at Boston in August 1790. Though a large quantity of furs

[6] Possibly the *Lady Washington* left Nootka first, and after a southern trip met the *Columbia* at Clayoquot. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 199–200, so understands it, and thinks that it was on this trip that Gray, as he told Vancouver later, sailed 50 miles into the strait of Fuca, and found the passage five leagues wide. Had Gray made this trip, however, it seems that Haswell would have extended his diary to include it; in one of the documents attached to *Meares' Memorial* it is stated that the vessels left Nootka together; and I am inclined to think that Gray's report to Vancouver, *Voy.*, i. 214, may have been merely an exaggeration of his visit to the strait in 1789. See p. 205 of this volume.

had been obtained, the expedition is said to have resulted in no profit to the owners, some of whom sold out their interest, while the others fitted out the ship for a new voyage, to be described in a later chapter.[7]

After Gray's departure we know nothing in detail of Kendrick's operations on the coast. In Meares' map, copied in the preceding chapter, we find laid down the "track of the *Lady Washington* in the autumn of 1789," through a strait whose southern entrance is that of Fuca, and the northern above Queen Charlotte Island, thus making a great island of the Nootka region. When Vancouver met Gray in 1792, and was told by him that he made no such voyage, the inaccuracy of Meares' statement was believed to be established; but it subsequently appeared that Meares got his information from a man who had obtained it from Kendrick after his return to China at the end of 1789,[8] and therefore it was plausibly concluded by Greenhow and others that the *Lady Washington* had made the trip through the strait under Kendrick's command after the departure of the *Columbia*. I cannot say that such was not the fact; but from the extreme inaccuracy of Meares' chart, from the narrowness of the real channel, and from the fact that Kendrick is not known to have made subsequently any claims to a discovery so important, I am strongly of the opinion that the chart was made from second-hand reports of Kendrick's conjectures, founded on Gray's explorations of the north and south, already described, and supplemented by his own possible observations after Gray's departure, as well as by reports of the natives, which, according to Haswell, indicated a channel back of Nootka. It is not difficult, without imputing any intentional deception to the American commander, to suppose this to

[7] Bulfinch's statement, *U. S. Gov. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. No. 101*, p. 50; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 200, 225–6. It was Derby and Pintard who sold out to Barrell and Brown.

[8] *Meares' Answer to Mr George Dixon*, London, 1791. A reply to *Dixon's Remarks*.

have been the origin of the report, which was carried to London by a man who had talked with Kendrick and had not himself visited the coast. At any rate the evidence is not sufficient to give Kendrick the honor of having been the first to sail round Vancouver Island. Somewhere, however, during the autumn, Captain Kendrick obtained a valuable cargo of furs, and at the end of the season went to China to sell them, not returning the next season at all, but making his appearance in 1791, as we shall see.[9]

The *Iphigenia*, under Douglas or Viana according to circumstances, and the native-built *North West America*, Captain Robert Funter, had wintered at the Sandwich Islands, in accordance with Meares' instructions. The plan for this season was for these two vessels to occupy the field north of Nootka, the snow trading on the western side of Queen Charlotte Isles chiefly, and the schooner on the eastern shore and mainland, while Meares in the *Felice* was to return and confine his operations to the south. Douglas and Funter left the Islands on March 18th and arrived at Nootka, the former on April 20th and the latter on the 24th. Five days later the schooner sailed for her northern trading cruise, soon followed, as we have seen, by the *Lady Washington*. Then came Lieutenant Martinez from San Blas, as is more fully described hereafter, and about the middle of May seized the *Iphigenia* as a prize. She was subsequently released, furnished with some needed supplies, and permitted to sail on the 2d or 3d of June, ostensibly for the Sandwich Islands; but no sooner was Captain Douglas out of sight of port than he turned northward for a tour of trade, which was quite successful, though less so, as was claimed, than it would have been if the Spaniards had not taken some of the cargo of articles for barter. The course was up the straits and round the great island, as shown on a map already

[9] *Haswell's Log of the Columbia Rediviva.*

given. The Englishmen had to discharge their guns once or twice to keep off hostile savages; but there was no other adventure worthy of notice. Leaving the north end of the island on June 27th, the *Iphigenia* reached the Sandwich Islands in July, and Macao in October.[10]

Funter's route on the *North West America* is not exactly known, except that the natives reported him to have been on the west shore of the island, in 52° 12′, in May; but he obtained over two hundred skins, and returning to Nootka on June 9th, his vessel was seized by the Spaniards, the furs being transferred to the *Princess Royal*, and the crew to the *Columbia*. She remained in the Spanish service, under the name of *Gertrudis* probably, and immediately made a trading trip for account of her captors in charge of David Coolidge, mate of the *Lady Washington*, obtaining some seventy-five skins. She was taken to San Blas at the end of the year.[11]

Meanwhile Captain Meares, instead of returning in the *Felice* from China, as he had intended, formed a partnership there in behalf of his company with Mr Etches, representing the London company that had fitted out Duncan and Colnett's expedition of 1787–8, making joint-stock of all the vessels and other property. The *Prince of Wales* being sent to England, a new ship was purchased and named the *Argonaut*, to replace the *Felice*, which was sold. This ship, under Captain Colnett, and the *Princess Royal*, Captain Thomas Hudson, left China in April and May, not flying Portuguese colors this time, because the London company had a license from the East

[10] *Douglas' Journal*, in *Meares' Voy.*, 331–9 and tables; see also map in preceding chapter, p. 201. The names applied on this trip, according to the *Journal*, were as follows: Fort Pitt, Buccleugh Sound, Cape Farmer, Cape Murray, Petrie Island, Mount St Lazaro, Haines Cove, Cape Irving, McIntyre Bay, in 53° 58′, Cox Channel, Tatanee village, and Beal Harbor.

[11] *Meares' Voy.*, tables and documents in appendix. Tobar, *Informe*, says, however, that she was sent under Narvaez to explore the strait of Fuca, Coolidge going as interpreter; and this may be confirmed by Navarrete, *Viages Apóc.*, 114.

India Company. It was the intention now to establish a permanent trading-post or factory on the coast, with suitable buildings for the occupation of the company. Colnett was authorized to select the most convenient site for such an establishment, which was to be named Fort Pitt, and to be under the charge of Mr Duffin. Nootka was not mentioned in the instructions as the site of the fort, though it would naturally have been placed there. Nor do we find in the instructions as printed any provision like that of the preceding year for troubles with vessels of other nations.[12] Seventy Chinamen were embarked as settlers for the new fort;[13] and a small vessel of thirty tons was carried to be launched on the American coast.

The *Princess Royal* was the first to reach Nootka, on June 14th, and after a few days of the most friendly relations with both Spaniards and Americans Captain Hudson sailed for a trading cruise, on July 2d, carrying the skins taken from the schooner *North West America*.[14] Next day Colnett came in with the *Argonaut*, which on July 4th was seized by the Spaniards as a prize. Ten days later the *Princess Royal* returned and was also seized. Both vessels were sent south with Spanish crews and officers, and with

[12] *Meares' Voy.*, appendix. Colnett was recommended to form treaties with the native chiefs, particularly near Nootka. 'In planning a factory on the coast of America, we look to a solid establishment, and not one that is to be abandoned at pleasure. We authorize you to fix it at the most convenient station, only to place your colony in peace and security, and fully protected from the fear of the smallest sinister accident. The object of a port of this kind is to draw the Indians to it, to lay up the small vessels in the winter season, to build, and for other commercial purposes. When this point is effected, different trading houses will be established at stations, that your knowledge of the coast and its commerce point out to be the most advantageous.' In his *Memorial*, however, Meares says: 'Mr Colnett was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound, and, with that view, to erect a substantial house on the spot which your Memorialist had purchased in the preceding year; as will appear by a copy of his instructions.'

[13] The Chinamen, according to Tobar, *Informe*, complained that they had been enticed away from their country to go to Bengal, but found the plan to be to furnish each with a Kanaka wife and thus settle Nootka. The English say in later documents that the Chinamen were taken by the Spaniards and put to work; but what became of them does not appear.

[14] In Meares' appendix is given Hudson's receipt for 203 skins from Funter; it is dated July 2d. He claims that there were a dozen skins missing.

Colnett, Hudson, and their men as prisoners. They sailed, the *Argonaut* under José Tobar on July 14th, and the *Princess* on the 27th, arriving at San Blas on the 15th and 27th of August respectively.[15] Thus, for this year at least, disastrously came to an end the brilliant commercial enterprise of Meares and his associates.

The only other trading voyage of 1789 was that of Captain Metcalf with two vessels, the *Eleonora*, in which he sailed from New York, and the *Fair American*, purchased in China and commanded by his son. He is said to have arrived at Nootka in November, and to have had one of his vessels seized and held for a time by the Spaniards;[16] but as there were no Spaniards there at that date, the arrival must have been earlier, or there was no seizure. Of Metcalf's trading operations nothing is known; but his vessels met with disaster subsequently at the Sandwich Islands.

I have not been able to obtain the original diaries of the Spanish expedition of 1789, nor has any preceding writer in English seen them; but to Navarrete's brief *résumé*, which was all that had been known from Spanish sources, I am able to add statements of equal importance in the reports of Tobar, an officer in the expedition, and of the viceroy Revilla-Gigedo,[17] besides a few indirect allusions in the narratives of later expeditions. The tidings brought back from Alaska in 1788 respecting the intentions of the Rus-

[15] The dates are given in *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe.* Greenhow and other writers do not clearly state that the *Princess* was sent to San Blas at all.

[16] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 224–5, with references to Vancouver, Jarvis, Ingraham, and to newspaper accounts.

[17] *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 61–3; *Id.*, in *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, cvi.–viii.; *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe del Virey, 12 de Abril, 1793*, 127–9, in *Bustamante, Suplemento a la Hist...de Cavo*, iii.; *Tobar y Tamariz, Informe sobre Acontecimientos de Nutka, 1784;* extracts in *Viagero Universal*, xxvi. 157–69. This report contains quite a full statement of the fur-trade and operations of English traders, with a description of Nootka and its people; but except in a few points is not very full on the events attending the capture of vessels. Tobar returned to San Blas in command of the *Argonaut* as a prize; and his report was the first account of the capture that reached Mexico and Europe.

sians and English on the Northwest Coast caused Viceroy Flores to resolve upon the occupation of Nootka before it should be taken possession of by any foreign power. For this purpose Martinez and Haro were sent back to the north on the *Princesa* and *San Cárlos*, sailing from San Blas on February 17, 1789. Their instructions were to conciliate the natives, for whose conversion friars were sent; to erect buildings for the colony, and fortifications for its defence, as well as an indication of the Spanish sovereignty in that region; if Russian or English vessels appeared, to receive them with all courtesy, but with a manifestation of the right of Spain, by virtue of discovery, to this establishment and others that were to be founded; and after the foundation to send the *San Cárlos* on an exploring tour, particularly to the coast between 50° and 55°.

Without touching in California the two vessels reached the latitude of Nootka early in May. Just outside the entrance of the sound Martinez met Gray on the *Lady Washington*, and in a friendly interview made many inquiries about the vessels within, announced his intention, as Haswell says, of capturing the English craft, and gave a strange account of his own expedition.[18] It was on May 6th that the *Princesa* entered the harbor and found the *Iphigenia* under Portuguese colors, anxiously awaiting her consort and in considerable distress, as Captain Douglas stated. Martinez treated Douglas with every courtesy, promised to relieve his distress, and went up the sound to spend a few days with Kendrick. During his absence Haro arrived with the *San Cárlos*, on the 13th; and next day on his return he summoned Douglas and

[18] *Haswell's Voy.*, MS., 56–7. Martinez said his vessel with two others had been fitted out at Cádiz for discoveries; had touched on the coast of New Spain, and lost most of his European seamen, supplying their places with naturalized natives of California. He had been to Bering Strait, found much snow, and parted with his consorts in a gale. Martinez told a similar story to Douglas a little later, and added that he had met the *Lady Washington* to the northward, and had supplied her with things she needed. *Douglas' Journal*, in *Meares' Voy.*, appendix.

Viana on board the *Princesa* and declared them to be his prisoners, sending a force to take possession of the *Iphigenia*, on which the Spanish flag was raised.[19]

The chief motive of the seizure, as alleged, was that clause of the instructions in Portuguese which required the captain to take Spanish vessels and carry their men to Macao to be tried for piracy. To enter a Spanish port with such instructions was deemed by Martinez sufficient cause for capturing the vessel as a prize. Douglas protested that the instructions were misinterpreted; that he had entered the port in distress; and that he would depart at once if released. But the Spaniard refused, and made preparations to send his prize to San Blas.[20] The Englishmen suspected that Kendrick had instigated the seizure; and I have little doubt that he did so, at least to the extent of putting the *Iphigenia's* peculiar papers in their worst light and encouraging the Spaniard's natural suspicions. The vessel was unloaded, to be caulked and otherwise prepared for her voyage, the officers and men being meanwhile detained on the Spanish ships.

On reflection Lieutenant Martinez began to fear that he had gone too far, and was made to understand that he had misinterpreted the Portuguese instructions, in which the capture of Spanish, English, or Russian vessels was made contingent on a previous attack by them; also that their aim had been against English rather than Spanish interference. Accordingly on the 26th of May he restored the refitted *Iphigenia* to her commander, and furnished all needed supplies for a voyage to the Sandwich Islands, taking

[19] These are the dates given in *Douglas' Journal*. Gray and Ingraham make the arrival of the *San Cárlos* and capture of the *Iphigenia* on May 10th and 11th respectively. Douglas' dates are doubtless correct.

[20] Martinez at first intended to dismiss with a warning 'the *Iphigenia*, which sailed under Portuguese flag, passport from the governor of Macao, and instructions from Juan Caraballo as owner, written in the Portuguese language; but it seeming to him that these papers were not *sinceros*, and contained harsh and insulting expressions, he made him prisoner,' but afterward released him for lack of men to man the prize, taking a document, etc. *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe*, 127.

in payment bills on Cavalho and Company, the nominal owners, and receiving Captain Douglas' signature to a statement that the vessel had been found at Nookta in distress, that her navigation had not been stopped, and that she had been supplied with all the stores needed for her voyage. Douglas says that, notwithstanding this document, which he had signed at the entreaty of his men to obtain release, the vessel had been plundered of everything of value, including articles for trade and his own private property; and that the supplies were furnished in very limited quantity at exorbitant prices. There is every reason to believe that this was a gross exaggeration, though various articles may have been lost or stolen in the transfers of cargo. He does not claim that they were personally ill-treated. Gray and Ingraham testify that "they were treated with all imaginable kindness, and every attention paid them,"[21] that Douglas and his officers were perfectly satisfied with the arrangement, and that "the *Iphigenia's* being detained was of infinite service to those who were concerned in her," since it enabled her to start earlier and in better condition than would otherwise have been possible.[22] True, the Americans were not impartial witnesses; yet Douglas' signature to the document, his own admission of the vessel's distress on arrival, and the very fact that she did make a very successful trading cruise, go far to confirm their testimony.[23]

An agreement was also signed, binding the owners to restore or pay for the vessel, in case the viceroy of

[21] *Gray and Ingraham's Letter*, in *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 414–15.

[22] 'En fin, lejos de experimentar perjuicio alguno el paquebot la *Efigenia*, sus oficiales y tripulacion refrescaron sus víveres, de que se hallaban bien escasos, saliendo libremente á navegar, socoridas con generosidad todas sus necesidades.' *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe*, 127.

[23] In *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 389–90, there is mentioned a document attached to a letter of Bodega y Cuadra which is a certificate of Captain Viana to the good treatment of himself and fellow-prisoners by Martinez, to the restoration of vessel and cargo, and to the furnishing of all needed supplies. Greenhow shows that Vancouver does injustice to Gray and Ingraham in his version of their testimony.

New Spain should decide the prize to have been lawful. Still another document did Lieutenant Martinez obtain from the captain, a letter for Mr Funter. He desired to purchase the schooner *North West America* at a price fixed by the American officers. Douglas said that neither he nor Funter had any authority to sell. Martinez insisted on having a letter for the master of the schooner; and at the last moment Douglas wrote one. Its purport was that Funter might act as he thought best in the matter; but there is some reason to believe that it was represented to Martinez as the desired order for sale. Douglas himself says, "The moment I had finished my letter I gave orders to slip the hawser, and made sail out of the cove." Mearcs says that in writing the letter he "cautiously avoided any directions to the effect desired, availing himself of Don Martinez's ignorance of the English language." And Martinez a little later claimed to take the schooner by virtue of an agreement with Douglas. On June 2d the *Iphigenia* sailed, bound homeward, as the Spaniards and Americans had been led to believe; but at midnight tacked to the northward and engaged, as we have seen, in a very successful trade. She did not, however, as was hoped, meet the schooner consort, which it was intended to burn after taking off the men and furs.

Meanwhile the Spanish commander had taken formal possession of the port, which he called Santa Cruz de Nutka; erected barracks for his men, and formed a battery of six or ten guns on Hog Island, commanding the entrance to the sound and the anchorage known as Friendly Cove;[24] or possibly they had sixteen guns in two places. On the arrival of the *North West America* on June 9th Martinez took possession,

[24] Tobar says the formal act of possession took place June 24th. Macuina was shown a collection of flags, and asked which he had seen first, selecting that of Spain. He also described the first officers as *vestidos de cobre*, alluding to the gold lace, etc., of the Spanish navy; and the men had handkerchiefs on the head, 'so that the English were confounded, confessing that Jacobo Koock had deceived them, saying in his work that he had been the discoverer of that port.'

by virtue, as he claimed, of his agreement with Douglas, and sent the vessel off on a trading voyage, probably for joint account of himself and his American friends, since Mr Coolidge was put in charge. The crew, as already related, was sent to China on the *Columbia*. When Captain Hudson arrived on the 14th of June on the *Princess Royal* he brought news of the bankruptcy of Cavalho and Company, whose bills to a considerable amount for supplies to the *Iphigenia* were held by Martinez; and that officer therefore justified himself in holding the schooner as security for the debt, instead of paying for her, as he had before deemed himself bound to do.

The *Argonaut* arrived on July 3d, sighting the *Princess Royal* outside without speaking. Captain Colnett before entering learned from Mr Barnett and others who came off in a boat the condition of things in the harbor, and was advised to anchor outside; but Lieutenant Martinez came on board with most friendly assurances, the good faith of which seemed to be guaranteed by the kind treatment of Hudson; and the ship was towed in by the Spanish launch. Until the next day relations continued friendly; then the vessel was seized and put under Spanish colors, officers and men being detained as prisoners. There is nothing to support the later charge that Martinez treacherously enticed the ship into the harbor for the purpose of seizure; but every reason to believe that he intended to treat the *Argonaut* as he had just treated her consort.[25] The true reason of the seizure comes out clearly

[25] In his published narrative of a later voyage, Colnett, *Voyage to the South Atlantic and round Cape Horn into the Pacific*, London, 1798, 4to, pp. i.–iii., and note on pp. 96–102, says: 'I had no sooner received Don Martinez in my cabin, than he presented me a letter from Mr Hudson . . . The commodore then informed me, that the vessels under his command were in great distress, from the want of provisions and other necessaries; and requested me, in a very urgent manner, to go into port, in order to afford him the necessary supplies. I hesitated, however, to comply with this demand, as I entertained very reasonable doubts of the propriety of putting myself under the command of two Spanish men of war. The Spaniard, observing my unwillingness to comply with his request, assured me, on his word and honor, in the name of the King of Spain . . . if I would go into port and relieve his wants, I should be at liberty

enough from the testimony and circumstances, even if the former is in some respects vague and contradictory.

Richard Howe, the American supercargo, and perhaps other officers of the *Columbia* accompanied Martinez on his first visit to Colnett;[26] and other American officers were present at subsequent interviews. They state that they heard Colnett inform the Spanish commander of his purpose to take possession, hoist the English flag, erect a fort, and settle a colony at Nootka. Martinez replied that he had already taken possession for Spain; and on being pressed for a direct statement whether he would prevent the occupation, declared that he could permit nothing more than the erection of a tent for the temporary purpose of obtaining wood and water, after which he was free to depart.[27] This was just such an interview as would be natural under the circumstances; and it is not likely that Colnett would have persisted in his purpose, though in his disappointment he may have used strong language. His decision would naturally have been to leave Nootka and select another site for his trading-post. In the afternoon of July 4th Colnett went on board the *Princesa* to ask permission to sail immediately. Martinez granted it at first, but on second thought desired to see the Englishman's papers.[28] Doubtless it had occurred to him, or perhaps had been suggested by his American friends, that Nootka was not the only available site for a colony, and that Colnett's desire to sail so soon was a sus-

to sail whenever I pleased.' So he went in. Next morning he got ready some stores for the Spaniard, and on taking breakfast gave him a list of the articles, announcing his intention of sailing the same day. Martinez consented, and offered to send his launch to get the supplies and tow his vessel out, but sent instead an order to come on board. See continuation in a later note.

[26] Howe is named in the depositions of the men of the *North West America* and of William Graham, attached to *Meares' Memorial*. Mr Duffin, first officer of the *Argonaut*, in his letters, *Id.*, tells us that Colnett and his visitors had an interview in the cabin at which he was not present.

[27] *Gray and Ingraham's Letter.*

[28] *Duffin's Letters.* These letters, written at the time by Colnett's first mate, are by far the most reliable authority on occurrences connected with the seizure. Colnett's own statement of later years is, as will be shown hereafter, unworthy of belief.

picious circumstance. Colnett went, however, to his own vessel and returned with his papers, having put on the Company's uniform and sword. On reading the instructions, and perhaps desiring time to have them correctly interpreted, Martinez informed the captain that he could not be permitted to sail that day.

Then a quarrel ensued between the commanders, in consequence of which Colnett was put under arrest and his ships were seized as prizes. The exact circumstances of the quarrel are not accurately known, though I append some evidence on the subject.[29] From the

[29] Duffin, *Letters*, writes: 'On which some high words ensued between them, and Captain Colnett insisted on going out immediately, which he said he would do unless the commodore fired a shot at him; if so, he would then haul down his colours, and deliver himself up a prisoner: hardly had he uttered this, but he was put under an arrest, and his sword taken from him, the vessel seized...; but what is most particular, he desired Captain Kendrick to load his guns with shot, to take a vessel that had only two swivels mounted; so that it was impossible to make any resistance... The commodore's passion now began to abate a little, and he sent for me from the St Carlos, where I was imprisoned: when I came to him, he seemed to profess a very great friendship for me, and appeared to be exceedingly sorry for what, he said, his officers compelled him to do. He declared to me, that he had given Captain Colnett permission to depart, and would have assisted him all in his power, but that Captain Colnett insisted on erecting a fort opposite his; said he represented the King of Great Britain, and that he came to take possession in his Britannick Majesty's name. The Spaniard quoted the same, and said he was representative of his most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain: but I have every reason to suspect there was a misunderstanding between the two parties, for the linguist spoke English very imperfectly, and in all likelihood interpreted as many words wrong as right.' Tobar says, *Informe*, 159–61: 'Capitan Colnet venia con destino de Gobernador de dicho puerto á posesionarse y fortificarse para no dexar entrar ni salir embarcacion alguna de otra nacion; y seguramente soy de sentir lo hubiera verificado, sino en aquel puerto en uno de los muchos que tiene aquella costa, para cuyo efecto traia ya la casa y el martinete para la entrada... á quien tuvo á bien el comandante de Nootka apresarlo arreglado á la ordenanza, atendiendo a la madera de construccion que traia á bordo.' Navarrete, *Sutil y Mex.*, cviii., on the authority of Martinez states that 'Captain Colnett persistently refused to show Martinez his instructions, using expressions so indecorous and heated that, having exhausted the methods of prudence hitherto employed, our commander resolved to arrest the British captain within the frigate's cabin, declaring all the men of the *Argonaut* prisoners of war, and to send the vessel to San Blas at the disposition of the viceroy. Revilla-Gigedo's account, *Informe*, 127–8: 'They came under orders of James Colnett to take possession of Nootka, to fortify it, and establish a factory for trade and settlement, bringing for this purpose the necessary aids, and 29 sangleyes [Chinamen] of different trades. Colnett wished to proceed at once to the founding of those establishments, pretending that the country had been discovered by Captain Cook, and, further, that the Portuguese had ceded to the London trading company the right of first discovery, if Admiral Fonte had been the first discoverer; but the commander of our expedition demonstrated to the English commander his erroneous and ill-founded designs. Persisting in them, Colnett

testimony and circumstances it clearly appears that on Martinez refusing to permit his instant departure, for which the Spaniard had the best of reasons, Colnett lost his temper, used language that the other deemed insulting, and in his anger insisted on his right and purpose to establish an English fort, which action it was Martinez' duty as a Spanish officer to prevent by the only means within his power, the seizure of the vessel. That Colnett claimed the right or expressed the intention of holding Nootka, though Martinez through interpreters may have so understood

refused to show his patents and instructions, explaining himself always with much haughtiness; but as he thought he could not keep it up, he resolved to leave Nootka, and set sail. For this purpose he asked the aid of a launch to raise his anchors, and then Martinez, fearing that the English captain might establish himself in another port on the coast, from which it would be difficult to dislodge him, again ordered him to show his papers. Colnett continued his persistent refusal, accompanying it with insulting actions and expressions, so that Martinez, his little patience being exhausted, detained the *Argonaut* and *Princess Royal*, sending both vessels to San Blas.' Colnett himself, *Voy.*, 98, says: 'I received an order from Don Martinez, to come on board his ship and bring with me my papers. This order appeared strange, but I complied with it, and went aboard the *Princesa*. On my coming into his cabin, he said he wished to see my papers: on my presenting them to him, he just glanced his eyes over them, and although he did not understand a word of the language in which they were written, declared they were forged, and threw them disdainfully on the table, saying at the same time, I should not sail until he pleased. On my making some remonstrances at his breach of faith, and his forgetfulness of that word and honour which he had pledged to me, he arose in apparent anger, and went out. I now saw, but too late, the duplicity of this Spaniard, and was conversing with the interpreter on the subject, when having my back towards the cabin door, I by chance cast my eyes on a looking-glass, and saw an armed party rushing in behind me. I instantly put my hand to my hanger, but before I had time to place myself in a posture of defence, a violent blow brought me to the ground. I was then ordered into the stocks, and closely confined; after which, they seized my ship and cargo, imprisoned my officers, and put my men in irons.' Afterward they 'carried me from ship to ship, like a criminal, rove a halter to the yard-arm, and frequently threatened me with instant death, by hanging me as a pirate. This treatment, at length, nearly cost me my life; and threw me into so violent a fever, that I was delirious for several days.' Then follows an account of his cruel treatment on the way to San Blas. Evidently his 'delirium' either began at a very early stage of the quarrel or permanently affected his mind. Colnett's version of the whole affair in conversation with Vancouver is also given in the latter's *Voy.*, iii. 491 et seq. Finally Gray and Ingraham say, *Letter:* 'In conversing on the subject, after the arrival of the vessel in port, it seems Captain Colnett insulted the commodore by threatening him, and drew his sword in the *Princesa's* cabin; on which Don Martinez ordered the vessel to be seized. We did not see him draw his sword, but were informed of the circumstance by those whose veracity we had no reason to doubt... With respect to the treatment of the prisoners...we presume none of them will be backward in confessing that Don E. J. Martinez always treated them very kindly, and all his officers.'

him, is very improbable and inconsistent with his proposed departure; but the movement recommended in his papers, perhaps threatened by him openly in his wrath, feared by Martinez, and prevented by him in accordance with his duty, was the departure to build a fort elsewhere on the coast. Had Colnett kept quiet and waited a few days, he would probably have been required by Martinez, after consultation with his Yankee advisers, to give some guarantee that he would confine his efforts to the fur-trade and establish no fort.

The loss of their vessel and of prospective profits was very disheartening to the traders; but there is no reason to suppose that the prisoners were in any way ill-treated at Nootka or on the voyage to the south. Colnett, according to his own officers, became temporarily insane in consequence of his excitement, requiring close watching and even confinement. He thought he had been condemned to death, and once nearly lost his life by jumping out of his cabin window.[30] It is only by charitably taking account of his insanity or delirium that we can relieve him of the charge of wilful misrepresentation in a statement made in later years and already cited.[31] The *Princess Royal* returned to Nootka on July 14th, and, belonging to the same company and engaged in the same enterprise, was also captured. Captain Hudson first entered the harbor in his boat, leaving the vessel outside, but was taken, with four men; and then a force was sent to

[30] Tobar, *Informe*, 161, who was in charge of Colnett, describes his attempt at suicide, and the great difficulty of rescuing him: 'Hallándome al cargo de esta presa, y aun usando de todas las precauciónes posibles para el resguardo de los Oficiales prisioneros, no pude impedir que dicho Colnet se arrojase al agua desesperadamente por una de las ventanas de la cámara con intento de ahogarse, pues observé que aun sabiendo nadar no hizo diligencia alguna para ello; pero yo mandando picar las amarras del bote, hice á mis marineros le cogiesen, y apenas pudieron hacerlo, sino agarrándole por los cabellos, y desde entonces procuré asegurarle, encerrándole en un camarote con una centinela de vista.'

[31] Duffin, in his letters, records Colnett's insanity, and learned from a servant that it was an hereditary malady. This greatly offended Colnett, and he obtained from Meares a letter, dated January 1, 1791, in which he contradicts the statement which had appeared in his *Memorial* that there was insanity in his family. This letter is published in *Colnett's Voy.*, 102.

bring in the sloop. The *Argonaut* was sent immediately, and the sloop a little later, as a prize to San Blas, under the command of Tobar. Of the voyage we know nothing beyond Colnett's doubtless exaggerated complaints of inhuman treatment.

At San Blas, Colnett admits the prisoners were treated better, though they had been plundered of all they had. By encouragement that their detention would be brief, they were induced to repair the ship, which was then employed by the Spaniards in coast voyages and nearly ruined. Meanwhile the men, after several had died of fever and one committed suicide,[32] were sent to Tepic and well treated, especially after the arrival of Bodega y Cuadra. Colnett went to Mexico, and was much pleased with his treatment at the hands of Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo, who finally gave an order for the restoration of his vessel. On returning to San Blas the order was obeyed, the Spaniards settling all accounts, including the wages of the seamen for the time of their detention. Colnett claims that he was outrageously cheated in the settlement, but was obliged by fear of greater evils to sign a paper "expressing my complete and entire satisfaction of their usage to me and my people." In August he sailed, with an order for the release of the *Princess Royal*. This is the substance of Colnett's own statement.[33] Bodega y Cuadra stated in 1792 that "Mr Colnett was treated with the greatest distinction at San Blas, and his officers and crew received the wages of the Spanish navy for the time of their detention: that the vessel and cargo were restored, and that Mr Colnett obtained a great number of skins on his return to Nootka." Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo confirms this with some additional details in his report of 1793.[34]

[32] According to Tobar, *Informe*, 168, he cut his throat with a razor in his rage at finding himself a prisoner.

[33] *Colnett's Voy.*, 99–100.

[34] *Cuadra*, in *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 388; *Revilla-Gigedo*, *Informe*, 127–9, 132. The viceroy says: Viceroy Flores ordered 'that the two vessels should be unloaded in the presence and with intervention of their captains, and that they

The viceroy believed that Martinez' acts were legally justified by the circumstances and by his instructions, as well as by various royal orders, but thought that officer had acted somewhat hastily in bringing about a controversy in which it would be difficult to prove the exact truth, and which must cause considerable expense to the treasury. He permitted Colnett and Hudson to visit Mexico and to present their complaints; and though he regarded those complaints as for the most part unfounded, he gave orders to begin legal proceedings against Martinez. The action was soon dismissed, however, because the complainants preferred to be released at once rather than await the issue of what promised to be a long trial. The alleged reason of their release and that of their vessels was the friendly relations existing between the two nations, and the probability that the traders had acted in ignorance of Spanish rights. It has been generally supposed from later diplomatic correspondence that the viceroy in restoring the vessels acted on his own judgment; but it appears from his own statement that he acted probably in accordance with orders from Spain, dated January 26, 1790.[35]

Of Martinez' operations at Nootka after the departure of his prizes we have nothing in addition to the following from Navarrete:[36] "This question being

shou'd sign the formal inventories of everything, giving them certified copies for their protection and satisfaction at any time, whether the vessels should be declared or not legitimate prizes. He also ordered that the effects and provisions liable to decay, loss, and damage should be sold at fair prices, the rest being deposited separately and securely in the royal storehouses. He also disposed that the snow and sloop being unloaded should be given the necessary repairs, an estimate of cost being formed in advance with certified accounts, all being done with the knowledge and consent of the said English captain. Finally he ordered very particularly that the latter and their crews should be left in discreet liberty, should be given good treatment and lodgings, and that to each one should be given the pay corresponding to his position according to the regulation then in force at San Blas.'

[35] *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe*, 129. This is not quite certain, however.

[36] *Viages Apóc.*, 63. On p. 114 he says that Martinez, remembering that in 1774 he had seen a wide entrance in 48° 29′, sent a second *piloto* on the schooner *Gertrudis* to explore, and the strait was found 21 miles wide, in 48° 30′. It is possible, but unlikely, that Martinez had heard nothing of the strait from Americans or English. The schooner was the captured *North West America*, and the trip may have been that under Narvaez and Coolidge, already referred to.

disposed of, Martinez caused to be explored the region about the port of Santa Cruz, intending to extend his survey along the coast; but believing this to be risky with the *San Cárlos*, on account of her great draught, he proposed to build a schooner sixty feet long. Then by the frigate *Aranzazu*[37] he received an order to return to the department of San Blas. Before doing so his second *piloto* explored in a boat the western channel, and through it reached the bay of Buena Esperanza,[38] of which he took possession in the name of his majesty. Martinez also took the artillery from the fort; piled up the timber prepared for the construction of the house; delivered the small houses already built to Maquinna,[39] chief of the district; and on October 31st sailed with the frigate and the new schooner,[40] anchoring at San Blas on December 6th."

It has already been noticed that throughout this whole affair relations between the Spaniards and Americans were so friendly as to suggest a secret understanding. There was not the slightest interference with the *Columbia* or *Lady Washington*, though Martinez could hardly have been unaware of the orders issued in Mexico for the seizure of those very vessels if they should enter a Spanish port. It was afterward stated by Spanish officials that the *Columbia* was detained until some doubtful expressions in her papers had been explained, but there is no other evidence that such was the case.[41] Martinez' interview with Gray

[37] Nothing more is known of this trip of the *Aranzazu*, which vessel was often in California.

[38] Still called Esperanza Inlet, just north of Nootka Island.

[39] The Spaniards wrote his name Macuina, the English and Americans Maquinna, or sometimes Maquilla. Mearcs, *Voy.*, 118, states that Callicum, the other chief, was murdered by one of Martinez' officers in June.

[40] Nothing is said of the *San Cárlos* and *Aranzazu*, but it does not appear that any vessels were left.

[41] Revilla-Gigedo, *Informe*, 127, says: 'Martinez reconoció los pasaportes de los buques americanos, y no hallando motivos justos que le obligasen á detenerlos, requirió á sus capitanes para que no volviesen á los mares y costas del dominio español, sin permiso de nuestro soberano.' 'Mais le Bâtiment portugais, mais les deux Bâtimens de *Boston;* comment échappent-ils à la loi? comment ne sont-ils pas aussi des interlopes? Les lettres du *Mexique* ne s'expliquent pas sur le motif de cette différence dans les procédés; et, sans doute, on ne voudra pas admettre l'explication que les Anglais en ont donnée:

and visit to Kendrick just before the seizure of the *Iphigenia*, as I have said, caused Douglas to suspect very naturally that the Americans had instigated the act, though Captain Kendrick denied it. Subsequently a close intimacy continued; interviews were frequent; American officers were companions and witnesses for the Spaniards in all their transactions with the English; Mr Coolidge took charge of one of the prizes for a trading cruise, presumably on joint account. Captain Gray willingly carried the captive men and stores to China; and the Americans became later most friendly witnesses in defence of Martinez' acts. It by no means follows, however, that the Americans took any dishonorable advantage of the quarrel. Their own interests and duty to their owners required them to get rid of rival traders and to secure Spanish protection for their own enterprise; legally, the Spaniards were *prima facie* in the right, and their opponents in the wrong; and I know of no reason why under the circumstances sympathy should have been contrary to interest. Individually, and in the disposition of property, there may have been instances of dishonorable action on the part of both Americans and Spaniards; but the testimony is not sufficient for a conclusion on that point.

Having thus narrated in full occurrences at Nootka in 1789, it is well, before considering the international complications that resulted, to glance briefly at the respective rights and wrongs of Spain and England in this connection, Portugal and the United States never having claimed either. Irrespective of her pretended exclusive claims, Spain had an unquestioned right to found a settlement at any point on the coast not previously occupied by another nation. Nootka

on ne craignoit pas, disent-ils, la concurrence du Portugais; sa nullité le sauva: quant aux Bâtimens bostoniens, les Espagnols, craignoient d'offenser les *Etats-Unis* y ils ne pouvoient pas oublier que ces Etats sont bien voisins des riches Possessions de la Couronne d'*Espagne* dans l'*Amérique* du *Nord*.' *Fleurieu*, in *Marchand, Voy.*, i. clxx-i., with reference to *Dalrymple, the Spanish Memorial of June 4th Considered*, London, 1790.

was such a point when Martinez took possession in May 1789. England had no shadow of a right to make objections.[42] In seizing the *Iphigenia* Martinez gave no cause of offence to England. If the peculiarity of her papers did not justify her seizure, the Spaniard gave ample satisfaction for his error to all concerned, England not being in any sense a party, and took formal certificates to that effect. Later the *Argonaut* and *Princess Royal* arrived and were kindly received by the commander of a Spanish port. In not permitting Colnett to establish his colony at Nootka, Martinez must be justified even from an English point of view; and he had a perfect right to seize the vessels if Colnett persisted in his purpose.[43] The vessels were actually seized because Colnett insisted, with violent and insulting language as was alleged, on carrying out his instructions to found an English post either at Nootka or elsewhere on the coast. If it was elsewhere, as I have no doubt it was, though other writers have not taken that view of it, then Martinez still did his duty as a Spanish officer. To have permitted the erection of an English fort above or below Nootka would have

[42] Meares in 1788 had, with chief Maquinna's permission, built a house on shore for temporary purposes, which was torn down on his departure. Had he bought the land in good faith, as he claimed, the act would hardly have given to Portugal any territorial rights, and certainly it could have given none to England. At the most, if Meares could have proved that he had bought the land in good faith as a private individual, he might as a British subject have claimed the protection of his government. As a matter of fact the weight of testimony and probability is that he bought no land; and in any case the theory that his acts gave England a claim to Nootka is too absurd for serious consideration. The only evidence of any weight ever presented in support of a purchase of the land and raising of the British flag was the testimony of Mr Duffin in 1792, *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 405, that all the land forming Friendly Cove was bought in his presence from Maquinna and Callicum, in His Britannic Majesty's name, for eight or ten sheets of copper. This testimony would be more weighty, though by no means conclusive, if it were given in Mr Duffin's own words. Vancouver cannot be trusted to state fairly the testimony of either friends or foes.

[43] In case of such seizure England could deem herself aggrieved only by a failure to comply with the formalities of international law and usage; but on this point there was no difference of opinion between the nations; it was a matter to be settled by a careful weighing of the testimony, which was somewhat conflicting as to the way in which the Spaniards had treated their prisoners and disposed of their property.

been a criminal disregard of his instructions. But here arose a question to be settled between Spain and England. Spain had always claimed, by virtue of prior discovery, the north-west coast as part of her domain, on which no foreign power had a right to settle. *Prima facie* she had this right of exclusive possession, since other nations, if not formally acknowledging had never successfully disputed its validity. But England had unquestionably a right to dispute the claim now; and if by arbitration, diplomacy, or war she could obtain Spain's assent to her views, she would then be entitled to satisfaction for the insult to her flag at Nootka, and to insist on damages for the injury done to her subjects by the seizure of their vessels, imprisonment of their persons, and the breaking-up of their commercial enterprise.[44]

José Tobar, in command of the prize *Argonaut*, arrived at San Blas in August and reported to the viceroy, doubtless bringing communications from Martinez. These reports were sent at once to Spain, and through them news first reached Europe of what had occurred at Nootka. A little earlier, in consequence of the same reports that had caused Martinez and Haro to be sent to the north-west coast, Spain had notified Russia of the rumored intention of her subjects to form trading-posts in the Spanish Californian dominion south of Prince William Sound; and

[44] I cannot agree with Mr Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 198, to whom, as to most writers, the real issue, the establishment of an English post near Nootka, seems not to have occurred at all, when he says: 'The seizure of the *Argonaut*, the imprisonment of her other officers and crew, and the spoliation of her cargo, cannot, however, be defended on those [the violent language of Colnett] or on any grounds afforded by the evidence of any of the parties; for Martinez had no reason to apprehend an attack from the *Argonaut*, and he had been specially instructed by his immediate superior, the viceroy of Mexico, to suspend with regard to British vessels on the north-west coasts the execution of the general orders to Spanish commandants, for the seizure of foreign vessels entering the ports of the American dominions. Still less excusable was the conduct of Martinez toward the sloop *Princess Royal* on her second arrival.' This is all true, certainly, in the sense that Martinez had no right to seize the vessels merely because they entered a Spanish port or because their captain was insolent; but that was by no means his reason.

the Russian government replied that orders against such encroachments had been issued, desiring the Spanish king to put a stop to any such establishments that might have been founded in his possessions.[45] On receipt of the news from Nootka, Spain, after having apparently sent orders in January for the release of the captured vessels, reported the affair to the English government on February 10, 1790, through her ambassadors in London, at the same time asking that the men who had planned the expeditions should be punished, in order to deter others from making settlements in Spanish territory. The reply of the British minister on February 26th was very different from that of Russia and from what had been expected. It was to the effect that nothing was known of the facts, but that the act of violence mentioned by the Spanish ambassador must necessarily suspend all discussion of the claims made until the seized vessel should be restored and an adequate atonement made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain.

"The harsh and laconic style in which this answer was given," to use the words of the Spanish minister, "made the court of Madrid suspect that the king of Great Britain's ministers were forming other plans;" and the suspicion was strengthened by reports of fleets being fitted out for the Mediterranean and Baltic. The reply meant war indeed, and was so interpreted by Spain, whose government at once began to make warlike preparations. Spain, however, did not desire war, and she soon sent another memorial, setting forth that although her right to the Northwest Coast, founded on treaties and immemorial possession, could not be questioned, yet, the viceroy having restored the vessels, the king was willing to look upon the affair as concluded without

[45] This is the Spanish version in correspondence to be noticed presently. It is not probable, however, that Russia committed herself to accept the proposed boundary of Prince William.

entering upon discussions or disputes with a friendly power, and would be content with an order that British subjects should in future respect Spanish rights on the coast in question. But England was by no means ready to issue such an order or to regard the affair as concluded. Her answer was dated May 5th, and was a renewal of her remonstrances against the act of violence, and of her refusal to consider the question of right until satisfaction should be given: but to it was joined the declaration that the government "cannot at present accede to the pretensions of absolute sovereignty, commerce, and navigation, which appeared to be the principal object of the memorials of the ambassador;" and that the king would protect his subjects in the right of continuing their fisheries in the Pacific. Meanwhile preparations for war were hastened in England, and on May 16th a formal demand was presented for the restitution of vessels and other property at Nootka, indemnification for losses sustained by English subjects, and an acknowledgment of their right to free navigation, trade, and fishery, and to the possession of such establishments as might be formed, with consent of the natives, in places not previously occupied by other European nations. A request was also made for a suspension of armament, to which the Spanish court announced its willingness to accede, but only on principles of reciprocity.[46]

Captain Meares reached London from China at this juncture, ready of course to furnish any evidence that might be required of his wrongs at the hands of the Spaniards. His memorial was dated April 30th, and was presented to the house of commons on May 13th. I have already had occasion to refer to this document, which was, like most others of its class in all countries and times, full of misrepresentations and

[46]Up to this point the correspondence is not, so far as I know, extant in its original form, but is only known from citations and references in later documents.

exaggerations, in which everything is claimed in the hope that something may be obtained; but it contained ample material for the national use that it was intended to serve. His claim for 'actual and probable losses' was $653,433 and more.[47] On May 25th George III. made the whole affair known in outline to parliament, it having been hitherto kept a secret, and next day was duly thanked for his message by the lords spiritual and temporal, who offered the most zealous and effective support for his majesty's warlike measures.[48] Mr Alleyne Fitzherbert was sent as ambassador to Madrid, and in June and July a correspondence was carried on between him and Count Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister.[49]

In the negotiations referred to, the tone of Spain was that of a nation whose interest, and therefore desire, it was to avoid a war. Professing a wish for peace, she was willing to give satisfaction for any insult or pay any losses; and she would make no claim to territory that did not justly belong to her; but it was her right to claim that the nature of the satisfaction, the amount of the losses, and particularly the justice of her territorial claims, on the invalidity of which alone depended the offence complained of, should first be settled by arbitration or otherwise. Her position was altogether a just one. It was humiliating to Spanish pride that the nation was forced in her

[47] *Meares' Memorial...on Capture of vessels at Nootka, 1790*, was published in London, separately, in three editions of 1790 and 1810, besides being attached to *Meares' Voy.*

[48] Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 203–4, erroneously makes the date of the message May 5th.

[49] *Nootka, English State Papers on the Controversy of 1790.* This title I give to a collection of documents published in the *Annual Register*, xxxii. 285–306. Most of them are reprinted in *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 418–30. The documents are as follows: May 25th, king's message to parliament; May 26th, address of the lords in reply; [May 13th], substance of *Meares' Memorial;* June 4th, declaration of king of Spain to all the European courts; June 13th, Florida Blanca's memorial to Fitzherbert; [June 16], Fitzherbert's answer; June 18th, Florida Blanca's reply; July 24th, declaration and counter-declaration of the parties; June 16th, letter of Count Fernan Nuñez to M. Montmorin, secretary of France; [August 6th or 26th], decree of national assembly of France; October 28th, Nootka convention; November 24th, address of lord mayor et al. of London to king on the Nootka convention.

weakness to appeal in humility to justice instead of haughtily asserting her power. Cárlos IV. explained his position, his rights, and especially his unwillingness to break the peace, in a declaration to the European courts dated June 4th; he continued the preparations begun for war, and on June 16th called upon France for the aid to which, under the family compact, Spain was entitled.

England, on the other hand, ready for war and confident that her rival must yield, maintained the attitude assumed at first; demanded satisfaction for an outrage on the British flag; refused to discuss the question whether or not any outrage had been committed; claimed the right of her subjects to trade or settle on the Northwest Coast; and declined to admit any investigation, discussion, or arbitration of Spanish rights. Of course there was no element of justice or right in the position assumed: but a powerful nation in those times needed no such element. Had the conditions of power been reversed, a corresponding change in the respective position and tone of the contestants would have been noted: Spain haughtily asserting her right and impatient of all argument; England humbly but firmly urging her equities, pointing to the explorations of Drake, Cook, and other British navigators, protesting great anxiety for the tranquillity of Europe, dwelling eloquently on the interests of other nations in a free fur-trade, and showing the weakness of a mere discoverer's claim to exclusive possession of territories which Spain had made no attempt to occupy or utilize. On the real merits of the case there were strong arguments to be presented on both sides; but in this controversy the merits had no place.

On June 16th Mr Fitzherbert presented as a kind of ultimatum the willingness of his government to accept, as a restoration of matters to their original state and a necessary precedent to friendly negotiation, an offer of the Spanish king to give due satisfaction

for the insult, to restore the vessels, and to indemnify the owners. The question might also be left open whether the *Iphigenia* and *North West America* were justly entitled to the protection of the British flag. Florida Blanca in his reply of June 18th, while protesting against the principles asserted, consented to the terms proposed on either of three conditions: that the insult and satisfaction should be settled by arbitration, England choosing any European king as arbitrator; that in the negotiations no facts should be admitted except such as could be proved; or that from the satisfaction no inference should be drawn to affect the rights of Spain, including the right to demand counter-satisfaction if it should be found that England had encroached on Spanish territory in violation of existing treaties. The British ambassador accepted a modified form of the last condition; and by a declaration and counter-declaration signed on July 24th the required promises were given and received by Florida Blanca and Fitzherbert, with the condition that these documents were not to affect the rights of either power to an establishment at Nootka.[50]

It is stated by Calvo that this agreement was rejected by the British cabinet, and that preparations for war were continued.[51] From a reference in later negotiations to the document as still in force I conclude that such was not the case, but that negotiations in accordance with the declarations were begun for the settlement of the real question at issue. Says Mr Greenhow: they were "continued at Madrid for

[50] Twiss, *Or. Quest.*, 111–12, justly criticises Mr Greenhow's version, to the effect that these declarations were solely not to affect the Spanish right, whereas the reservation was equally in favor of both powers.

[51] *Calvo, Recueil Complet de Traités*, etc., Paris, 1862, iii. 338–59, which contains a good account in Spanish of the negotiations and results, including some of the documents given in the *Annual Register*, besides others not in that collection. The latter include two private notes of Florida Blanca, one of January 20th to Count Montmorin in France, and the other of April 6th to Count Fernan Nuñez, both explaining the difficulties of Spain's position and the apparent impossibility of taking a firm stand against English pretensions. There is also a 'plan of what should be done in the actual circumstances of Spain with England,' which treats of military and diplomatic measures of self-protection; also another important document, to be mentioned a little later.

three months after the acceptance of the Spanish declaration; during which period couriers were constantly flying between that city and London, and the whole civilized world was kept in suspense and anxiety as to the result."[52] Mr Fitzherbert claimed for Englishmen the right to trade and settle on any part of the coast not actually occupied; Florida Blanca proposed to admit the right above 51° and for a distance of twenty leagues into the interior. Then other boundaries were suggested, the English ambassador finally consenting to the line of 40°, from the Pacific to the Missouri, beyond which line the territory should be free to both nations, the subjects of each having access to settlements of the other; but the Spaniards declined the proposition.

Already, it will be observed, Great Britain had considerably modified the spirit of her demands, because in the ever changing developments of the European situation war seemed less and less to be desired as the days and weeks passed on. It is not necessary to describe those developments; but the attitude of France was a controlling element. Louis XVI. was ready enough to accede to the demands of Spain for aid, but referred the matter on August 1st to the national assembly,[53] which body on the 26th decided to greatly increase the French armament, and while promising to observe the defensive and commercial stipulations of the former treaty, clearly implied that France desired peace and could not be relied on for aid in an offensive war. This action made it the interest of England now, as it had been that of Spain from the first, to avoid war. With France entirely neutral, England would probably have insisted on a rupture; with France as an ally, Spain would

[52] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 207; *Narrative of the Negotiations occasioned by the Dispute between England and Spain in 1790*, London (1791), 8vo, vi. 307 pp.

[53] Calvo, 348, says the demand of Spain was made after the agreement of July 24th had been rejected by England. According to the document in the *Annual Register* it was dated June 16th. Greenhow makes the date of the assembly decree August 6th.

probably not have yielded without a struggle her claims to exclusive sovereignty in the north-west; but with France insisting on peace, an amicable settlement seemed desirable to both disputants.[54]

Fitzherbert accordingly submitted a new proposition, which after discussion and modifications was agreed upon by both plenipotentiaries. Before signing it, however, Florida Blanca submitted it to a junta of high Spanish officials, together with a long argument in favor of its adoption.[55] There was a bitter opposition, for the concessions were humiliating to Spanish pride; but it was necessary to submit, choosing the lesser of two evils, and on October 28th was signed the 'Nootka convention,' the substance of which I append in a note.[56] By this treaty Eng-

[54] Greenhow, citing *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, describes Mr Pitt's secret efforts to sound the intentions of the French Assembly; and says that it was through the mediation of members of that body that new negotiations were opened. Calvo, *Recueil*, 349, tells us that the proposition came from the queen of Portugal.

[55] The document is given in full in *Calvo*, *Recueil*, 350–5, and is a very interesting one. The author paints the condition of his country in very dark colors, explaining that it has neither money nor credit for a foreign war. He takes up the other powers one by one in order to show the prospects of gaining foreign alliance; some are hostile or bound to the foe; some are willing but not worth the having; others would demand too great a price. Russia is the most promising ally. The United States has been sounded and is well disposed, but would insist on the free navigation of the Mississippi and on a large part of Florida. The reply of France shows that she cannot be depended on, as there are a thousand definitions of a 'defensive' alliance; and even if well disposed her strength is unmanageable by reason of internal complications. The count admits that to yield will greatly weaken Spanish power in America, and encourage the pretensions of other powers besides England.

[56] 'Their Britannic and Catholic majesties, being desirous of terminating, by a speedy and solid agreement, the differences which have lately arisen between the two crowns, have adjudged that the best way of obtaining this salutary object would be that of an amicable arrangement, which, setting aside all retrospective discussion of the rights and pretensions of the two parties, should fix their respective situation for the future on a basis conformable to their true interests, as well as to the mutual desire with which their said majesties are animated, of establishing with each other, in everything and in all places, the most perfect friendship, harmony, and good correspondence. In this view they have named ... who ... have agreed upon the following articles:

'Article 1. It is agreed that the buildings and tracts of land, situated on the north-west coast of the continent of North America, or on islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of His Britannic majesty were dispossessed, about the month of April 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

'Art. 2. And further, a just reparation shall be made, according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence or hostility, which may have been

land secured, and Spain retained, the rights of commerce, navigation, and settlement on the Pacific coast above San Francisco. Each nation was to have free access to the establishments of the other in those regions. In return for the rights conceded, England pledged herself to prevent her subjects from carrying on an illicit trade with the Spanish settlements, or

committed subsequent to the month of April 1789, by the subjects of either of the contracting parties against the subjects of the other; and that, in case any of the said respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, buildings, vessels, merchandise, and other property whatever, on the said continent, or on the seas or islands adjacent, they shall be re-established in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

'ART. 3. And, in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony, etc...it is agreed, that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions specified in the three following articles:

'ART. 4. His Britannic majesty engages to take the most effectual measures to prevent the navigation and fishery of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and, with this view, it is moreover expressly stipulated, that British subjects shall not navigate, or carry on their fishery in the said seas, within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

'ART. 5. It is agreed, that as well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, by virtue of the first article, as in all other parts of the north-western coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situated to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers shall have made settlements since the month of April 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.'

ART. 6. No settlements to be made by subjects of either power on coasts and islands of South America south of parts already occupied by Spain; yet subjects of both powers may land for purposes of fishery and of erecting temporary buildings serving only for those purposes.

ART. 7. In all cases of complaint or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or act of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective courts, who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.

ART. 8. Convention to be ratified in six weeks or sooner from date of signature, etc.

Secret Article. [Unknown to Greenhow, Twiss, et al.] Article 6 is to remain in force only as long as no settlement is made on those coasts by the subjects of any third power.

To be found in *Calvo, Recueil*, 356–9; *Annual Register*, xxxii. 303–5; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 476–7; *Twiss' Or. Quest.*, 113–17; and in many other works. A copy was sent at once to California, and is found in *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, ix. 309–13.

even from approaching within ten leagues of those coasts already occupied by Spain; also to found no permanent establishments below the Spanish possessions in South America. Lands and buildings taken from British subjects in the Nootka region, that is if any had been taken, were to be restored. The ratifications were finally exchanged on November 22d, in Madrid. In December the matter came up in the English parliament, where the opposition regarded the treaty very much as it had been regarded by the Spanish junta, as a culpable concession to a foreign power. In Madrid it seemed simply that the convention opened to English settlement a portion of Spanish territory in return for concessions which were but mere acknowledgments of well known Spanish rights; but the London view of it was that by the same convention an Englishman's undoubted right to trade and settle in any part of America had been unjustly and needlessly restricted. The average English mind could never comprehend that Spaniards had any rights worthy of consideration. The opposition in parliament amounted practically to nothing; for the ministry had so large a majority that it was not deemed necessary even to explain the difficulties suggested by the opposition.[57]

While the Nootka convention was in one sense a triumph for Great Britain, since she gained the point at issue, the right to trade and settle on the Northwest Coast, and a humiliation and defeat for Spain, because she was forced to give up her claims to exclusive rights in that region, yet it was practically a fair arrangement, and not less favorable to Spain than

[57] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, xxviii.; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 211–15. The use of the date April 1789 instead of May for the Nootka events was naturally at the time a suspicious circumstance in connection with the provision of Article 2, that property taken subsequently to April should be restored *or paid for;* yet, although carelessness in such a matter would seem unlikely, it is impossible to discover any hidden purpose in the error to favor either party as against the other. Mr Fox's objection that the treaty left room on several points for different interpretations and consequent troubles was of more weight.

England. Spain's concession was to her, except as a matter of pride, a slight one, since she had no use for northern possessions except as a means of protection against foreign encroachments; while on the other hand the concessions of her rival, if faithfully carried out, would be of great practical advantage to her. Spain might properly have made a similar treaty, not including the satisfaction for Martinez' acts at Nootka however, if she had been in condition for war; though pride and popular sentiment would probably have prevented it.

By the treaty Spain must be deemed to have relinquished forever all her claims to sovereignty on the north-western coasts as founded on discovery. The region was restored to what may be termed a state of nature, with the exception of Nootka, which was already a legitimate Spanish possession, though subsequently abandoned, as we shall see. Within it either Spain or England might form settlements at any points not previously occupied, and by this act might acquire sovereignty over extents of territory to be determined at the time or later when questions of boundary should arise. I cannot accept the theories advocated to some extent in later years that Spain, retaining the sovereignty, simply conceded to English subjects the privilege of forming settlements within her territory for special purposes; that the settlements provided for were mere trading-posts for temporary use; or that, as Mr Greenhow puts it, "both parties were by the convention equally excluded. . . from exercising that jurisdiction which is essential to political sovereignty, over any spot north of the most northern Spanish settlement on the Pacific."[58] It is not un-

[58] Greenhow's idea is that the free access of each to the other's settlements would destroy the sovereignty, which seems an absurdity. He also writes: 'The convention, in fine, established new bases for the navigation and fishery of the respective parties, and their trade with the natives on the unoccupied coasts of America; but it determined nothing regarding the rights of either to the sovereignty of any portion of America, except so far as it may imply an abrogation, or rather a suspension, of all such claims, on both sides, to any of those coasts.' It was indeed an abrogation of all existing claims, but not of the right to establish new ones by settlement.

likely that Spain might in later years, had it seemed for her interest to do so, have claimed that she had granted nothing more than a privilege of establishing temporary trading-posts; and indeed there is some evidence that even now she had a vague hope of maintaining that the whole territory in question had been so fully 'occupied' as to preclude any English settlements under the treaty; or at least of insisting on the Nootka settlement as the southern limit of the region free to the British traders.[59] But the meaning of the treaty is clear, and Spain could not justly object to an English establishment anywhere above Cape Mendocino at the highest. No controversy ever arose, however, between the two powers; and indeed it is not impossible that the secret treaty of alliance, generally believed to have been signed about this time, contained a mutual agreement not to found any permanent settlements on the coast.

This matter of sovereignty in the north-west under the convention of October 1790, about which Spain and England never found leisure to quarrel, or even to interfere with the trading operations of a third party, the Americans, assumed some importance in later discussions respecting the quality of the title transmitted by Spain to the United States; and another question of interest in the same connection was whether the Nootka treaty was of such a nature as to be nullified by subsequent war between the contracting parties. These phases of the topic will receive attention in their proper place.[60]

[59] Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, *Informe 12 de Abril 1793*, 134–5, seems to have no suspicion that the Northwest Coast was thrown open to English traders and settlers. He regards Articles 3 and 4 of the treaty of little importance, because there are 'few or no unoccupied spots...which are not subject to Spanish dominion.' And he mentions a royal order of December 25, 1790, to the effect that the English could only settle north of Nootka, 'the dividing line between our legitimate possessions and the regions open for the reciprocal use and trade of both nations being fixed at 48°.'

[60] September 6, 1789. The viceroy writes to the governor of California that by the king's order British trading vessels must not be molested; but if they make settlements contrary to the treaty they must be warned and the king informed. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xi. 39–40.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## EXPLORING AND COMMERCIAL EXPEDITIONS.

### 1790–1792.

SPANISH REOCCUPATION OF NOOTKA BY ELISA—FIDALGO'S EXPLORATION IN THE NORTH—QUIMPER IN THE STRAIT OF FUCA—HIS CHART—COLNETT AND THE 'ARGONAUT'—NO FUR-TRADE—KENDRICK'S SCHEMES—EXPLORATIONS OF 1791—THE 'SAN CÁRLOS'—ELISA'S SURVEY OF THE STRAIT—HIS MAP—THE NOOTKA COAST—THE TRANSPORT 'ARANZAZU'—MALASPINA'S EXPEDITION IN THE 'DESCUBIERTA' AND 'ATREVIDA'—THE GARRISON—THE BOSTON TRADERS—GRAY AND HASWELL—KENDRICK—INGRAHAM—MARCHAND'S VISIT AND MAP—FLEURIEU'S ESSAY—VOYAGES OF 1792—THE TRADERS—THE 'COLUMBIA REDIVIVA'—BUILDING OF THE 'ADVENTURE'—HASWELL'S LOG—MAGEE, COOLIDGE, BROWN, STEWART, BAKER, SHEPHERD, COLE—PORTUGUESE VESSELS—A FRENCH TRADER—SPANISH EXPLORATIONS—CAAMAÑO IN THE NORTH—GALIANO AND VALDÉS ON THE 'SUTIL' AND 'MEXICANA'—THROUGH THE STRAIT OF FUCA—NAVARRETE'S SUMMARY—VANCOUVER'S EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

VICEROY FLORES had resolved to occupy Nootka on his own responsibility. Why he ordered Martinez to abandon the post is not known; possibly he was frightened at the prospective results of his subordinate's acts, or royal orders may simply have required the presence of the vessels and officers elsewhere. On October 18, 1789, however, the conde de Revilla Gigedo succeeded Flores as viceroy, and he at once took steps to renew the occupation, orders from the king to that effect having been received too late to prevent the recall of Martinez. Similar orders were renewed after the news of Nootka events had reached Europe. The new expedition was put under the command of Lieutenant Francisco Elisa, who sailed on the ship *Concepcion*, with the snow *San Cárlos*, or

*Filipino*, under Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo, and the sloop *Princesa Real*—that is, the captured *Princess Royal*—under Alférez Manuel Quimper.[1]

The three vessels sailed from San Blas on February 3, 1790, well fitted and supplied for a year, carrying also a company of volunteer soldiers for garrison duty,[2] together with artillery and all the necessary war-stores for the northern presidio. The voyage was uneventful, and the first land sighted was at Woody Point. The two Spanish vessels anchored at Nootka on April 5th, and the less speedy English prize arrived two days later.[3] Work was at once begun on the restoration of the old fortification and barracks. The formal act of possession took place on the 10th, when the flag was unfurled and saluted by a general discharge of the newly mounted guns. During the rest of the year nothing is known to have occurred to disturb the peaceful monotony of garrison life at Santa Cruz de Nutka.[4] The chief Maquinna had retired to some distance from the port on account of unexplained difficulties with Martinez; but on being assured that a

[1] Commander Elisa was instructed to fortify the fort and erect the simple necessary buildings for storehouses, dwellings, and workshops. He was to seek the friendship of the Indians, treating them with discretion, love, and prudence; to defend the establishment from every insult, whether from the Indians or from the subjects of any foreign power; not to insist on a minute examination of their vessels, or on molesting or seizing them, nor even to dislodge the Russians from their fixed establishments, except after receiving positive orders from the king. He was also directed to despatch his vessels at fitting times to carefully explore the coasts, islands, and ports up to 68°, Cook River, and the strait of Juan de Fuca. *Revilla Gigedo, Informe de 12 de Abril 1793*, 130–1. It will be noted that these instructions were given before the controversy between Spain and England was known in Mexico.

[2] This company seems to have been under the command of Don Pedro Alberni, who remained but a short time, left his name attached permanently to an inlet in Barclay Sound, became very popular with the Indians, and finally served until death in California. See *Hist. Cal.*, vol. ii. chap. i., this series.

[3] *Elisa, Salida de los tres buques para Notka, año de 1790*, MS. diary from Spanish archives, in *Viages al Norte de Cal.*, No. 7; also *Elisa, Tabla diaria de los buques para el puerto de Nootka, 1790*, MS., including the movements of all three vessels, in *Id.*, No. 9. Navarrete—*Viages Apóc.*, 63–4; *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, cix.–x.—falls into errors respecting the names of the vessels and the date of arrival.

[4] 'Se fortificó el puerto de Nootka: se formó una poblacion competente, cómoda en lo posible, y agradable: se consiguió la buena correspondencia de los indios por los medios del cambalache ó comercio, y de algunas cortas dádivas.' *Revilla Gigedo, Informe*, 131.

new commander had been sent to replace his enemy he returned and became friendly.[5]

Explorations were in order as soon as the fort was completed, and on May 4th Lieutenant Fidalgo was despatched to the north on the *Filipino*, with interpreters of Russian and English. An account of Fidalgo's investigations on the Alaskan coast, mainly in the region of Prince William Sound and Cook River, though of some interest, does not belong here. His orders were on the return to carefully examine the coast from latitude 57° southward, but bad weather prevented this, and would not even permit him to enter Nootka, in the latitude of which he was at the beginning of September. Accordingly he kept on for Monterey, where he arrived on the 15th of September, spent forty days in refitting, and on the 14th of November was back at San Blas.[6]

It was on the 31st of May that Elisa despatched the *Princesa Real* under Alférez Quimper to explore the strait of Fuca, which had been discovered, as we have seen, by Barclay, and explored for a short distance from its mouth by Duffin and Gray, perhaps also by Kendrick and Haro. Quimper explored not only the strait proper, but the widening farther east, which he called Seno de Santa Rosa. His progress was slow and his examination a careful one. By the end of June he had surveyed the northern shore to the region of the modern Victoria, and had discovered the main northern channel, which still bears the name he gave it in honor of his sailing-master, Canal de Lopez de Haro; then he crossed over to the south shore, and named for himself what is now Squim Bay. He surveyed Port Discovery, which he named

[5] *Quimper, Segundo recon. de Fuca*, MS.

[6] *Fidalgo, Viage del Paquebot 'Filipino'... para los reconocimientos del Príncipe Guillermo y rio de Cook, 1790*, MS., in *Viages al Norte de Cal.*, No. 8; also *Fidalgo, Tabla que manifiesta*, etc., MS., in *Id.*, No. 10; *Revilla Gigedo, Informe*, 140–1; *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 64–6; *Id.*, in *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, cix.–xii. December 11, 1790, the viceroy has heard of the arrival of the *San Cárlos* and *Princesa Real* at Monterey. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, ix. 243.

Bodega y Cuadra; but he mistook the nature of the main passage to southern waters, the mouth of which he named Ensenada de Caamaño. Sent northward in boats, his men discovered also the secondary northern channel, Boca de Fidalgo, now Rosario Strait. The details of his survey are best shown on the appended copy of his chart.[7]

QUIMPER'S MAP, 1790.

Though Quimper was the first discoverer of all this region, the names applied by him were with a single exception not permanent; Squim Bay should bear his name rather than that of Budd or Washington. On the 18th of July he turned westward and followed the southern shore of the strait to the ocean, taking formal possession on the 1st of August at Port Nuñez Gaona, or Neah Bay, as he had at several points be-

[7] Chart made by the *piloto*, Gonzalo Lopez de Haro; copy obtained by the United States Government from Madrid, and published in *Reply of the United States... 1872*, in connection with the San Juan boundary dispute. For convenience I have omitted in my copy the western portion of the strait. The names on the part omitted in their order from the entrance eastward are as follows: North shore, *Pta Bonilla, Pto de S. Juan* or *Narvaez, Rio Sombrio, Pta Magdalena;* south shore, *Pta de Martinez, Pta de Rada, B. de Nuñez Gaona, Ens. de Roxas;* below the entrance on the Pacific are *Pta de Hijosa* and Boca de *Alava*. *Mt Carmelo* and sierra of *S. Antonio* are in the north-east and south-east, just beyond the limits of my copy.

fore.[8] On leaving port the sloop steered for Nootka, but she could not make the port, and was driven southward. Finally on August 13th she gave up the effort and turned her prow toward Monterey, where she anchored on the 2d of September. Her consort, the *San Cárlos*, as we have seen, arrived at the same port on the 15th, and Quimper and Fidalgo reached San Blas together in November.[9]

Only one vessel besides those of the Spanish expedition just described is known to have visited the Northwest Coast in 1790; that one was the *Argonaut*, in which Captain Colnett after his release sailed from San Blas, probably in August. He had on board the crews of both vessels, and an order for the delivery of the *Princess Royal* at Nootka, but on reaching that port he did not find the sloop. He believed the Spaniards had deceived him intentionally;[10] but we have seen that unforeseen circumstances had compelled Quimper to sail southward earlier than had been intended, and he had probably passed Colnett on the way. It was said that the irate Englishman, notwithstanding his distress, obtained a valuable lot of furs before he left Nootka.[11] However this may have been, Colnett left the coast and, miraculously as he thinks, arrived safely at Macao. The next year he received his sloop from Quimper at the Hawaiian Islands. Thus, though the Spaniards had obtained a few skins in the course of their explorations, the fur-

[8] The full act of possession is given in the diary. Neah Bay is erroneously stated by Greenhow, Davidson, and others to be the Poverty Cove of the American traders, but Gray's Poverty Cove was on the northern shore. See last chapter; also *Haswell's Log*, MS., 93. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, also implies that the name Canal de *Guemes* was given by Quimper, and states that he returned to Nootka, though this author seems to have seen the original diary.

[9] *Quimper, Segundo reconocimiento de la entrada de Fuca y costa comprendida entre ella y la de Nootka, hecho el año de 1790*, MS., in *Viages al Norte de Cal.*, No. 11. To this diary and table is added a long account of the Nootka region, its people, language, etc., including an account translated from one prepared by Mr Ingraham of the *Columbia* in 1789.

[10] *Colnett's Voy.*, 101. He says that the orders of the Spanish commander (Quimper), which he saw when he met him later, showed that it had been impossible to meet him at Nootka; but this is not very intelligible.

[11] *Cuadra*, in *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 388.

trade had been practically suspended for the year. Captain Kendrick might have reaped a rich harvest in the *Lady Washington*, but he was never in haste, and lost the season by remaining in China engaged in other schemes.[12]

Commander Elisa had remained at Nootka with the garrison; and his ship, the *Concepcion*, had wintered there.[13] On February 4, 1791, the *San Cárlos* was despatched from San Blas under the command of Alférez Ramon Antonio Saavedra y Guyralda, with Juan Pantoja y Arriaga as *piloto*, arriving at Nootka after a long and stormy passage late in March. Elisa had orders to complete his exploration of the coast from Mount St Elias in the north to Trinidad in the south.[14] He accordingly transferred himself to the smaller vessel, left Saavedra in charge of the *Concepcion* and garrison, and sailed on May 5th. The *San Cárlos* was accompanied by the schooner *Santa Saturnina*, or *Horcasitas*, under José María Narvaez.[15] The winds compelled the explorers to direct their course southward instead of to the north, as they intended. About fifteen days were spent in a careful examination of

[12] Haswell, *Log of the Columbia*, MS., 7, says he 'began to make his vessel a brig. This operation being under his directions, took such a length of time that he lost his season.' Greenhow tells us Kendrick 'had been engaged, since 1789, in various speculations, one of which was the collection and transportation to China of the odoriferous wood called *sandal*, which grows in many of the tropical islands of the Pacific, and is in great demand throughout the Celestial Empire. Vancouver pronounced the scheme chimerical; but experience has proved that it was founded on just calculations.' Kelley, letter of January 1, 1810, in *Thornton's Or. Hist.*, MS., 89, incorrectly states that Kendrick had remained over from 1789, and in the winter of 1790 built a Fort Washington at Mawinah, making a trip into the Fuca Sea later. All this is a confused allusion to earlier and later events.

[13] Navarrete, *Viages Apóc.*, 115, says that the two vessels suffered much, until the *Princesa* had to be sent south with 32 sick men, suffering with scurvy, etc. But this does not agree at all with the facts as shown by Quimper's diary, since it is hardly possible that the sloop went back to Nootka in the winter after reaching San Blas in November 1790.

[14] Particularly the entrada de Bucareli, strait of Fonte, port Cayuela, boca de Carrasco, strait of Fuca, entrada de Heceta, and port of Trinidad.

[15] The presence of this schooner at Nootka is not explained; neither is it anywhere stated what had become of the *North West America*, or *Gertrudis* of 1789. Later the *Santa Saturnina* and *Horcasitas* are mentioned as distinct vessels.

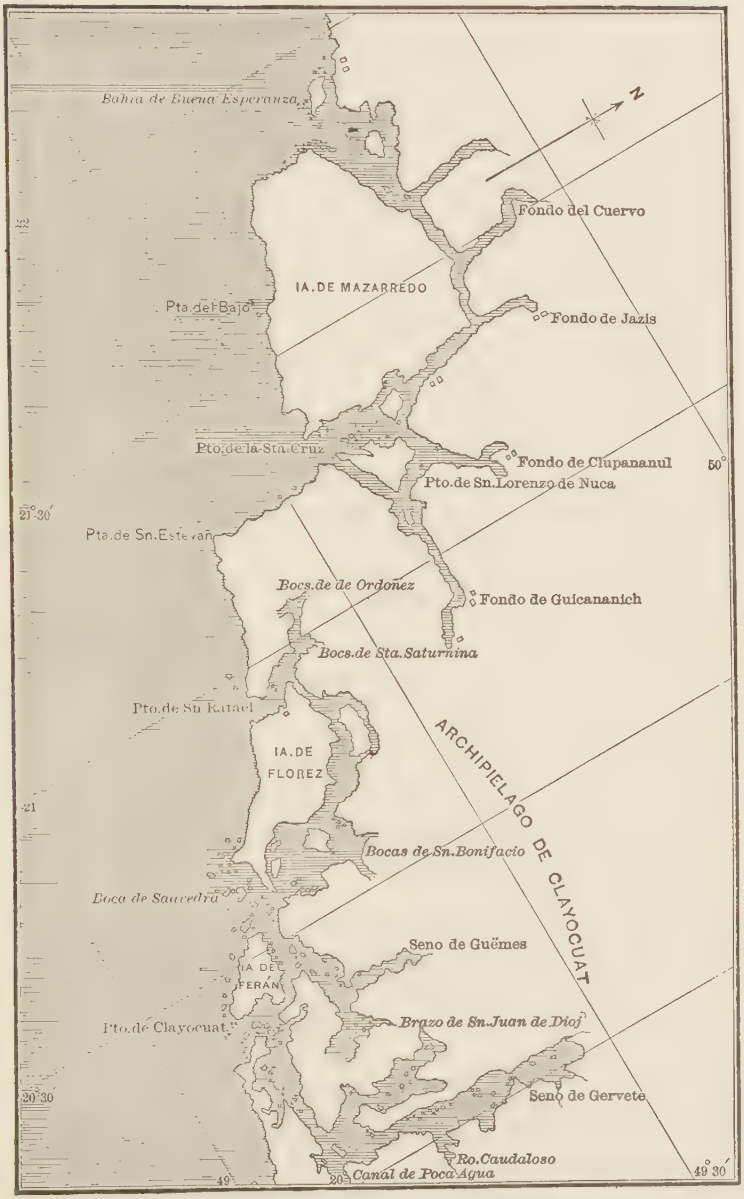
ELISA'S MAP, 1791.

Cayuela, or Clayoquot, and the adjoining region.[16] Then the snow entered the strait of Fuca, and on May 29th anchored in Quimper's port of Córdoba, while the schooner first explored the Boca de Carrasco, in Barclay Sound. From Córdoba the boat was first sent out under the second *piloto*, José Verdia, to survey the Haro Channel; but the hostile actions of the natives, some of whom were killed, caused the party to return. On June 16th, however, Narvaez having arrived, the schooner and launch, prepared for defence, again entered the channel, and continued their search in this and subsequent entrances until August 7th. What they accomplished is best shown by the accompanying copy of their chart.

In the south-east Elisa added nothing to Quimper's survey beyond discovering that the bight of Caamaño was the entrance to an unexplored southern channel; but eastward and north-westward a very complete examination was made of the complicated maze of islands and channels, into the great gulf of Georgia, which was named the Gran Canal de Nuestra Señora del Rosario la Marinera, and up that channel past Tejada Island to 50°.[17] Several inlets extending eastward and north-eastward into the interior were discovered, which might afford the desired passage to the Atlantic, but their exploration had to be postponed for a later expedition. Several names, such as San Juan, Güemes, Tejada Island, and Port Los Angeles, are retained on modern maps as applied by Elisa, while others given by him and Quimper, such as Rosario, Caamaño, Fidalgo, and Córdoba, are still

[16] Pantoja, with the launch, from the 11th to the 19th, explored what is called the north-west mouth of the port. The names applied were bocas de *Saavedra*, gulf of *San Juan Bautista*, canal de *San Antonio*, port *San Isidro*, island *San Pedro*, bay *San Rafael*, canal de *San Francisco*, bocas de *San Saturnino*, canal de *San Juan Nepomuceno*, and the great ports of *Güemes* and *Giralde*. The schooner had meanwhile explored the northern mouth and several branches, but no names are given.

[17] On Vancouver's map the name was applied to the channel between Tejada Island and the main, why is not known; and for some equally mysterious reason the name was again transferred in later years by English geographers to the narrow southern strait that still bears it.




ELISA'S MAP OF NOOTKA COAST, 1791.

in use, but not as originally applied. The expedition left the strait in August, on account of prevalent scurvy among the men. It is not strange that on his return to Nootka from the labyrinth, Elisa wrote to the viceroy: "It appears that the oceanic passage so zealously sought by foreigners, if there is one, cannot be elsewhere than by this great channel." I append here another part of Elisa's map, showing the outer coast from above Nootka down to the entrance of the strait. It includes not only his own surveys but those of earlier Spanish voyagers.[18]

In Elisa's absence, perhaps before his departure, the *Aranzazu*, commanded by Juan B. Matute, arrived at Nootka from San Blas, presumably with supplies for the garrison. There was, however, a pressing need of certain articles which she had not brought, and to get these and also the men who had been left sick in California, the vessel made a trip to Monterey and back, Matute leaving some of his mechanics in the north temporarily. He sailed about May 26th, was at Monterey June 12th to 28th, and was back again in California before the end of August.

All that I know of this trip is derived from fragmentary correspondence in the California archives of the year, showing Matute's presence and the nature of his mission. He brought from the north despatches which were sent to Mexico overland; and he seems

[18] The only sources of information about this voyage, wholly unknown to Greenhow and other writers on north-west discovery, are a *résumé* of Pantoja's original diary in *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 114–21, and an extract from the same diary in *Reply of the United States*, 97–101, from a certified copy of the original in the Hydrographic Bureau in Madrid. The map which I have copied is from the same source. The parts not copied are the southern shore of the strait and for a short distance below Cape Flattery, or Point Martinez, on the Pacific shore (as in Quimper's map, already described); also sketch charts of Clayocuat, Los Angeles, Buena Esperanza, Nuca, and San Rafael. The only name in the extract from the diary not on the map is Zayas Island. See also mention of the expedition in *Revilla Gigedo, Informe*, 141: 'En el tercero (reconocimiento) practicado el año de 91, se internó la goleta *Saturnina* que llevó en su conserva el Teniente de navío D. Francisco Eliza, mandando el paquebot *S. Cárlos* hasta el gran canal que llamaron de Nuestra Señora del Rosario.' A mention in the diary of Kendrick's arrival at Nootka on July 12th may indicate that one of Elisa's vessels returned before August.

also to have brought despatches of some importance from Mexico to the northern commander.[19]

Still another Spanish expedition arrived at Nootka, on the 13th of August, or just about the time of Elisa's return from the strait of Fuca. The corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, under the command of Alejandro Malaspina, engaged in a scientific exploring voyage round the world, arrived at Acapulco at the end of 1790 or beginning of 1791. Whether Malaspina had intended to visit the Northwest Coast or not does not appear, but here he received from the Spanish government a copy of the memoir in which M. Buache of Paris had lately attempted to support the genuineness of Maldonado's discoveries, with orders to verify the existence or non-existence of the strait which Maldonado pretended to have found. The two vessels sailed from Acapulco on the 1st of May, the *Atrevida* being under the command of José de Bustamante y Guerra; and land was first sighted on the 23d of June, in the region of Mount Edgecombe. Of their explorations on the Alaskan coast suffice it to say that no strait was found; and when about the 1st of August they entered the waters of the Northwest Coast, the weather permitted no observations until on August 13th they anchored at Nootka.

The observatory was at once set up on shore, and fifteen days were spent in a scientific survey of the adjoining region. The only narrative extant contains not a word about the Spanish garrison or its commander, or any vessels except those of the expedition. The diaries and scientific observations of Malaspina's voyage have, however, not been published, and we have only one account by an officer of the expedition.[20]

[19] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, x. 1–2, 9, 22, 32, 39, 45–6, 140. Elisa's letters are dated April 20th, and Saavedra's May 26th, so that the *Aranzazu* sailed from Nootka, if she did not arrive there, after Elisa's departure for his exploring trip. September 5th. The viceroy orders the governor of California to supply all demands from Nootka.

[20] *Malaspina, Viage 1791*, in *Navarrete, Viages Apóc.*, 268–320. It is an abridged diary by one of the officers, and so far as Alaska is concerned contains information that is tolerably complete. In *Id.*, 96–8, is an account of

If we may credit Señor Navarrete, the original manuscripts were very complete, and their publication would have been a credit to the government; still it is certain that their chief value would not have been in connection with what we term here the Northwest Coast. Malaspina sailed on the 28th of August, and he made no observations of interest or importance until he reached California.[21]

Of Elisa and his garrison and vessels for the rest of the year nothing appears in the records, except that the *San Carlós* and *Santa Saturnina* returned to San Blas. Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo says: "Although various craft of England and the American colonies frequented the adjacent coasts and ports, some of them entering Nootka, nothing occurred to cause unpleasantness or damage; and our new establishment was always respected by them, and provided with all that was needed by the other San Blas vessels, which brought at the same time the supplies for the presidios and missions of Alta California."[22]

Some of the Boston owners were not yet discouraged at the comparative failure of their first fur-trading enterprise; and the *Columbia Rediviva* was fitted out for a new voyage, still under the command of Captain Gray, with Mr Haswell as first mate. The *Columbia* sailed from Boston on the 28th of September 1790, and after an uneventful trip anchored at Clayoquot on the 5th of June 1791. "Thence she proceeded," says Greenhow, "in a few days to the eastern side of Queen Charlotte's Island, on which, and on the coasts of the continent and islands in its vicin-

the original MSS., maps, plates, etc., and the reasons of their non-publication. Malaspina fell into disgrace with the government in some political matters, and this caused a suspension of publication until it was deemed too late. All that was known to Greenhow and other writers on the subject came from a brief account by Navarrete, in *Sutil y Mex.*, *Viage*, cxiii.–xxiii., in which Malaspina's name was not mentioned. On a map in *Id.*, atlas, No. 3, Malaspina's course above Nootka is laid down.

[21] For Malaspina's visit to Monterey, where he arrived the 13th of September, see *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. xxiii., this series.

[22] *Revilla Gigedo, Informe*, 131.

ity, she remained until September, engaged in trading and exploring. During this time, Gray explored many of the inlets and passages between the 54th and the 56th parallels, in one of which—most probably the same afterwards called by Vancouver the Portland Canal—he penetrated from its entrance, in the latitude of 54 degrees 33 minutes, to the distance of a hundred miles north-eastward, without reaching its termination. This inlet he supposed to be the Rio de Reyes of Admiral Fonté; a part of it was named by him Massacre Cove, in commemoration of the murder of Caswell, the second mate, and two seamen of his vessel, by the natives, on its shore."[23]

My copy of Mr Haswell's log begins on the 14th of August 1791, just before the ship arrived at what was called Hancock River, an indentation on the northern end of Queen Charlotte, or Washington Island.[24] Here he met the *Hancock*, Crowell master, from Boston.[25] The *Columbia* sailed on the 19th, and touching at a few points for skins, directed her course southward between the great island and the main without noticeable adventure,[26] except meeting the *Hope*, Captain Ingraham, from Boston, on the 22d in 53° 2′, and arrived at Clayoquot on the 29th. As they entered, two Spanish vessels were seen passing southward, doubtless Malaspina's corvettes, which had

[23] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 229–30. He cites the log of the *Columbia* from September 28, 1790, to February 20, 1792. He says the disaster happened on August 22d, but it must have been earlier.

[24] *Haswell's Log of the Columbia Rediviva and Adventure, 1791–2*, MS. This companion diary to the same officer's voyage of the *Lady Washington* in 1788–9 was obtained from the same source; see page 187 of this volume. The first part of the log is missing, the entries beginning with August 14, 1791. It extends to the arrival of the *Columbia* in China the 7th of December 1792, but a part is devoted to the movements of the *Adventure*, under Haswell's command. It is a document of great interest and value, and includes a number of charts. The original contains also views of several places, the author having much skill with the pencil.

[25] Kelley, *Discov. N. W. Coast*, 3, calls her the *Hannah*, and says she arrived at Brown Sound, in 55° 18′, on August 15th.

[26] The names used are as follows: *Port Tempest; Massacre Cove; Murderers' Cape*, 54° 43′; *Washington Island*, 54° 5′; *Hancock River*, 54° 5′; *Cape Hancock*, 54° 18′; *Cape Lookout*, 54° 24′; *Comsuca* village; *Toochcondolth*, 53° 37′; and *Cape Haswell*, 52° 5′. All are on or about the north-eastern part of the island.

sailed from Nootka the day before; and within the sound they found Captain Kendrick, their former commander, leisurely engaged in repairing his sloop at a place he had named Fort Washington.

A week later Gray sailed again for a cruise to winter quarters, which it was intended to establish at Bulfinch Sound, the year's trade having proved only moderately successful, because at the best places he had been preceded by Kendrick, or Ingraham, or Crowell. After being carried south by adverse winds, and narrowly escaping shipwreck near Cape Flattery, they returned to Clayoquot on the 18th of September, and resolved to winter there instead of making new attempts to reach a harbor farther north.[27] Kendrick was still there, but soon departed. A spot near the native village of Opitseta was selected for winter-quarters; and before the end of September a house was built, cannon were mounted, and the frame of a small sloop was landed from the ship. The keel was laid on the 3d of October, and from that time the work was carried on as rapidly as the short dark days and rainy weather would permit. The natives were very friendly; there was good shooting of geese and ducks for the officers, plenty of hard work for all in felling trees and sawing planks, and no special excitement in camp until after the end of the year.

Joseph Ingraham, formerly mate of the *Lady Washington*, left Boston in command of the brig *Hope*[28] before Gray, on September 16, 1790. "On the 1st of June, Ingraham left the Sandwich Islands, and on the 29th of the same month he dropped anchor in a harbor on the south-east side of Queen Charlotte's or Washington's Island, to which he gave the name of Magee's Sound, in honor of one of the owners of his vessel. On the coasts of this island, and of the other islands,

[27] Kelley says he returned on the 20th, and that on the 15th he had anchored at the village of Ahshewat, on the north shore of Fuca Strait.

[28] Fitted out by Thomas H. Perkins of Boston, who had been in Canton in 1787. *Boston in North West*, MS., 5. Perkins was also interested with Magee in building the *Margaret*.

and the continent adjacent on the north and east, he spent the summer in trading, and collecting information as to the geography and natural history, and the languages, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants, on all which subjects his journal contains minute and interesting details; and at the end of the season he took his departure" with fifteen hundred skins "for China, where he arrived on the 1st of December, 1791."[29]

Captain Kendrick, on the *Lady Washington* transformed into a brig, arrived on the coast from China[30] on the 13th of June. His landing was at Barrel Sound, where the natives attempted to capture him, but were repulsed and many of them killed. Not being very successful in trade in the north, the captain turned his course down the coast on the 12th of July and entered Nootka. The Spaniards aided in towing the brig into port, and were most hospitable in every way, but the Yankee commander was suspicious, went on up to his old anchorage of Mawinah, and having obtained about eight hundred sea-otter skins, left the sound by the northern passage, preferring not to risk a second exposure to the guns of the fort.[31] He next went down to Clayoquot, where he was also fortunate in obtaining many furs before Gray's arrival. After some repairs, conducted, according to Haswell, in his usual leisurely manner, Kendrick sailed for China on the 29th of September.[32] During this visit the cap-

[29] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 226–7. He cites Ingraham's MS. journal and an extract from it in the *Massachusetts Hist. Col.*, 1793. Kelley, *Discov. N. W. Coast*, 3, says Ingraham arrived, apparently at Clayoquot, on July 23d. Haswell, *Log*, MS., 5, says that the *Hope* was almost ready to leave the coast when her boat, with Mr Crup, was met on August 22d. Crup hinted that they had been very successful in getting furs. Marchand, *Voy.*, ii. 383, met Ingraham at Macao. He mentions the 1500 skins.

[30] Delano, *Narrative*, 43, aided Kendrick in fitting out his vessel at Lark Bay, near Macao, in March.

[31] This was Kendrick's version. In an extract from the diary of Elisa's voyage, *Reply of the United States*, 100–1, it is said that Kendrick entered 'with lighted linstocks;' could not understand when hailed; but later, when he had reached his anchorage, and was ordered not to trade or anchor in Spanish ports, he obeyed, and departed next day by the northern passage.

[32] *Haswell's Log of the Columbia*, MS., 7–10, 14, 16.

tain seems to have purchased large tracts of land in the Nootka region, from the chiefs Maquinna and Wicananish, obtaining their marks on his deeds.[33] I shall speak again of these land titles. Greenhow and others were perhaps in error, as we shall see, in stating that Kendrick never returned to America after this year.[34]

[33] Kendrick's deeds are given literally by Hall J. Kelley, *Discov. N. W. Coast*, and are worth reproducing, as follows: July 20, 1791. Deed to John Kendrick. (1). 'A certain Harbor in said Nootka Sound, called *Chastactoos*, in which the brigantine *Lady Washington* lay at anchor on the 20th July 1791, with all the land, rivers, creeks, harbors, islands, etc., with all the produce of both sea and land appertaining thereto. Only the said J. Kendrick does grant and allow the said Maquinnah to live and fish on the said territory, as usual. The above named territory known by the Indian name *Chastactoos*, but now by the name of *Safe Retreat Harbor*. [Signed] Maquinnah, his × mark [L. S.]; Warclasman, his × mark [L. S.],' and four other natives. 'Witnesses, John Williams, John Redman,' and eleven others. 'A true copy from the original deed. Attest, J. Howell.' (2). August 5, 1791, 'A certain Harbor in said Ahasset, called by the natives *Chenerkintan*, in which the brig *Lady Washington* lay at anchor August 5, 1791, which is situated in latitude 49 deg. 50 m. N. and long. 127 deg. 8 m. W., on the north side of the Sound Ahasset, being a territorial distance of eighteen miles square, of which the harbor of Chenerkintan is the centre, with all the lands, minerals, etc. [Signed] Nory-Youk, his × mark [L. S.],' and three others. Witnesses as before. (3). August 5, 1791, 'A certain Harbor in New Chattel, called by the natives Hootsee-ess, but now called Port Montgomery...in 49 deg. 46 m. N... on the south side of the Sound of Ahasset, now called Massachusetts Sound... eighteen miles square, of which the harbor of Hootsee-ess...is the centre, etc. [Signed] Tarasson, his × mark [L. S.],' and three others. Witnesses as above. (4). August 6, 1791, 'The head of Nootka Sound, called by the natives *Tashees*...with the land nine miles round said Tashees, etc. [Signed] Caarshucornook, his × mark [L. S.], and Hannopy.' (5). August 11, 1791, 'A territorial distance of eighteen miles north,' south, east, and west from the village of *Opisitar* as a centre, in 49° 10′. 'The above territory known by the name of Clyoquot.' Signed by Wicananish and five others. Boston, October 30, 1838. Sworn certificates of Samuel Yendell and James Tremere, sailors on the *Columbia* and *Jefferson* in 1791, to the effect that they knew personally of the purchases of lands. June 26, 1835, sworn certificate of John Young at Hawaii, that he had often heard Kendrick speak of his purchase, and had seen his deeds. Witnessed by Henry A. Peirce and Hall J. Kelley. May 11, 1795, to May 28, 1798, extracts from letters of J. Howell, Captain Kendrick's clerk, transmitting and mentioning the deeds. March 1, 1793, letter of Kendrick from the island of King Kong to Thomas Jefferson. He mentions the purchase, and incloses copies of the deeds to remain in the department of state. He says his title was recognized by the Spaniards, by being excepted in a deed of lands at Nootka from Maquina to Cuadra. He thinks the acquisition a most important one for the United States. Kelley says another large tract between 47° and 50° was purchased by Kendrick for his company, all the purchases extending some 240 miles. The company's territory embraced, according to Kelley, all of Cuadra's Island not sold to Kendrick and to Spain. Of course Kelley deems this purchase the strongest possible foundation for a title in the United States. In a letter of January 1, 1870, in Thornton's *Or. Hist.*, MS., Kelley writes on the same subject. He says the original deeds are in Ingraham's *Journal*, in the United States Department of State, and for printed copies refers to *U. S. Gov. Doc., 16th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Rept. No. 43.*

[34] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 228–9; Sturgis, in *Hunt's Merchants' Mag.*, xiv. 535.

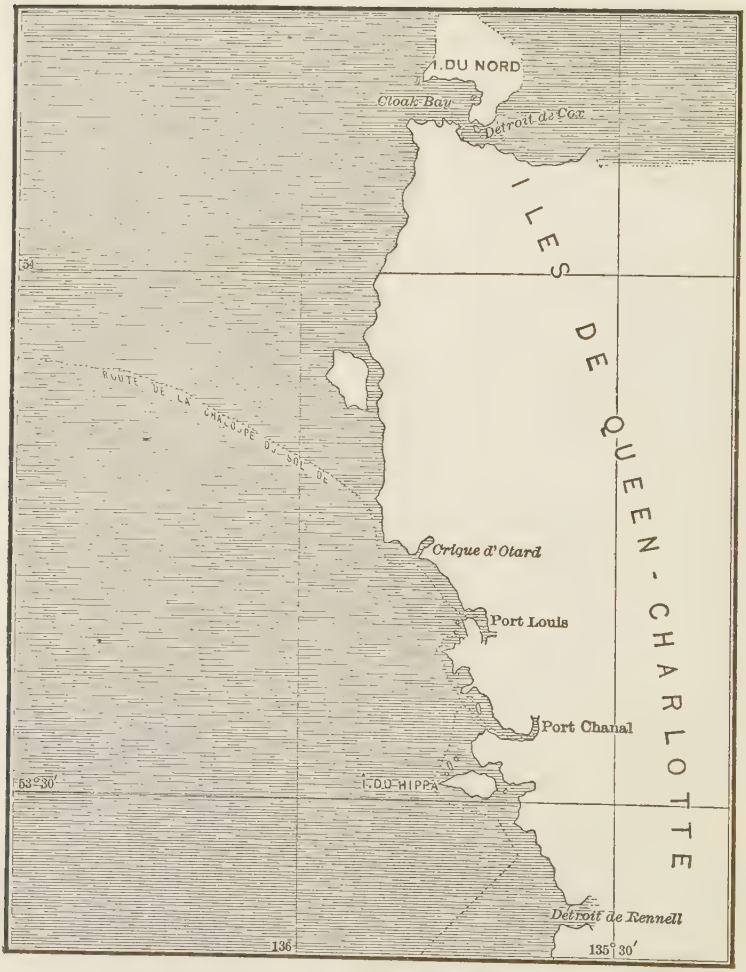
Two other American trading-vessels are named by Greenhow as having visited the coast this year, the *Jefferson*, Roberts, from Boston, and the *Margaret*, Magee, from New York; but the latter was a Boston ship of the next year, and we have no details of the other's voyage.[35] It is probable that England was represented in the fleet of 1791[36] by the *Grace*, Captain William Douglas. And now, for the first time since La Pérouse's advent, the French appeared on the scene, in the person of Étienne Marchand, who sailed from Marseilles on December 14, 1790, on the *Solide* for purposes of trade; first sighted the Northwest Coast in the vicinity of 57° on the 7th of August, and on the 21st reached the northern parts of Queen Charlotte Islands. A careful survey and map of Cloak Bay and Cox Channel was made in the ship's boat by Captain Chanal; and by the same officer, aided by the surgeon Roblet, material was obtained for a long description of the natives and their customs. Success in trade was very slight, the Americans having left but few furs. A brig and boat were seen on the 26th, showing no colors, but thought to be English.[37] From the 28th to the 31st Chanal made in the shallop an exploration of the coast farther south as far as Rennell Sound, as shown with the northern survey in the appended copy of his map. Obtaining few skins, Marchand sailed for Barclay Sound, where he arrived on the 6th of September; but before he could enter he saw a ship, doubtless the *Columbia*,

[35] Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 226, cites the *Massachusetts Hist. Col.*, 1795, as containing a description of Roberts' visit to certain islands in the South Pacific. In 1838 James Tremere certified that he was on the *Jefferson*, Captain Robinson, which sailed from Boston in November 1789, and was at Nootka in 1791.

[36] *Delano's Nar.*, 43. The author's brother accompanied Douglas. Haswell tells us that Douglas sailed from China in company with Kendrick, but that they afterward separated, so that he may possibly have visited the coast. The Indians at Clayoquot told Elisa in May that Kendrick and Douglas had lately left the sound, but this could not have been true. Marchand, *Voy.*, ii. 390, was told by Ingraham at Macao that he had left on the coast two brigs and a schooner, the latter having had two of her men killed by natives of the Sandwich Islands. They had left a boat to collect skins on the coast during the winter, and were to return in the spring.

[37] Probably the American brig *Hope*.

in whose log the sight of a ship in the south-west is noted, bound apparently down the coast, and was discouraged from further efforts to trade. He resolved




MARCHAND'S MAP, 1791.

to make haste to China and sell his few skins for as much as the rival traders coming later would get for a larger quantity; and he turned from the coast

the night of the 8th, arriving at Macao by way of the Sandwich Islands in November, and finding no market for his furs after all.

The fruit of Marchand's unsuccessful trading voyage, so far as my present topic is concerned, was a description of the north-western portions of Queen Charlotte Islands by Chanal and Roblet, considerably more complete and extensive than that of Dixon or any other earlier navigator, particularly in its presentation of the natives and their institutions. The original log and narratives were developed, however, into a ponderous work of six volumes, covering a broad scope of South Sea discovery. Count C. P. Claret Fleurieu, the French scientist and geographer, was the editor of the work. As an introduction he gave a summary of explorations on the Northwest Coast of America down to the time of Marchand. It was a paper read before the National Institute of Sciences and Arts in 1798; and although not free from errors, was worthy of much praise as one of the earliest and most complete essays on the subject. Then the editor presented the relation of Marchand's voyage—that is, the diaries of Chanal and Roblet, for he did not have access to Marchand's own narrative at all—not literally, but in the third person, a very slight foundation of the original with a vast superstructure of editorial comment. There is infinitely more of Fleurieu than of the navigators, the voyage being in fact but a pretext for a work on South Sea discovery and geography. The editor was an able man and a brilliant writer; but he often wrote carelessly and fell into occasional errors. At the time of its publication the work had considerable value on account of its comprehensive treatment of various subjects; but now, so far at least as present matters are concerned, it adds nothing to the information obtainable from better sources.[38]

[38] *Marchand, Voyage autour du Monde, pendant les années 1790, 1791, et 1792, par Étienne Marchand, précédé d'une introduction historique; auquel on*

Not less than twenty-eight vessels, and probably a few more, visited the north-west coast in 1792. More than half of the number were engaged in the fur-trade, under the flags of France, Portugal, England, and the United States.[39] Five of them came expressly to make geographical explorations. The rest brought government commissioners on diplomatic missions, or supplies for garrison and national vessels, or despatches to commanders. Let us first follow the movements of the traders:

We left Captain Gray with the *Columbia* in winter quarters at Clayoquot, hard at work on a new sloop, the material for which had been brought in part from Boston. Fort Defence and Adventure Cove were the local names applied, most of the men living in the house on shore. In February a plot of the Indians to seize the ship was discovered, and kept the Americans in great anxiety for many days. Months of friendly intercourse had removed all fear of native treachery, and the plot might have been successful had the Indians not attempted to bribe an Hawaiian servant to wet the primings of all fire-arms on a certain night. All but this boy were to be killed, was his story. By moving the ship to a less exposed position, strengthening the defences, and a general discharge of the cannon into the woods at random, the attack was prevented on the night appointed; and

*a joint des recherches sur les terres aus'rales de Drake*, etc. *Paris, an* vi.–viii. (1798–1800), 8vo 5 vols., 4to 1 vol. The Introduction is in vol. i. pp. i.–cci.; Voyage of Marchand, i. 1–294, and ii.; Geographical observations and notes, iii. 1–318; Tables of latitude, longitude, etc., iii. 319–403; Additions to the relation notes, etc., iii. 405–74; Natural history, iv. 1–494; vi. 316; Researches on Drake's Discoveries (in Southern Pacific), v. 317–74; Examination of Roggeween's voyage, v. 375–499; List of voyagers and authors cited, v. 501–18; Index, v. 519–59; Proposed changes in the hydrographic nomenclature of the world, vi. 1–82; Metric decimal system applied to navigation, vi. 85–149; Maps and plates, vi. pl. i.–xiv. The matter relating to the north-west coast is found in vol. i. 288; ii. 273; iii. 80–92, 360–5; v. 160–88; vi. pl. i., general map; pl. iii., De l'Isle's map of 1752; pl. viii., Norfolk Bay; pl. ix., Cloak Bay and Cox Strait; pl. x., west coast of Queen Charlotte Islands (copied on p. 256, this chapter).

[39] In *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 112, it is stated that the whole number of trading vessels was 22, of which eleven were English, eight American, two Portuguese, and one French; but this must be an exaggeration, so far as the English vessels were concerned.

thereafter a strict watch was kept, the friendly relations of the past being broken off. On the 23d of February the new sloop, named the *Adventure*, the second vessel built within the territory, was launched; and by the 2d of April both vessels were ready to sail for their spring harvest of furs, the new sloop under the command of Mr Haswell.[40]

The vessels parted at Clayoquot, the *Columbia* going southward. On the 29th of April, Gray met Vancouver just below Cape Flattery, and gave that commander an account of his past discoveries, including the facts that he had not sailed through Fuca Strait in the *Lady Washington*, as had been supposed from Meares' narrative and map, and that he had—just before the meeting in this same trip, I suppose—"been off the mouth of a river, in the latitude of 46° 10′, where the outset, or reflux, was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days."[41] The log of the *Columbia* on this trip has been lost, with the exception of a valuable fragment covering the time from the 7th to the 21st of May.[42] On the former of these dates Gray discovered and entered the port in latitude 46° 58′, called at first Bulfinch Harbor, but later in the same year Gray Harbor, which name it has retained.[43] On the 10th he left this port, where he

[40] *Haswell's Log of the Columbia*, MS., 23–35. Benjamin Harding, the boatswain, died on March 21st.

[41] *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 213–16. Here also is mentioned the plot of the Indians at Clayoquot, under Wicananish. Haswell, *Log*, MS., 66–7, mentions the meeting with Vancouver as told him by Gray at their first meeting. Except this meeting with the English navigator, nothing is known of Gray's movements until May 7th; but as he may not have left Clayoquot for some days after April 2d, and nine days were spent off the river's mouth, it is not likely that those movements were of any special importance.

[42] This was an extract made in 1816 by Mr Bulfinch, one of the owners, from the 2d volume of the log, which subsequently disappeared. The 1st volume, down to February 1792, was consulted by Greenhow, as we have seen. The fragment was printed in 1839 in *U. S. Gov. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. No. 101*, and may be found in *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 233–7, 434–6, and also in many other books, government reports, and newspapers treating on the later complications of the famous Oregon question.

[43] Bulfinch Harbor is the name used in the log; but Haswell in his log used the other name in June of the same year; and so does Vancouver in the same year. There was a Bulfinch Sound where Gray and Haswell met, and it was at the meeting probably that the change was agreed upon.

was attacked by the Indians, and killed a number of them,[44] and next day passed over the bar of the port which he had before been unable to enter, at the mouth of the great river. This was the Entrada de Heceta, discovered in 1775 by Heceta, who named its points San Roque and Frondoso; the Deception Bay behind Point Disappointment of Meares in 1789. Earlier in this year it had been seen by Gray himself and by Vancouver, but now it was entered for the first time, and named the Columbia River, from the vessel's name, the northern and southern points being called respectively Cape Hancock and Point Adams. The first anchorage was ten miles within the entrance, and on the 14th the ship went some fifteen miles farther up, where she was stopped by shoals, having taken the wrong channel.[45] Gray then dropped down the stream, noting the Chinook village, and landing in the boat at one point, was visited by many natives in their canoes, and obtained a good quantity of furs. Rough weather did not permit the ship to recross the bar till the 20th, and next day our fragment of the log comes to an end.

This achievement of Gray, which Americans chose to regard as the 'discovery' of the Columbia, figured very prominently, as we shall see, in the international discussions of later years.[46] From the river

[44] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 67. The fight is not mentioned in the *Columbia's* log, and may therefore be an error of Haswell.

[45] Haswell says they 'went up about 30 miles and doubted not it was navigable upwards of a hundred.'

[46] I shall have occasion in this and later volumes to name the works in which Gray's voyage is described or mentioned; but none of them add anything to the original log which I have cited; and the errors made are not sufficiently important to be noted. Captain Robert Gray, who had been in the United States naval service during the revolutionary war, died in 1806, leaving a widow and four children in straitened circumstances. In 1848 a petition in their behalf was presented to congress, and a committee report, never acted on, was obtained in favor of a pension of $500 and a township of land in Oregon. In 1850 a new memorial was introduced in behalf of Mrs Gray, and a bill in her favor was passed by the house, but I do not know whether it ever became a law or led to any practical result. The discovery of the Columbia was the great service to the United States on which the claim was founded. *Congressional Globe*, 1850–1, pp. 34, 203, 595, 612. In 1860 Mr Thornton presented to the state of Oregon a silver medal which he represented to have been struck off in 1793 in commemoration of the discoveries made on

Gray sailed northward to Naspatee, above Nootka, and thence to Pintard Sound, apparently what was known later as Queen Charlotte Sound. At both places he was attacked by the Indians, and was obliged to kill many of them.[47] As the *Columbia* left the sound she met the *Adventure*, and both vessels proceeded to Naspatee, where they anchored on the 18th of June. Gray had collected seven hundred sea-otter and fifteen thousand other skins.[48]

Meanwhile Captain Haswell in the *Adventure* had made a northern tour after leaving Gray at Clayoquot on the 2d of April. He had no startling adventures beyond the ordinary and expected perils of such a navigation. In trade he was less successful than had been anticipated, though first in the field, for the natives said that many vessels were coming, and demanded exorbitant prices, two overcoats for a skin being at many places a current rate; and only two hundred and thirty-eight skins were purchased. On the 7th of May he met Captain Magee of the *Margaret*, with news from home; and early in June he visited the grave of Mr Caswell, his former associate, who had been buried at Port Tempest, but whose remains had been removed by the Indians. With the aid of a chart, by which Haswell's course might be traced, his log would be of great value from a geographical point of view, for he describes many ports and gives sketches of some; but most of the places named he had visited before, and furnishes slight means for their identification. His course was first

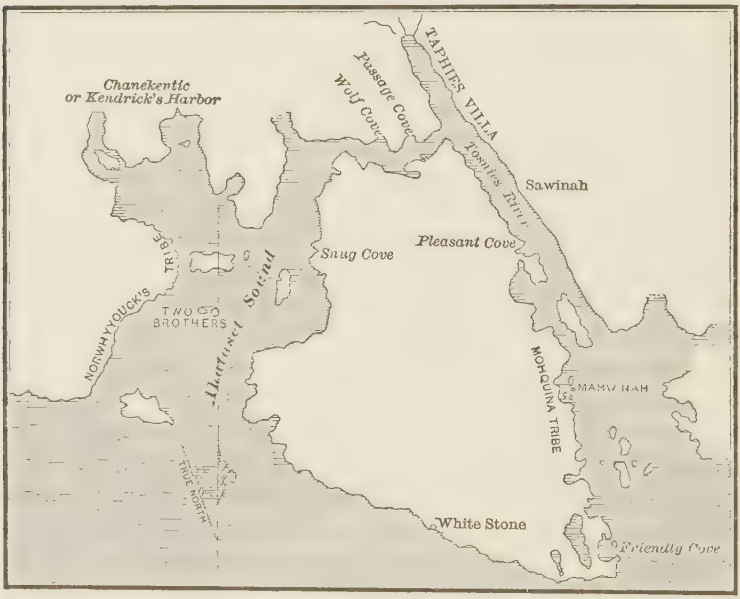
the voyage. *Oregon, Journal of Senate*, 1860, app., 37–40; and this medal has often been spoken of in newspapers, etc. It was, however, the medal made in copper and bronze before Gray started from Boston in 1788; but it is not impossible that a few were struck off in silver later.

[47] In *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 24, we are told that on the 3d of June the Indians from the north came to Nootka to complain that a vessel had attacked them, killing seven and wounding others, besides taking by force all their furs, which they had been unwilling to sell at the price offered. This was doubtless the first of the two fights alluded to by Haswell.

[48] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 66–7. A chart or sketch is given of *Bulfinch Sound*, with *Chickleset* at the eastern point of entrance, *Naspatee* or *Columbia Cove* and *West Point* at the western point, and *Cloonuck* at the head, or north.

up the outer coast, into Dixon Entrance, and back to Cape Scott; then up the strait to the same latitude as before, and back, the whole amounting to a double circumnavigation of Queen Charlotte Islands, with an examination of the mainland coast. Names from the log are appended.[49]

[49] *Haswell's Log of the Adventure*, MS., 35–66. The following are the names used, with approximate dates and latitudes: April 3d, *Cechaht Cove*, in Company Bay [Barclay Sound]; a Higua chief of *Hichaht;* 7th–8th, past Clayoquot, Point Breakers, and Nootka; 9th, *Hope Bay*, lat. 49° 5′, long. 127° 24′; 10th–12th, still in sight of Nootka and *Ahatsett Sound* [Esperanza Inlet; a chart is given of the two sounds and connecting passages, which I reproduce]; 13th,




HASWELL'S MAP OF NOOTKA, 1792.

50° 16′; Woody Point, five leagues S. E.; *Port Lincoln*, a large sound with good harbors, in 50° 26′, long. 128° 30′ [Quatsino Sound?]; 14th, 50° 46′, six leagues S. of outwardmost island off *C. Ingraham* [Cape Scott]; 17th. Washington Island and *Cape Haswell* [Cape St James], 52° 10′; *Barrel Sound;* 18th, 53° 5′; *Tooscondolth* tribe, subject to *Cumsuah*, on the strait dividing the island; another strait where the coast turns W., in about 53° 20′ [Skiddegate Channel]; 19th, near *Tadents* village [Cloak Bay and Cox Channel?]; 21st, round the N.W. point of the island; 23d, *Shoal Inlet*, or *Neden*, lat. 54° 9′, long. 132° 45′, seventeen leagues E. of Tadents; *C. Coolidge*, seventeen leagues W. S. W., in 54° 15′, long. 134° 13′ [?]; *C. Lookout*, eighteen leagues E. N. E. [Cape Chacon on N. side of strait?]; 24th, *Hancock River*, 54° 5′, long. 132° 18′ [chief, *Cattar;* a chart is given, with names *Halibut Head*, *Sand Point*, and *Mahshoet* [Virago or Mazaredo Sound, or Masset Harbor, on N. side of the island]; *Leyonee* is in this

The two vessels sailed together from Naspatee on June 24th, bound for the north; but two days later, when they had entered the great strait and were just above 52°, opposite Loblip Sound, the *Columbia* struck a rock and was considerably damaged. They went on, however, for Derby Sound, but lost each other on the 29th. The *Adventure* went on and waited at Derby Sound for her consort, Haswell fearing that she had sunk. Then she continued her trip through Dixon Strait and up the Alaskan coast to about 57°, in the region of the modern Sitka. Haswell touched at many of the places visited in the former trips; obtained only seventy-five skins; met six other trading-vessels at different points; and returning down the outer coast met Gray on the 3d of September at Port Montgomery, on the south-western shore of Queen Charlotte Island. Meanwhile the *Columbia*, her leak increasing after the parting, had returned to Naspatee and attempted some repairs, with the aid of Captain Magee; then she went to Clayoquot and soon to Nootka. Here the Spaniards rendered every possible assistance and courtesy,[50] and when his ship was again in condition Gray sailed for the north to meet Haswell, as just related. Both sailed on the 13th of September and reached Nootka seven days later. Here they met Vancouver

region; 28th–29th, past shoal off *C. Lookout; Sea-lion Rocks*, 54° 36′, long. 130° 55′; Cape Lookout W. by N.; gales; *Adams Strait* near; 30th, wind and haze about the shoal; May 1st–2d, off Tadents; chief, *Cunnea;* 4th, S. of Tooscondolth; 5th, *St Tammonie Cove* and *Port Montgomery*, 52° 25′ [on W. side of the island]; 7th, Barrel Inlet and *Gray Cove*, meeting the *Margaret*, Captain Magee; 12th, near C. Haswell and in mouth of *Strait of Font* [that is, the passage between Queen Charlotte and the main]; course to N.; 15th, 52° 43′; opposite Cumsuah's village [Cumshewa Island and Harbor?]; 16th, *Tooscondolth Sound* [Skiddegate Bay?]; *Hope Cove* near on N.; 19th, 53° 7′; 20th, over to mainland and *Hatches Island* and Sound, a very deep sound running S. E.; 22d, *Derby Sound* and *Allen Cove;* 25th, sailed for *Brown Sound*, but wind prevented; off C. Lookout; 26th, off Tadents; 27th, 54° 59′; 28th, abreast of *Distress Cove;* 30th, *Douglas Island*, 54° 42′; 31st, C. Lookout E. S. E. and *Murderers' Cape* N. ½ W.; June 1st, 54° 27′; passed Murderers' Cape; 2d, *Port Tempest* and Caswell's grave; 7th, *Brown Sound;* 8th–9th, coasted down to 53° 15′; 11th, *Barron Hill Bay*, 52° 59′; 15th, past Ingraham Cape and islands to Woody Point; 17th, met Gray, just out of *Pintard Sound;* arrived at *Naspatee*.

[50] For which, however, Gray and Ingraham furnished some valuable testimony, on events of 1789, in their letter of August 3d.

again, and gave him an account of their discoveries. On the 22d they sailed for Neah Bay, the Nuñez Gaona of the Spaniards, within the strait of Fuca, which port it took them four days to reach. Here the sloop *Adventure* was sold to Commander Cuadra for seventy-five choice sea-otter skins, and the *Columbia* went across the strait to Poverty Cove, to obtain wood, water, and masts. From this port the ship sailed on the 3d of October for home, touching at the Sandwich Islands and anchoring at Macao on December 7, 1792.[51]

Gray's is the only one of the trading voyages of the year that is at all fully recorded, though it is not unlikely that the logs of other vessels may yet come to light. The other trips, as incidentally mentioned by Haswell, Vancouver, and the Spanish voyagers, may be briefly disposed of here: Ingraham in the *Hope* had returned from China; was at Nootka on the 3d of August, on which date he wrote a letter to Cuadra; was in company with the *Adventure* August 21st to 27th about the northern end of Queen Charlotte Island; returned to Nootka the 11th of September; sailed for Fuca Strait on the 20th; returned in company with the *Princesa* on the 2d of October, and soon sailed for China.[52] James Magee, on the *Margaret*, Lamb first mate, sailed from Boston October 25, 1791,[53] and reached the Northwest Coast, just below Cape Scott, April 24, 1792; he first anchored at Gray Cove, on Queen Charlotte Island, where he had been ten days when Haswell met him

[51] *Haswell's Log of the Columbia and Adventure*, MS., 68 et seq. In *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 112, it is stated that Gray collected 3000 skins.

[52] *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 116; *Haswell's Log*, MS., 83, 92; *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 400, 410. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 237, tells us that 'Ingraham subsequently entered the navy of the United States as a lieutenant, and was one of the officers of the ill-fated brig *Pickering*, of which nothing was ever heard after her departure from the Delaware in August, 1800.'

[53] In *Niles' Register*, xviii. 417, William Smith, afterward famous, is said to have made his first voyage round the world in the *Magnet*, Captain Magee, which left Boston the 17th of October 1791—probably the *Margaret*. Both this vessel and the *Hope* left Boston in 1792 according to *Tufts' List*.

on the 7th of May; on account of his illness Mr Lamb was in command. The vessel was a fine one and well fitted for the cruise, but thus far had obtained few skins. In July he was with Gray, for whom he brought letters, at Naspatee; and he is last heard of at Nootka late in September.[54] R. D. Coolidge, perhaps the same man who had been mate of the *Lady Washington* in 1789, now commanded the *Grace* of New York. He came from China, and was in company with Haswell in the north in August.[55] Captains Rogers, Adamson, Barnett, and Douglas were reported in July by the northern natives to be on the coast, but nothing further is known of them.[56] William Brown commanded the *Butterworth*, an English trader.[57] The English brig *Three Brothers* was commanded by Lieutenant Alder of the navy. The schooner *Prince William Henry*, Ewen, from London, and the brig *Halcyon*, Barclay, from Bengal, are named in Vancouver's list. He also names the Boston vessels *Lady Washington*, Kendrick; *Hancock*, Crowell; and *Jefferson*, Roberts; the first two were on the coast in 1791, and perhaps again this year, though I find no other evidence. The English sloop *Prince Le Boo*, Sharp master, is mentioned as having been at Nootka.[58] The cutter *Jackal*, of London, Captain Stewart, was on the northern coast in August, and at Nootka in September.[59] The brig *Jenny*, Captain James Baker, came from Bristol, bringing two Sandwich Island women to Nootka, and arriving on the 7th of October; sailing later for England, she was

[54] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 54–6, 86, 91; *Sutil y Mexicana*, *Viage*, 116. Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 226, says that the *Margaret* was from New York, and implies that she made a trip in 1790–1, which seems impossible.

[55] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 83–4. Vancouver, *Voy.*, iii. 498, names Costidge as master of a brig.

[56] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 74–5.

[57] Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 223, names Brown as one of the most enterprising of the English traders, to whom Vancouver was indebted for useful information. In *Sutil y Mexicana*, *Viage*, 116, the *Butterworth* is described as an English frigate of 30 guns that brought despatches to Vancouver.

[58] *Vancouver's Voy.*, iii. 498; *Sutil y Mexicana*, *Viage*, 116. The latter makes it the *Prince Leon*, Captain Spar.

[59] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 83, 91; *Vancouver's Voy.*, iii. 498.

found by Broughton on November 6th anchored in the Columbia River.[60] The *Venus*, Shepherd commander, from Bengal, was met by Vancouver in the channel north of Queen Charlotte Sound on August 17th; she had touched at Nootka.[61] The *Florinda*, Thomas Cole commander, 'the most miserable thing that ever was formed in imitation of the Ark,' left Macao in March, arrived on the coast in July, and was met next day at Tadents by Haswell, who found her overrun by natives, who but for his arrival would soon have made her a prize.[62] The Portuguese *Felice Aventurero*, formerly Meares' vessel, came back this year under Francisco Viana; she left Macao in May, lost part of her crew at Prince William Sound, touched later at Queen Charlotte Island, and thence came down to Nootka before September.[63] A Captain Mear, possibly the illustrious John Meares, commanding an unnamed snow from Bengal, was met in Dixon Strait in July.[64] Another Portuguese trader was the *Fenix*, Captain José Andrés Tobar, or as Vancouver says, the *Fenis and St Joseph*, Captain John de Barros Andrede; she was on the island coast in August, at Nuñez Gaona in September, and sailed for China from Nootka on the last of September. Her supercargo was Mr Duffin, formerly of the *Argonaut*, and she carried to China[65] one of Vancouver's officers with despatches. Finally I have to mention a French vessel, whose business is not clearly explained; this was the *Flavia*, of about five hundred tons, commanded by M. Magon, Dupacy second

[60] *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 415; ii. 72; iii. 498. Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 14, speaks of the *Jennet*, Captain Baker, from Bristol, 'Rhode Island.'

[61] *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 375; iii. 498. 'Chepens' is the captain's name in *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 116.

[62] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 76.

[63] *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 115–16; *Haswell's Log*, MS., 74–80. He says Viana was first mate, Ugon, a Frenchman, being captain. Vancouver, *Voy.*, iii. 498, calls Viana's ship the *Iphigenia*.

[64] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 80. Mear had come from Alaska, and had met Viana's vessel in distress. Perhaps Mear was Vancouver's (iii. 498) Moor, commanding a snow from Canton.

[65] *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 403, 409–10; iii. 498; *Haswell's Log*, MS., 83–4, 91. Gray met the *Fenix* at the Sandwich Islands in October.

captain, and Torckler supercargo; she arrived at Nootka on the 26th of May, her mission being, as was represented, to buy furs for the Asiatic market and to seek news of the expedition of La Pérouse.[66] Meeting Haswell on the north end of Queen Charlotte Island in August, Magon represented his vessel as bound from L'Orient Sound to Kamchatka with supplies, intending to touch at Unalaska. The supercargo was a Russian; from him the Americans received a very welcome gift of liquors.[67]

It was deemed essential to Spanish interests, for reasons to be more fully noticed later, to complete as speedily as possible the exploration begun by Fidalgo, Quimper, and Elisa in 1791. Accordingly two expeditions were despatched early in 1792. The transport *Aranzazu*, under the command of Lieutenant Jacinto Caamaño, carrying supplies for California as well as Nootka, sailed from San Blas the 20th of March, and arrived at Nootka the 14th of May. Her California cargo was transferred to the *Concepcion*, which had been in the north for two years, and which under Elisa's command touched at Monterey the 9th of July on her way to San Blas.[68] Caamaño had instructions to explore the coast up to Port Bucareli, and to search for Fonte Strait; he started on his trip the 13th of June, arrived at Bucareli on the 25th,[69] and after a survey of that northern port he anchored on July 20th at the entrance of Dixon Strait, which he very properly named Entrada de Perez. From this time until the end of August was made the first official exploration of the northern end of Queen Charlotte Island, and of

[66] 'Este punto nos pareció muy secundario respecto á la derrota que habia emprendido.' *Sutil y Mexicana, Viaje*, 20.

[67] *Haswell's Log*, MS., 81. The *Flavia* was also met by Caamaño June 29th, at Port Bucareli. He was then seeking news of La Pérouse. *Caamaño, Exped.*, 326.

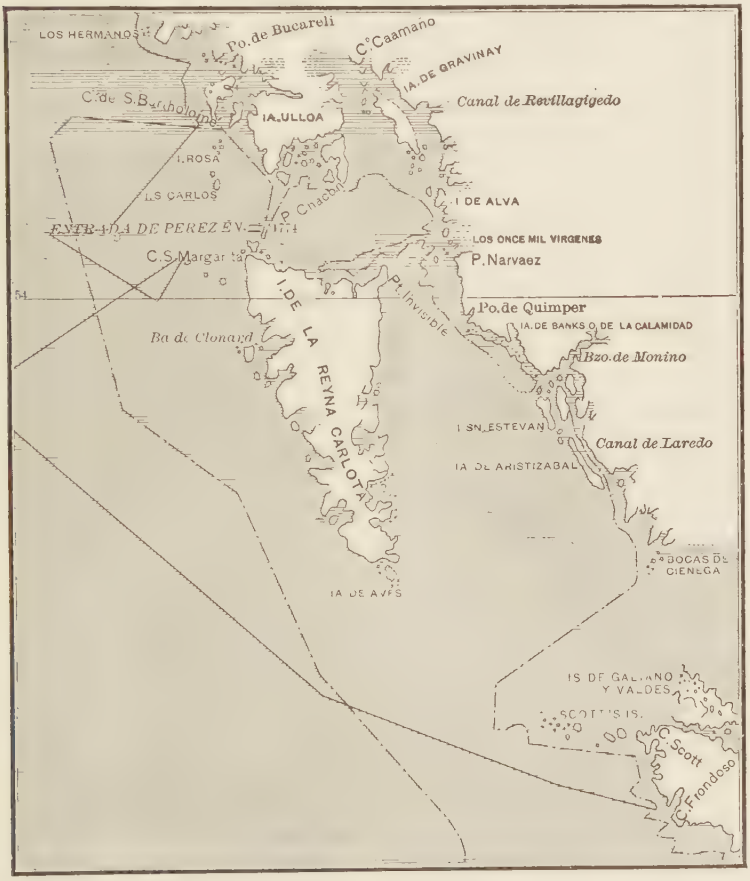
[68] *Hist. Cal.*, i., chap. xxiv., this series.

[69] *Revilla Gigedo, Informe 12 de Abril 1793*, 144. The other authorities are hopelessly confused respecting these two dates.

the eastern coast of the strait dividing that island from the main. The *Aranzazu* was too large and unwieldy for such work, and the weather was not favorable; yet the survey was a tolerably complete one. Several of Caamaño's names have been retained; and from his charts Vancouver derived much of his published information about these regions.[70] A copy of his chart on a small scale is appended. On a chart that had been obtained from Colnett, Fonte Strait was located just above 53°, at the entrance between what are now Pitt and Princess Royal Islands; but though Caamaño did not reach the head of those channels, he was certain from the tides that they furnished no interoceanic passage, and he changed the name from Fonte to Moniño. Intercourse with the natives is somewhat minutely described, but the only noticeable adventure was the capture, by treachery, of

[70] Caamaño's exploration is shown on a small scale on map No. 3, in *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, atlas. The following is a geographical summary of the voyage in the strait: July 20th, Port *Floridablanca* [Cloak Bay], 54° 20′, on the north end of Queen Charlotte Island, and south of *Lángara Island* [North Island]; an anchorage east of the island seems to be called *Navarro;* 23d–24th, on the northern or Alaskan coast of the strait; 25th, back to the island; from *Pt Invisible* region sighted ports *Estrada* and *Mazarredo* [all three names on Vancouver's map, called on some modern maps Masset Spit, Masset Harbor, and Virago Sound; one of the latter was Haswell's Hancock River]; 28th, in the archipelago of *Once Mil Vírgenes*, on map Port *Narvaez* and *Alva* Island, S. and N. of the archipelago; also Port *Quimper;* 30th, entered the *Canal del Principe* [still so called], between the islands of *Calamidad* [Banks] and *Enriquez* [Pitt]; past bay of *Gorostiza* and Point *Engaño* [a port of *Cañaveral*, also mentioned by Vancouver]; 31st, sought in vain Colnett's Port *Bala*, Point *Mala Indiada;* passed through the strait [Nepean Sound], between the islands of *Compañía* [still so called] and Enriquez, into anchorage of *San Roque*, or *Mal fondo*, in bay of *San José* [Wright Sound, or mouth of Douglas Channel]; August 1st, ceremony of taking possession; 2d, *piloto* sent to explore the different channels, named, after his return on the 6th, *Boca y Brazos de Moñino*, 53° 24′ [that is, the channels of Grenville, Douglas, Gardner, etc.; here Colnett had placed the strait of Fonte]: one of them, extending N. W., by which the Indians said they went to Queen Charlotte Island, was followed eighteen leagues, and called—or the anchorage at its mouth—port *Gaston* [Grenville Channel], with island *San Miguel* [Farrant Island?] and brazo de *Maldonado*, on maps island *San Estévan* [still so called; the island of *Gil*, E. of Compañia Island, on Vancouver's map, and still so called, was doubtless named by Caamaño]; 7th–12th, further explorations; 13th–29th, detained by bad weather; 30th, through the *Laredo* channel, between *Aristizábal* Island and the coast [names still retained], the southern point of the island being called *Santa Gertrudis;* 31st, *Point Ventuysen*, on map bocas de *Ciénega;* September 1st, *San Joaquin* Island [Scott Island]; 2d, Brooks Bay; 7th, Nootka.

two sailors. They were rescued and restored by a faction of the Indians who would not consent to such an act in return for kind treatment by the Spaniards. In addition to the narrative, and to geographical descriptions, there were added to the diary some obser-




CAAMAÑO'S MAP, 1792.

vations of animals and plants, by José Maldonado. Emerging from the strait south of the great islands, Caamaño anchored on the 7th of September at Nootka, and remained there in temporary command of the garrison until Fidalgo's arrival, sailing the 3d

of October, touching at Monterey on the 22d of October, and arriving at San Blas Feburary 6, 1793.[71]

Viceroy Revilla Gigedo had already made preparations for an expedition under Lieutenant Maurelle to complete the exploration of Fuca Strait when Malaspina, returning from the north, proposed to make the new enterprise a branch of his own, furnishing officers and instruments. This proposal was accepted, and two schooners were transferred to Acapulco for outfit. They were the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, commanded by Dionisio Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, with Secundino Salamanca and Juan Vernaci as lieutenants, Joseph Cordero as draughtsman, and a crew of seventeen men to each schooner. They sailed from Acapulco on March 8th, and arrived at Nootka on the 12th of May, two days before Caamaño. It was the 4th of June when they started for the strait, which they entered next day and anchored at Nuñez Gaona, or Neah Bay. The survey of the inland waters up to the Tejada Island, or rather resurvey, for all this region had been explored by Quimper and Elisa, lasted until the 26th. On the 13th the Spaniards first met a boat from one of the English vessels, and on the 21st Galiano and Vancouver met personally, showing to each other their charts of previous discoveries, and agreeing to carry on subsequent explorations in company. They worked together amicably until the 12th of July in the channels about Desolation Sound; but Vancouver, while freely giving the Spaniards the benefit of his own labors, would not accept the results of their survey

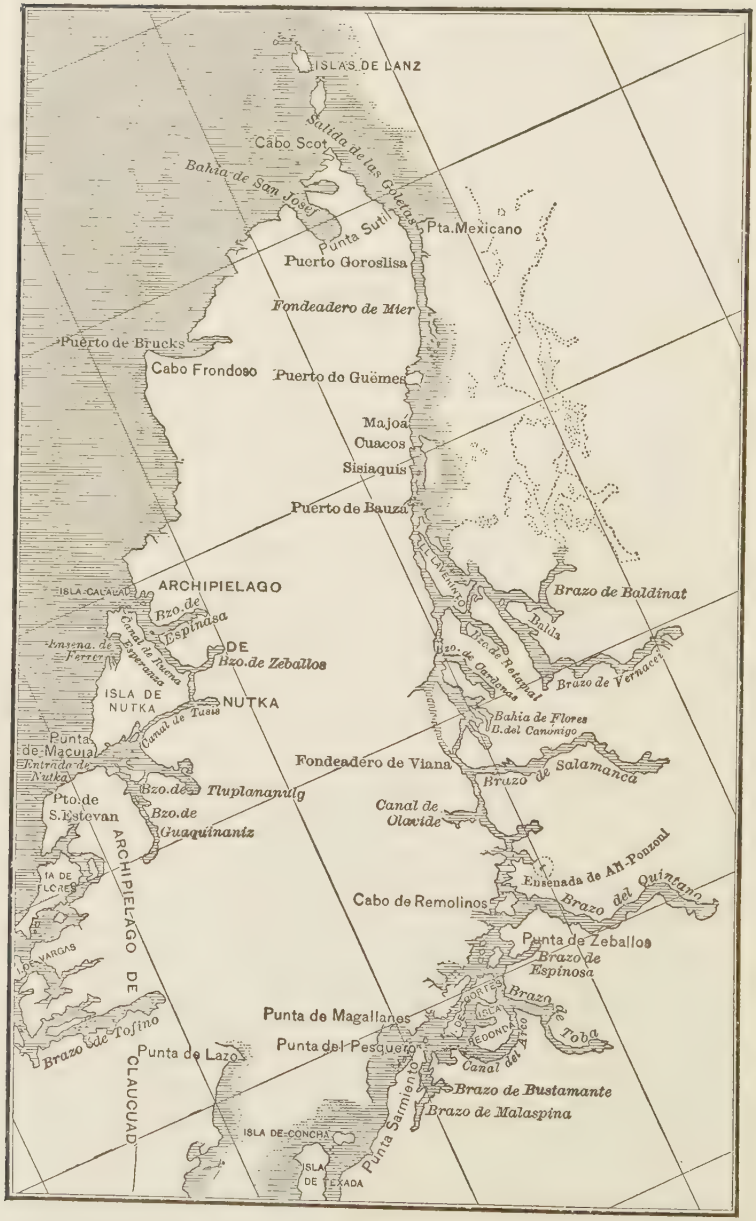
[71] *Caamaño, Expedicion de la corbeta Aranzazu al mando del teniente de navío D Jacinto Caamaño á comprobar la relacion de Fonte, 1792*, in *Col. Doc., Inéd.*, xv. 323–63. This is not the original complete diary, but a *résumé* with extracts. A less complete *résumé* was given by Navarrete, *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, cxxiii.–xxxi. 113; see also mention in *Id., Viage Apóc.*, 66, 160–1; *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 398. 'He appears to have displayed much skill and industry in his examinations, as Vancouver indirectly testifies in his narrative: but he effected no discoveries calculated to throw much light on the geography of that part of the coast; and his labors were productive of advantage only in so far as they served to facilitate the movements of the English navigator, to whom his charts and journals were exhibited at Nootka.' *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 241, 231.

as conclusive, insisting on penetrating to the head of each inlet for himself. This was not agreeable to Galiano's pride; and though friendly relations were not disturbed, yet on account of differences between the schooners and ships in speed and draught it was decided to part. The Spaniards continued their survey in a very careful and effective manner, came out into the Pacific by a northern passage on the 23d of August, and on the 30th anchored at Nootka. The *Sutil* and *Mexicana* left Nootka on September 1st, and were at Monterey from the 22d of October to the 4th of November, having taken a glance in passing at the Entrada de Heceta, so as to be sure of its identity with the river mouth explored by Gray, of whose chart the Spaniards had a copy. They anchored at San Blas on the 23d of November.[72] No detailed description of their movements is possible here; their explorations below Tejada Island added but very little to the earlier ones of Quimper and Elisa, to whose maps, already given in this chapter, I refer the reader;[73] while Galiano's survey farther north is shown on that part of his map which I here reproduce.[74] I may add that Galiano on June 20th was

[72] *Sutil y Mexicana, Relacion del viage hecho por las goletas...en el año de 1792, para reconocer el Estrecho de Fuca; con una introduccion*, etc., Madrid, 1802; 8vo, with small folio atlas. The atlas contains a general map of the whole coast, from Baja California to Alaska, in three sheets, the northern sheet showing the explorations of earlier Spanish voyagers; also, sheet No. 7, presenting a plan of Cala De Amigos [Friendly Cove], at Nootka; No. 10, view of a Nootka festival; No. 11, view of Friendly Cove and Spanish fort; also portraits of the chiefs Maquinna and Tetacú, with María, wife of the latter. See also *Hist. Cal.*, i., chap. xxiv., this series.

[73] Several of Elisa's names are omitted on Galiano's map, but the additions are few. Punta de Santa Saturnina becomes Island de *Saturna* [as it has remained, probably a typographical error, on the later map]. The islands of Cepeda and Lángara become points on a peninsula, north of which is found the entrance to the Canal de Florida Blanca, while the place of the southern entrance is taken by Ensenada del *Engaño*. Seno de *Gaston* is a new name for the bay above Point Socorro; and Punta de Loera becomes Ensenada de Loera. The Punta and Laguna del Garzon become an 'ensenada' of the same name. The 'bocas' of the Florida Blanca, Carmelo, and Moniño, being explored to their heads, become 'brazos'; and the name of the last is changed to *Mazarredo*. Poliel [an error] is changed to *Porlier*, and Cala de *Descanso* is added to the boca de Wentuhuysen.

[74] The map is No. 2 of the original atlas, and is also found on a larger scale in *Reply of the United States*. To the land north of the *Salida* are given, on




GALIANO'S MAP, 1792.

off the mouth of the river afterward called Fraser, noting the signs of its existence, though assured later by Vancouver that no such river existed.[75]

Thus Galiano and Valdés had sailed through Fuca Strait and come out into the Pacific, proving the existence of another great island, and, what was much more important to them and their nation, that none of the strait's many channels afforded the desired or dreaded passage to the Atlantic. This was the last Spanish exploring expedition on these coasts, and the only one whose results were published by order of the government. The journal and maps appeared in 1802, with a most valuable introductory *résumé* of preceding voyages by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete; but excepting the introduction, this work attracted very little attention, being obscured by the previous appearance of Vancouver's great work. So far as the exploration of 1792 is concerned, however, the difference between the Spanish and English works is very slight, except in matters pertaining to the printer's and engraver's arts. Mr Greenhow's contrast between Galiano's "meagre and uninteresting details" and Vancouver's "full and luminous descriptions" is purely imaginary, while his severe criticism of Navarrete has no better foundation than the occurrence of a few unimportant errors and the occasional display of national prejudice, which is far less marked than is the bitter feeling against all that is Spanish to be noted in English and French writers of the time. Indeed Navarrete's essay was intended as a reply to the sneers of Fleurieu and other foreign writers.

No. 3 of the atlas, already copied, the names islands of *Galiano* and *Valdés*. The portion in fine lines in the north was taken by Galiano from Vancouver, and also the portion in the south, not copied, representing Admiralty Inlet and Hood Channel.

[75] 'Estábamos ya en agua casi dulce, y veamos flotar gruesos maderos confirmándonos estos indicios en la idea de que la Boca que llamábamos de Florida-blanca era la de un rio caudaloso.' *Sutil y Mex., Viaje*, 65. 'They seemed much surprized that we had not found a river said to exist in the region we had been exploring, and named by one of their officers Rio Blancho...which river these gentlemen had sought for thus far to no purpose.' *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 314. Thus it is possible that Elisa in 1791 had also seen signs of a river.

An English exploring expedition under the command of George Vancouver was despatched for the North Pacific in 1791. Vancouver's instructions, dated the 8th of March, were to make a thorough survey of the Sandwich Islands, and of the northwestern coast of America from 30° to 60°, the latter with a view of finding, if possible, a passage to the Atlantic, and of learning what establishments had been founded there by foreign powers. He was also notified that he might be called on to receive certain property at Nootka, of which the Spanish minister had ordered the restoration to British subjects, according to the convention of 1790. He commanded the sloop *Discovery*, carrying twenty guns and one hundred men, and as consort the tender *Chatham*, with ten guns and forty-five men, under Lieutenant W. R. Broughton. The vessels sailed from Falmouth on the 1st of April, proceeded to the Pacific by way of Cape Good Hope, and left the Sandwich Islands for America on the 16th of March 1792.

It was on the 17th of April that the coast of New Albion was sighted just below Cape Mendocino. The trip up the coast to Cape Flattery, in good weather and with all conditions favorable for observation, lasted twelve days, and several new names were applied.[76]

On the 27th the explorers noted "the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burden, as the breakers extended" quite across the opening. It was correctly identified as Meares' Deception Bay. Two days later Captain Gray was met on the *Columbia*, and from him Vancouver learned that the *Lady Washington* had not, under his command at least, sailed through the strait

[76] The new names were: *Rocky Point*, at Point Trinidad; Point and Bay of *Saint George* and *Dragon Rocks; Cape Orford*, from the earl of that name (Greenhow's criticism, *Or. and Cal.*, 232, that Vancouver, though inclined to think the cape identical with Aguilar's Cape Blanco, 'did not scruple' to name it Orford, is successfully overthrown by Twiss, *Or. Quest.*, 130–1); *Point Grenville*, from the lord of that name; and *Duncan Rock*, from the fur-trader.

of Fuca, as had been reported—a statement that caused much satisfaction, since it left a grand field for discovery open to himself, as he incorrectly supposed. He also learned from Gray that the latter had found a great river in the south; but this did not trouble him, because Gray had been unable to enter it by reason of the currents, and because "I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbour, or place of security for shipping on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classett; nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert, in that space, the existence of arms of the ocean...and extensive rivers." This record of failure to find the Columbia River was repeated *ad nauseam (Britannicam)* by American writers in later controversies, and this chapter would perhaps be regarded as incomplete without it:

Entering the strait the last day of April, they followed the southern shore to Port Discovery, which became a station for refitting and for explorations in the surrounding region.[77] From this station Vancouver, Menzies, Puget, and Johnstone set out on the 7th of May in yawl, launch, and cutter. In this and subsequent trips, lasting about a month, the whole south-eastern extension of the inland sea was discovered, fully explored, and named, as shown by the annexed copy of Vancouver's map.[78] The record of adventures and observations, though full of interest

[77] *New Dungeness*, a sandy point resembling Dungeness in the English Channel (Quimper's Point Santa Cruz), and *Mount Baker* in the far distance, discovered by Lieutenant Baker, were the only new names applied west of Port Discovery; and *Los Angeles* was the only Spanish name put later on Vancouver's map of the southern shore.

[78] The map also shows, besides Vancouver's southern discoveries of *Admiralty Inlet*, *Hood Canal*, and *Puget Sound*, the northern parts explored before by Elisa and Quimper. See map already given. *Mount Rainier*, beyond the limits of my copy, was so named for Rear-admiral Rainier of the British navy. Other names used in Vancouver's text, but not appearing on the map, are *Marrow-stone Point*, *Oak Cove*, *Foulweather Bluff*, *Hazel Point*, *Restoration Point*, and *Cypress Island*.

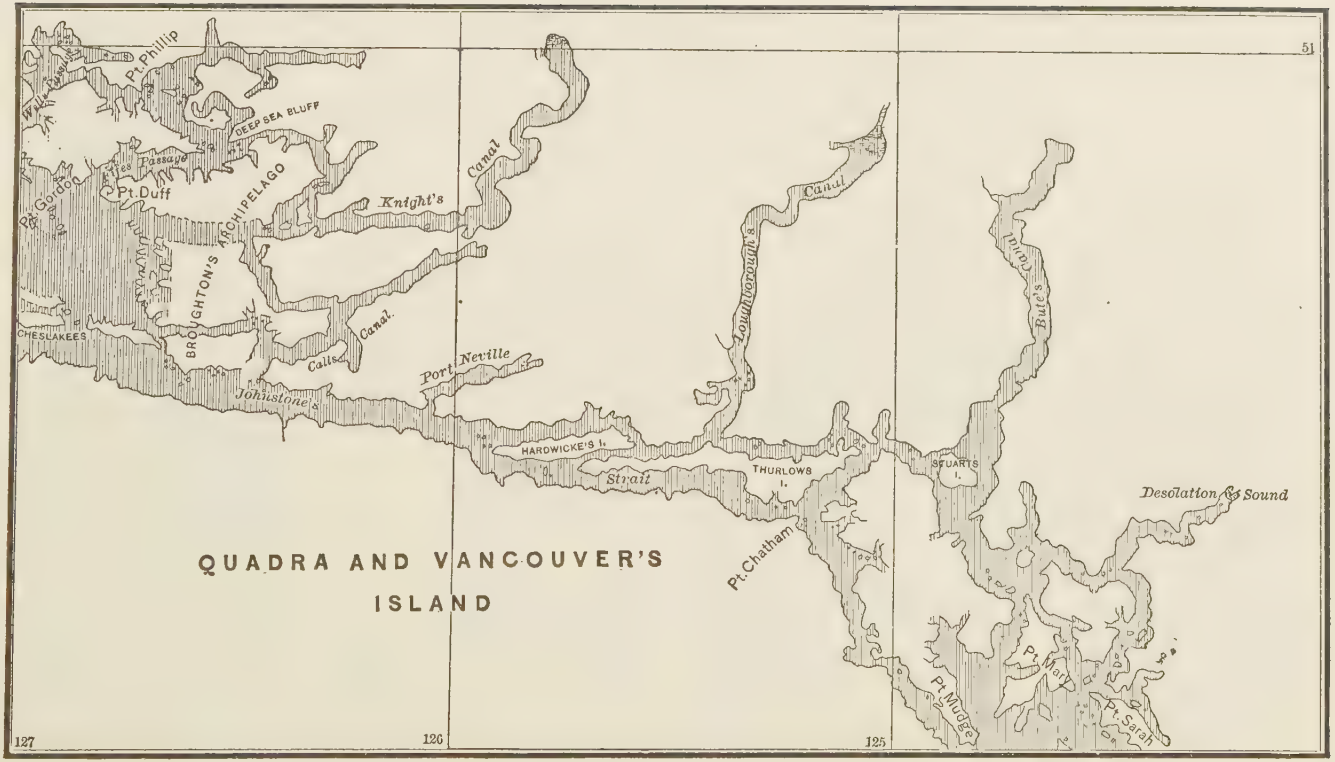
VANCOUVER'S MAP, 1792.

in its details, cannot of course be reproduced here, even *en résumé*. On the king's birthday, the 4th of June, at Possession Sound, formal possession was taken in the name of his Britannic majesty of all the countries round about these inland waters, including the outer coast down to 39° 20′; and to the inland coasts and islands above 45° was given, in honor of the king, the name of New Georgia. This act of possession, like previous acts of similar nature by the Spaniards at half a dozen points within the strait, of course had no possible force under the Nootka convention; but the men got an extra allowance of grog, and no harm was done.

Next the English navigators penetrated the northern channels; but what they found in the gulf of Georgia, or Canal del Rosario, has already been clearly enough laid before the reader in the charts of Elisa and Galiano.[79] From June 22d to July 12th the Englishmen were in company with the Spanish explorers, as noted in a former part of this chapter. Though grievously disappointed on learning that he was not, as he had believed, the discoverer of this northwestern Mediterranean, with its coasts and islands, Vancouver fully reciprocated the courtesies shown by the strangers, and consented, as required by his instructions, to a joint survey and mutual inspection of charts.

The operations in company were in the region of Desolation Sound, and the results are shown on the appended section of Vancouver's map, which with its

[79] The Spanish names retained by Vancouver in this section were Canal del Rosario, wrongly applied to make room for the name gulf of Georgia, and Tejada Island, misprinted Fevada and Favida; but he also condescended to leave a few other points, previously named by the Spaniards, without any names at all. His changes were as follows: Garzon to *Birch Bay*, Point Cepeda to *Point Roberts*, Point Lángara to *Point Gray*, Florida Blanca to *Burrard Inlet*, Carmelo to *Howe Sound* (naming also Points *Atkinson* and *Gore* or *Gower*, and islands of *Passage* and *Anvil* in connection with the sound), Mazarredo to *Jervis Canal*, with *Scotch Fir Point* and Concha to *Harwood Island*. Points *Upwood* and *Marshall* were added to Tejada Island, and *Savary Island* was named. *Sturgeon Bank* is also named in the text.



QUADRA AND VANCOUVER'S ISLAND
Pt. Phillip
DEEP SEA BLUFF
Passage
Pt. Duff
Pt. Gordon
BROUGHTON'S ARCHIPELAGO
Knight's
Canal
Calls
Canal.
CHESLAKEES
Johnstone's
Port Neville
HARDWICKE'S I.
Strait
THURLOWS I.
Loughborough's
Canal
STUARTS I.
Bute's
Canal
Desolation Sound
Pt. Chatham
Pt. Mudge
Pt. Mary
Pt. Sarah
51
127
126
125

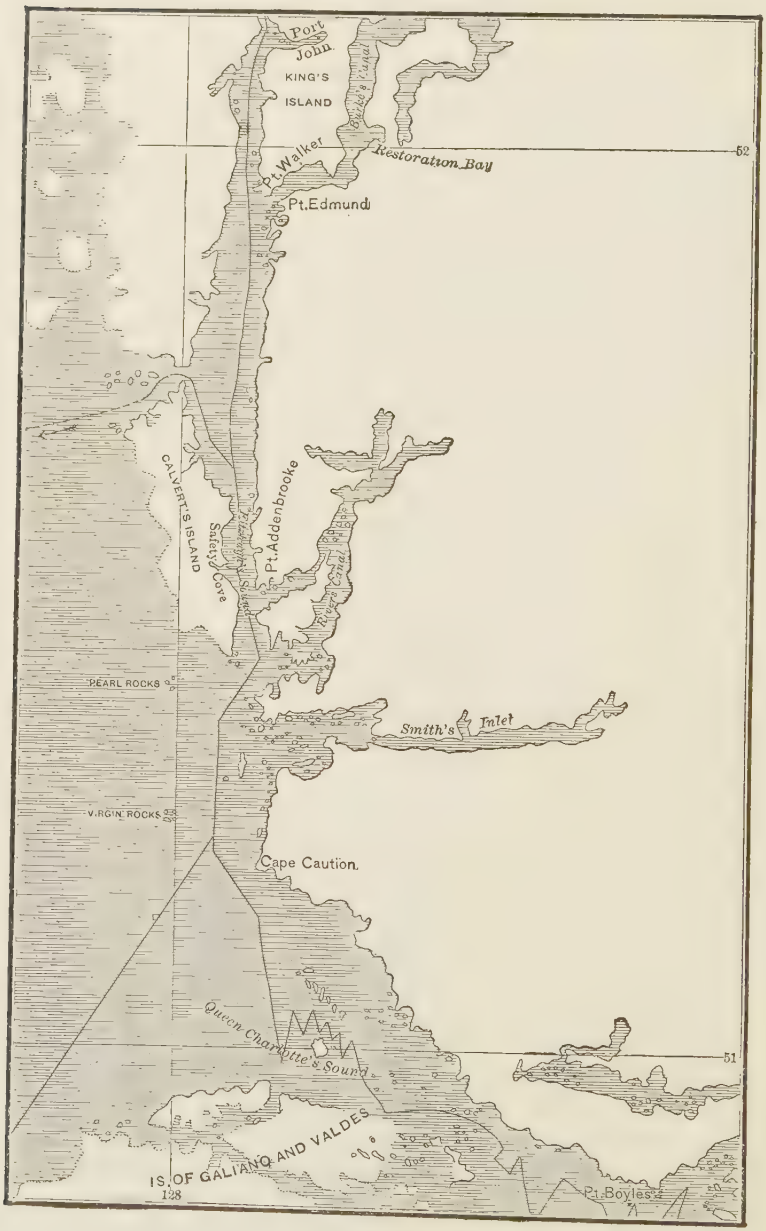
names may be compared with Galiano's chart of the same region.[80]

Leaving the Spaniards behind, Vancouver proceeded up the long channel, which he named Johnstone Strait; thence he sent letters to Nootka overland by Indians who knew Maquinna, and early in August emerged into the Pacific, not by the narrow channel followed a little later by Galiano, but by the wider passage named in earlier years Queen Charlotte Sound, where now the *Chatham* grounded and narrowly escaped wreck. From the 9th to the 19th of August the vessels followed the coast up to Fitzhugh Sound, and the boats were sent up to 52° 18′, with results shown on the accompanying section of the chart. Then, partly by reason of news received from Captain Shepherd of the *Venus* in this region, the commander turned his course southward, and on the 28th of August anchored at Nootka. Here he found the *Dædalus* store-ship of his expedition, which had arrived from England by way of the Sandwich Islands, where the commander Hergest and the astronomer Gooch had been killed by the natives; and also the brig *Three Brothers* of London, commanded by Lieutenant Alder of the navy. Galiano and Valdés came in the next day.

The stay of more than a month at Nootka was not marked by any occurrences requiring special notice, if we except certain diplomatic negotiations between Vancouver and Don Juan de la Bodega y Cuadra, which I shall notice in the next chapter. Socially, relations with Cuadra were in every way most friendly; and the broad territory just proved an island by the joint English and Spanish survey was named the Island of Cuadra and Vancouver. The *Aranzazu* soon arrived from her northern explorations, and her charts were placed at the Englishman's disposal.[81] Lieuten-

[80] The only name in Vancouver's text not on the map is that of *Alleviation Island.*

[81] It is noticeable that while Vancouver lays down the island coasts from Spanish charts he does not note the fact that Nootka is an island, so clearly shown on those charts.




VANCOUVER'S MAP, 1792.

ant Mudge was sent with despatches to England *via* China on a Portuguese trader; and on the 13th of October the *Discovery*, *Chatham*, and *Dædalus* sailed together for the south. On the way down the coast Vancouver made some observations at different points for the purpose of rectifying his charts; named Mount St Helens; and arrived at San Francisco on November 14th. Lieutenant Whidbey on the *Dædalus* made a survey of Gray Harbor,[82] and reached Monterey the 22d of November. Lieutenant Broughton in the *Chatham* entered the Columbia River, and in boats went up that stream about one hundred miles, to the region of the Cascades, taking possession of the country for his king. He had Gray's chart; but it did not appear that the American navigator "either saw, or was ever within five leagues of its entrance," a very fine distinction being drawn between the river and the estuary into which it flows.[83] Broughton arrived at San Francisco about the 23d of November. Of Vancouver's experience in California much has been said in another volume of this series.[84]

The narrative of Vancouver's expedition, including not only the voyage of 1722, but two subsequent ones of 1793–4, to be described in their place, was published, with an atlas of finely engraved maps, in 1798, and the work appeared in several later editions and translations. It was doubtless from this explorer's text, and particularly from his maps, including much material from Cook, the Spanish explorers, and the fur-traders, that the world derived most of its knowledge respecting the Northwest Coast and Alaska. The

[82] *Point Brown*, *Point Hanson*, and *Point New* were the names applied. A chart is given in connection with the general map.

[83] The survey lasted from the 21st of October to the 10th of November. The names given were as follows: Baker Bay, Chenoke Point, Spit Bank, Tongue Point, Point George, Young River, Gray Bay, Orchard River, Puget Island, Manby River, Swaine River, Baker Island, Point Sheriff, Walker Island, Mount Coffin, River Poole, Knight River, Urry Island, Oak Point, Point Warrior, Rushleigh River, Call River, Manning River, Belle Vue Point, Menzie Island, Baring Island, Johnstone Island, Point Vancouver (the eastern point of the survey), Goose Island, Friendly Reach, Parting Point, and Whidbey River. A chart is given of the mouth.

[84] See *Hist. Cal.*, i. chap. xxiv., this series.

work deserved much of its great reputation, for its maps were the best thus far published, and the narrative was accurate and comprehensive. The author had, however, some disagreeable weaknesses of character, already known to the reader from events connected with his visit to California. His statements on many topics were often marked by an unworthy spirit of unfairness and petty injustice toward Spanish and American navigators, a defect which was pointed out and exaggerated by Greenhow and others in the disputes of later years. It was Vancouver's good fortune that the geographical names applied by him were generally retained instead of those originally given by the discoverers.

A work published at the same time and in the same style, containing the Spanish explorations, would have been in few respects inferior to the work in question, and would have taken away much of Vancouver's exclusive fame. The logs of the American traders would also have made a difference in his lists of names and descriptions. Spain's policy, whatever its merits from a political point of view, was most damaging to the glory of her discoverers; and English enterprise made Vancouver a very fortunate, as he was a very meritorious, explorer.[85]

Besides the exploring craft *Aranzazu*, *Sutil*, and *Mexicana*, there were other Spanish vessels on the coast this year, whose movements it is well to record before proceeding to matters of diplomacy: The

[85] *A voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the world; in which the coast of north-west America has been carefully examined and accurately surveyed. Undertaken by His Majesty's command, principally with a view to ascertain the existence of any navigable communication between the North Pacific and North Atlantic oceans; and performed in the years 1790–1795, in the 'Discovery' sloop of war, and armed tender 'Chatham,' under the command of Captain George Vancouver*, London, 1798; 4to, 3 vols. and folio atlas; also, London, 1802, 8vo, 6 vols.; *Vancouver, Voyage de Découvertes*, etc., Paris, an viii; 4to, 3 vols. and atlas; also, Paris, 1802; 8vo, 6 vols. The text contains several engravings of views on the coast, and the atlas has many marine views in addition to maps. That part of the narrative relating to Vancouver's operations on the Northwest Coast during this first voyage is found in vol. i. 196–432; ii. 52–85.

*Santa Gertrudis*, commanded by Alonso de Torres, and having on board Don Juan de la Bodega, commander of San Blas and Spanish commissioner, sailed the 1st of March and arrived at Nootka at the end of April, where she was soon joined by the schooner *Activa*, Captain Salvador Menendez Valdés, which had been delayed until the middle of March at San Blas. Elisa in the *Concepcion* left Nootka in June, arriving at Monterey the 9th of July, while Cuadra seems to have acted as commander of the garrison during the absence of Caamaño in the *Aranzazu* on his northern trip of exploration until September. Meanwhile Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo left San Blas the 23d of March in the *Princesa*, and proceeded direct to the port of Nuñez Gaona, in the strait of Fuca, where he arrived early in May, founded a regular post, with the necessary buildings and fortifications,[86] and remained until September, when by order of Cuadra he abandoned the settlement and transferred all the material to Nootka, where he succeeded Caamaño as commander, and retained his vessel, with probably the newly purchased *Adventure*. The *Santa Gertrudis*, under Torres, had returned southward, touching at Monterey in August. Cuadra left Nootka in September, touched at Nuñez Gaona to leave orders for Fidalgo, and arrived at Monterey in the *Activa* on October 9th. The only other vessel of the year was the schooner *Horcasitas*, which had perhaps been in the north since the preceding year, returning to California either with Elisa or with Cuadra, and which now sailed again for Nootka in November, carrying despatches from Cuadra to Fidalgo, sent in consequence of orders from the viceroy which had been brought up to Monterey from San Blas by the *Saturnina*.[87]

[86] Evans, *Hist. Or.*, MS., 67, tells us that pieces of masonry are still found at Neah Bay.

[87] *Revilla Gigedo, Informe*, 136–9; *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 16, 29, 103, 113; *Hist. Cal.*, i., chap. xxiv., this series; *Haswell's Voy.*, MS., 86–7, 92; *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 408–10.

# CHAPTER IX.

## END OF CONTROVERSY AND EXPLORATION.

### 1792–1800.

THE POLICY OF SPAIN—DELAY FOR EXPLORATION—THE VICEROY'S IDEAS—INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONER—CUADRA'S INVESTIGATIONS—VANCOUVER'S MISSION—THE COMMISSIONERS AT NOOTKA—ENGLISH CLAIMS—SPANISH OFFERS—AGREEMENT TO DISAGREE—CONVENTION OF 1793—DAMAGES PAID—REVILLA-GIGEDO'S REPORT—VANCOUVER'S SECOND VOYAGE—THE GARRISON—SAAVEDRA SUCCEEDS FIDALGO—THE TRADING FLEET OF 1793—CUADRA SUCCEEDED BY ÁLAVA—TRIP OF THE 'ARANZAZU' TO CALIFORNIA—CAPTAIN JOHN KENDRICK—VANCOUVER'S THIRD VOYAGE—TRADERS OF 1794—TREATY OF 1794—THE CONTROVERSY ENDED—ALAVA AND PIERCE—FINAL ABANDONMENT OF NOOTKA IN MARCH 1795—THE TITLE—THE 'PHŒNIX' OF 1795—BROUGHTON'S VISIT—DORR, THE YANKEE TRADER OF 1796—ROWAN AND THE 'ELISA' OF 1798—CLEVELAND'S CRUISE—THE 'BETSY' OF 1800.

SPAIN had in a sense been forced by England to relinquish her exclusive claims to territory in the north-west, or at least she had not deemed herself in condition to fight for what appeared likely to prove a mere matter of pride; for as we have seen, Spain had no desire for northern possessions except as a means of protection for those in the south. If there was no interoceanic passage, then a broad frontier without good ports was all that was desirable; consequently an accurate knowledge of the coast was of the first importance, and we have seen with what unusual energy the exploration was pushed forward in 1790–2 by the successive expeditions of Fidalgo, Quimper, Elisa, Malaspina, Caamaño, and Galiano. Should the strait be found, then Spain had an equal chance with England to occupy the necessary points; and as for

exclusive control, there was yet room for diplomacy, and always for war as a last resort. Meanwhile delay was essential and by no means difficult. By the spirit of the Nootka convention the whole coast above San Francisco, or at least above Cape Mendocino, for there was an equitable right to a broad unoccupied frontier, was open for trade and settlement equally to Spain and England, each having also free access to the settlements of the other, though literally the limit fixed was neither San Francisco nor Mendocino, but the "parts of the coast already occupied by Spain," which might very plausibly be interpreted to mean Nootka; and so the Spanish government decided to interpret it, at least as a basis for future negotiations. It is not unlikely that many Spanish officials, and even the viceroy of Mexico, may have taken this view of the matter in good faith.

By royal orders of December 1790 the carrying-out of the Nootka convention, so far as the restoration of property and the fixing of boundaries were concerned, was committed as a matter of form to the viceroy, with a recommendation that Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra should be the Spanish commissioner, and that the boundary between the exclusive possessions of Spain in the south and the territory free to both powers in the north should be fixed at 48°, Nootka being divided between the two.[1] Cuadra was accordingly appointed and summoned to Mexico to receive instructions early in 1791. Quimper's late explorations had, however, furnished a more definite idea of the northern strait than the Spaniards had before possessed, and Revilla Gigedo took the liberty to introduce some changes in the royal recom-

[1] 'Que los ingleses ocupasen en Nootka los territorios situados al Norte, y nosotros los de la parte del Súr, fijándose en los 48 grados de latitud la linea divisoria de los establecimientos de nuestra legitima pertenencia, y de las comunes para la reciprocidad, uso y comercio de ambas naciones.' By Nootka is meant, I suppose, the region extending north and south from the sound. By this arrangement each nation would have an establishment on Nootka Sound free of access to vessels of the other, but the English could not trade or settle below 48°.

mendations; he believed it would be best to give up Nootka altogether, and to make the strait of Fuca the dividing line, transferring the Spanish establishment to a convenient site on that strait. Cuadra was instructed accordingly, and the purport of his instructions was made known to the home government.[2] The viceroy took a deep interest in the matter, and made the fullest possible investigation respecting the occurrences of 1789, closely examining all available witnesses on the points mentioned in Meares' memorial, and communicating the results of his investigation both to Cuadra and to the government. He was satisfied that, as the English had been dispossessed of no lands or buildings at Nootka, nothing was to be restored, according to the first article of the convention, and he flattered himself that the English would be therefore the more ready to obtain the port of Nootka by acceding to the terms proposed. Fully acquainted with the facts of the case and with the viceroy's views, Cuadra sailed for Nootka in March 1792, and at the same time Fidalgo was sent to found a settlement at Nuñez Gaona, within the strait.[3] At Nootka, while waiting for the English commissioner, Cuadra was able to make some further investigations about the controversy of 1789, and was so fortunate as to meet captains Gray, Ingraham, and Viana, who testified in writing that British subjects had not been dispossessed of any lands or houses whatever, thus fully confirming his own previous conclusions and those of his superior officer.[4]

In his instructions of the 8th of March 1791 Cap-

[2] In a report of the 27th of March 1791. A reply in a royal order of the 29th of June postponed a definite decision on the changes, but led the viceroy to infer that they would be approved. Revilla-Gigedo also favored a north and south line from some point on the strait up to 60°, to keep the English from penetrating the interior and reaching New Mexico, but it is not clear that Cuadra's instructions included this feature.

[3] A clear though brief account of these matters is given in *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe*, 133 et seq., with reference to much original correspondence that is not accessible.

[4] *Gray and Ingraham's Letter of August 3, 1792*, in *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 414–17. This letter and that of Viana are mentioned in *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 389 et seq.

tain Vancouver had been informed that he might in the course of his voyage be called upon to receive from Spanish officers the property at Nootka, which his Catholic majesty had agreed to restore; but he was to await further instructions on the subject. Such additional instructions were dated the 20th of August 1791, and were sent by the *Dædalus*, Lieutenant Richard Hergest, together with an order from Count Florida Blanca to the commander at Nootka. Hergest was authorized to receive the property himself if he did not find Vancouver at Nootka; but he was killed by savages at the Sandwich Islands. Thomas New succeeded to the command, and on reaching Nootka in July preferred to await the arrival there of his superior officer. Vancouver was meanwhile exploring in the strait, where he heard, both from Galiano of the *Sutil* and Shepherd of the *Venus*, that Cuadra was waiting to comply with the terms of the treaty; and he finally arrived at Nootka at the end of August.

Vancouver's instructions were to receive, and Cuadra's to deliver, "the buildings, and districts, or parcels of land...which were occupied by his majesty's subjects in the month of april, 1789, agreeable to the first article of the late convention." Cuadra had very properly tried to learn what lands and buildings were intended; Vancouver took it for granted without investigation that the port of Nootka, and probably Port Cox also, were simply to be transferred, with whatever structures might exist there, from Spanish to English possession. Such a surrender of the post of Nootka had never been hinted at, so far as is known, in the European negotiations; there was not a word in either treaty or instructions to support Vancouver's theory; but he would have nothing but an absolute surrender of the place. Cuadra at once presented his evidence, showing that as British subjects had been dispossessed of no lands or buildings whatever, there was nothing to be restored

under the treaty; but at the same time he submitted his proposition, offering to give up Nootka and retire to Fuca, making all south of the strait exclusively Spanish, and leaving all north of Nootka free for the entrance of both powers. Subsequently he offered to give up the small lot of land on which Meares had built his house, and even to leave at Vancouver's command, without prejudice to Spanish rights, all the structures of the port, retiring to Fuca to await the decision of the respective courts. But Vancouver would enter into no discussion, and did not even attempt to defend his own position or oppose that of Cuadra, so far as the events of 1789 were concerned; he must have Nootka or nothing. In this he was wrong, as he was probably well aware, though Mr Duffin, arriving from China, furnished stronger evidence on his side than had ever existed before. As to boundaries, he said he had no powers, that matter having been settled by the treaty; and in this he was right. Perhaps he acted wisely also in refusing to accept anything less than a full surrender of the port, if he had reason to think his government expected such a surrender. Of course Cuadra was not willing and had no authority to make the surrender; therefore the two commissioners, whose relations throughout were most friendly, agreed to submit the question anew to their respective governments, Nootka remaining in the mean time a Spanish port.[5]

[5] *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 384–409; *Revilla Gigedo, Informe*, 137–9, 161–3, with brief statements in *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 113–16, and *Haswell's Log*, MS., 90; also an account by Howell, supercargo of the *Margaret*, who acted as translator, quoted from *Ingraham's Journal* by Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 245. Vancouver complains of Cuadra's vacillation in the matter, perhaps with some reason, but probably because he chose to understand the Spaniard's polite phrases at verbal interviews as implying assent to his claims; he says that Cuadra agreed on the 12th of September to leave him in full possession, the Spanish flag being struck and the British raised in its place, while each should send his objections to his government, but next day in a letter changed his mind. Such an agreement on Cuadra's part seems improbable, though Revilla-Gigedo repeats Vancouver's complaint without disputing its accuracy in this respect. But it seems that the complaint as carried by Broughton to Mexico was also that Cuadra did not change his mind until Vancouver had worked for several days unloading his vessel; that the latter's expedition had been detained for a whole year; and that the viceroy's instructions had been ob-

Vancouver sent an officer with despatches to England *via* China on a Portuguese trader; and later from Monterey, where his most agreeable social relations with Cuadra were continued, Lieutenant Broughton was taken on the *Activa* to San Blas, from which point he went to England by way of Mexico to announce the result of his superior's mission, and ask for new instructions. Meanwhile a royal order was received in Mexico requiring that under no condition should Nootka be surrendered. The viceroy made haste to despatch the order to the north by the *Saturnina*, fearing it might be too late, but it found Cuadra in California, and was sent at once to Fidalgo at Nootka by the *Horcasitas*, which returned in time to accompany the *Activa* southward early the next year.

No details have ever been published of European negotiations on the Nootka question after the signing of the convention of 1790, but something is known of final results. Don Manuel de las Héras and Mr Rudolph Woodford were the commissioners appointed to determine the amount to be paid British subjects as a compensation for their losses caused by the seizure of their vessels in 1789. The commissioners agreed upon the sum of two hundred and ten thousand dollars in coin in full payment of all claims, and a convention to that effect was signed at Whitehall on February 12, 1793; it was ratified the same day by the British monarch, and presumably the money was paid without delay, greatly to the satisfaction of Meares and his associates, who if they got half the amount named, though their original claim had been six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, had every reason to be content.[6]

scure, causing needless delays and great losses. In his desire to prevent a rupture, Cuadra may have gone beyond his plain instructions and duty; but if so, the fault was a slight one and was repaired immediately. Fairness to opponents was not one of Vancouver's characteristics. Bustamante, *Suplemento*, 164, tells us that D. Mariano Moziño, who accompanied the Spanish expedition as botanist, wrote an 'historia de ella de una manera digna de leerse,' not published.

[6] The Spanish text of the convention of February 12, 1793, is given in *Calvo, Recueil de Traités*, iii. 364–5.

It was on April 12, 1793, that Viceroy Revilla Gigedo dated the report which I have so often cited. It is by far the best summary extant of all the transactions pertaining to the Spanish occupation of the Northwest Coast. The author presents at the end his conclusions respecting the policy that Spain should follow in the future. The late explorations were, in his opinion, very nearly conclusive as to the non-existence of any interoceanic strait; yet the coast from Fuca south to San Francisco, and especially the Entrada de Heceta, or Columbia River, required a closer examination than had yet been made, and he had already taken steps to organize an expedition for that purpose. It was evident that British subjects desired to form establishments on the northern coasts, ostensibly for the profits of the fur-trade, but really, as he believed, with a view to interference with the Spanish control of the Pacific and to the profits of illicit trade with Spanish settlements. He did not think the fur-trade would long continue to yield extraordinary profits; and while it might be well to encourage Spanish traders to enter the field as rivals of the English, Americans, and Portuguese, he did not favor the formation of any such great company enjoying government support and exclusive privileges as had been recommended by Martinez and others. Neither did he deem it desirable or possible, by reason of the immense expense involved, to take and keep actual possession of the northern coasts merely to prevent such occupation by foreigners. What should be done in that direction was to strengthen the Californian presidios, and to occupy the port of Bodega, for which orders had already been issued.[7] If another port should be found above Bodega it might be necessary to occupy that also; moreover, if the Columbia River should be found to afford either the long sought passage to the Atlantic, or even access to the province

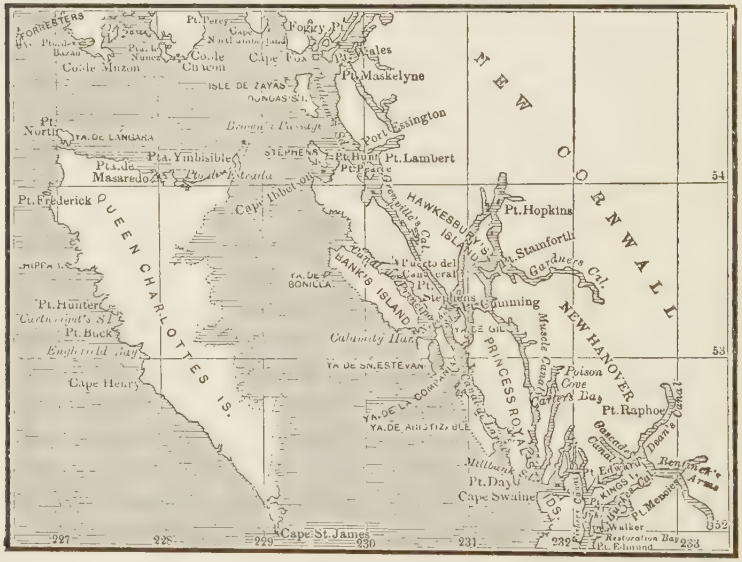
[7] For what was done in this direction, see *Hist. Cal.*, i., chap. xxiv., this series.

of New Mexico, that stream would of course have to be fortified by Spain, which could be most advantageously effected probably by a land force from New Mexico, acting in concert with a maritime expedition. If, as was most likely, there was a long harborless coast above Bodega, the Californian posts alone would call for attention, and would furnish the best and only available safeguard against English or Russian encroachments. As to Nootka, the viceroy says: "I am, then, of opinion that we should cede to the English wholly and generously our establishment of Nootka, since, so far as the way of thinking of the English commander Vancouver and his emissary Broughton could be ascertained, it seems that they desire and aspire to wave the British flag over that port without recognizing that of Spain, moved rather by the idea or vainglory of sustaining what by reason of opposition they have made a point of honor than by motives of interest or advantages which are truly problematic in connection with the fur-trade."[8]

Vancouver's vessels came back from the Hawaiian Islands in the spring of 1793; the *Chatham*, now commanded by Puget, after having spent a week in Port Buena Esperanza, anchored at Nootka on the 15th of April, remaining there a month for repairs, and then departing for a cruise of exploration on the northern coast. Vancouver in the *Discovery* sighted Cape Mendocino on April 26th, anchored at Trinidad from May 2d to the 5th, and then proceeded up the coast. He arrived at Nootka on the 20th of May, being received, as Puget had been before him, with every courtesy by Commander Fidalgo. The *San Cárlos* was at anchor there, and had brought letters from Cuadra and the viceroy; but there were as yet no despatches from Europe, and Vancouver started for the north after a stay of only three days, joining

[8] *Revilla Gigedo, Informe 12 de Abril, 1793*, in *Bustamante, Suplemento á los Tres Siglos de Cavo*, iii. 112–64. Among the measures recommended by the viceroy were also a reorganization of the Pious Fund and a transfer of the San Blas department to Acapulco.

Puget on the 26th. The highest latitude reached was about 56° 30′; the only noticeable adventures were the poisoning of some of the men, one fatally, by eating mussels, and the wounding of two men in an attack by hostile Indians; and the geographical results of the expedition, as far as my territory is concerned, are shown on the accompanying copy of the chart. A few names were retained as applied by earlier navigators, and the unshaded portion was




VANCOUVER'S MAP, 1793.

laid down from Caamaño's chart. The country from Gardner Canal, in 53° 30′, up to 57° was named New Cornwall, while that extending southward to New Georgia, at about 50° 30′, was called New Hanover, formal possession being taken of course in the name of the British king. On the 20th of September he turned southward, passing along the outer side of Queen Charlotte Island, and anchoring at Nootka on the 5th of October. No despatches from Mexico or Europe had arrived since his departure, and after a stay of three days he again put to sea for California,

his fancied wrongs in which country have been described in another volume.[9]

No other narrative or log of a voyage on the northern coast in 1793 is known to be extant; and therefore all that is known, which is very little, about the movements of other vessels, and Nootka events generally, comes from Vancouver's journal. Fidalgo and his men of the garrison had passed a most dreary winter, confined within doors by almost incessant rains, and shaken by a violent earthquake on the 17th of February; yet "notwithstanding the badness of the season, he had found means to erect a small fort on Hog Island that mounted eleven nine pounders, and added greatly to the respectability of the establishment." In May the *San Cárlos* arrived from San Blas under Alférez Ramon Saavedra, the vessel to replace the *Princesa* at the Nootka station, and Saavedra to succeed Fidalgo in the command. The latter sailed soon for the south, and touched at San Francisco on his way to San Blas the 21st of June.[10]

Exceedingly meagre is our information respecting the trading fleet of this and the following years. The era of exploration and diplomacy on the Northwest Coast had, in a sense, passed away; there were no longer international disputes giving importance to items of testimony, and thus revealing the names of visitors; there were no more exploring expeditions to meet the trading craft in out-of-the-way places, and to seek information of the masters about their voyages and discoveries. The fur-traders had the field to themselves, and for the most part they have left no record. The *Butterworth*, *Prince Le Boo*, and *Jackal*—two of which vessels had been on the coast the year before, all belonging to the same English house, and all under the general command of Captain Brown—were met by Vancouver in Chatham Sound in June; and Brown's name was given to the passage leading into

[9] *Vancouver's Voy.*, ii. 238–433.
[10] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xxi. 101; *Vancouver's Voy.*, ii. 252–4.

that sound.[11] On his return to Nootka, Vancouver was informed by Saavedra that during his absence the port had been visited by the French ship *Flavia*, perhaps still searching for La Pérouse, "having on board a very valuable cargo of European commodities, which was carried to Kampschatka, there to be disposed of to the Russians for furs, with which a cargo of tea was to have been purchased in China; but their expedition had not hitherto answered their expectations;" and, moreover, the crew were disposed to be mutinous. "Some few Americans had also arrived in our absence, but in a most deplorable condition, totally in a want of provisions, naval stores, and even such articles of merchandize as were necessary for trading with the natives." Their names are not given, and the writer is almost sure to have exaggerated their destitution.[12]

The viceroy had intended to despatch the *Activa* and *Mexicana* in April 1794 to carry out his projected exploration of the coast south of Fuca;[13] but though there was nothing in the diplomatic developments, to

[11] Two English vessels were reported to be at Bodega in January, and in March two English vessels caused much uneasiness to the Spaniards by their suspicious movements on the coast of California; one of them, which touched at Monterey for wood and water, was commanded by Captain Brown, who said he was bound for Nootka, and the other was understood to be the *Princess*. Probably the vessels were those of the trading fleet met by Vancouver. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xxi. 94; *Prov. Rec.*, ii. 162; *St. Pap. Sac.*, ii. 131–2.

[12] *Vancouver's Voy.*, ii. 429, 324. In *Tufts' List* the sloop *Union*, Boyd master, from Boston, is mentioned as having been on the coast in 1793, besides the ship *Jefferson*, Roberts, and brig *Hancock*, Crowell, which left Boston in 1792. The full title of this authority is as follows: *List of American Vessels engaged in the Trade of the Northwest Coast of America for Sea-otter Skins from 1787 to 1809, compiled by William Tufts, Esq., from his own Memoranda, and from the very valuable Notes kindly furnished by Captain William Sturgis, of Boston.* Published in *Swan's N. W. Coast*, app., 423–4. It was prepared in 1857, when the author writes: 'The foregoing list is nearly correct as it regards the vessels engaged in the early trade in *sea-otter skins* by American enterprise. The owners in all cases are not known. There may have been other vessels on the Coast during the time who were engaged in collecting the smaller skins and less valuable furs, but the above are the regular Northwest traders for sea-otter skins.' There are 64 voyages mentioned; but some well known Boston ships are strangely omitted, possibly because their owners were rivals of Sturgis and his partners.

[13] *Revilla Gigedo, Informe*, 145–6, including 'Instrucciones para el prolijo reconocimiento de la entrada de Ezeta y rio de la Columbia.'

be noticed presently, which in any sense removed the necessity of such an exploration, it was abandoned for some unexplained reason, perhaps arising from the war-like aspect of affairs in Europe.[14] Early in the spring, however, the *Aranzazu* was despatched under José Tobar for Nootka with the year's supplies. Orders from Spain required Revilla Gigedo to send the commissioner back to Nootka for the completion of the suspended business with Vancouver, an agreement having been reached by the two courts respecting the points in dispute; but Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra died in March, and the viceroy appointed General José Manuel de Alava to succeed him, both as commander of the San Blas establishment and as Nootka commissioner. The nature of the new agreement was not yet known to the viceroy, or at least the commissioner's instructions had not arrived; but Alava sailed in May on the *Princesa,* Fidalgo in command. His instructions were to be forwarded as soon as they should arrive.[15]

The *Aranzazu* being at Nootka in the middle of June, Saavedra, the commander of the garrison, resolved to send her to California for needed supplies, particularly medicines. He also wished to secure for his garrison the men that Matute had left in California the year before; and he sent a warning, brought by a trader from China, that a British ship of forty guns was coming in October.[16] For some unexplained cause, instead of Tobar our old American friend Cap-

[14] It is possible that one of the three Spanish vessels of the year made a survey of the Columbia and closely examined the coast below, but there is no record of such a fact.

[15] May 10th, viceroy to governor of California, announcing Alava's mission, and bespeaking attentions in California; the 20th of August this order communicated by the governor to presidio commanders; and replies of the latter at various dates. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xi. 171; xii. 101–2, 149; *Prov. Rec.*, iv. 117; *Vancouver's Voy.*, iii. 301–2. The *Princesa* did not touch in California on her upward trip.

[16] *Saavedra, Cartas al gobernador de California sobre Cosas de Nootka, 1794*, MS., including also the governor's replies. Among the supplies demanded were 'Gacetas para divertirnos en la invernada.' The governor assured Saavedra that there was nothing to be feared from British vessels, as a treaty of friendship had been concluded.

tain John Kendrick—or possibly his son John—was sent in command of the transport, which sailed about June 15th and anchored at Monterey on July 2d.[17] Kendrick at once made known his wants, which were supplied as far as possible, though the men desired had already been embarked for San Blas, and there was a great scarcity of some of the articles asked for. Padre Magin Catalá, the missionary, came to California by this trip of the *Aranzazu*, serving as chaplain, and was not willing to repeat the northern trip. As the president had no authority to send another father unless as a volunteer, and as the Yankee captain was horrified at the prospect of his crew being deprived of their *pasto espiritual*, the situation was embarrassing; but finally a retiring friar consented to serve as chaplain on the *Concepcion*, and Gomez of the latter sailed with Kendrick.[18]

Captain Vancouver came back to the American coast this year, for the last time, to complete his survey of Alaska up to the head of Cook Inlet, in about 61° 15′; after this was accomplished he turned southward, and on the 2d of September the *Discovery* and *Chatham* anchored at Nootka. Álava had arrived the day before on the *Princesa*. Neither commissioner had any idea of his official duties; and there was nothing to do in that direction but await the instructions that were to be sent to the Spaniard before the 15th of October. Vancouver was deeply grieved to learn that his old friend Cuadra was dead; but Álava rivalled his predecessor in courtesy, and together with Fidalgo, Saavedra, and other Spanish officers, did all in his power to make the stay of the Englishmen agreeable; though, because Vancouver's store of powder was nearly exhausted, it was agreed to dispense

[17] June 15th is the date of Saavedra's letters, and the arrival at Monterey is recorded in *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xii. 211.

[18] *Kendrick, Correspondencia sobre Cosas de Nootka, 1794*, MS.; *Catalá, Carta sobre Nootka, 1794*, MS. The *Aranzazu*, under Tobar, left Nootka on the 11th of September, and again touched at Monterey September 22d to 28th on her way to San Blas. *Vancouver's Voy.*, iii. 305; *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xii. 150.

with the customary salutes. The observatory was set up on shore; there was plenty of work to be done in refitting the vessels; and a visit was made to the village of Maquinna, up the sound.[19]

At Nootka Vancouver found the following trading craft: the *Phœnix,* Captain Hugh Moor, from Bengal; the *Prince Le Boo,* Captain Gordon, from China; the *Jenny,* Captain John Adamson, from Bristol; the *Lady Washington,* Captain John Kendrick, from Boston; and heard of the *Jackal,* Captain Brown, from China, on the northern coast. The English vessels had been very successful in their trade; and the American brig was laid up for repairs. Respecting the trading fleet of 1794 nothing more is known.[20] Mr Greenhow tells us that "neither Kendrick nor his vessel ever returned to America [after 1791, as is implied]: he was killed, in 1793, at Karakakooa Bay, in Owyhee, by a ball accidentally fired from a British vessel, while saluting him."[21] But the correspondence with the governor of California in 1794 proves this to be all wrong, so far as the date is concerned; and still less accurate in this respect is the statement of Mr Sturgis that the accident occurred on Kendrick's birthday, in 1792.[22] The fatal shot was fired perhaps early in 1795, though the *Lady Washington* was at Nootka in 1796, perhaps under her old master; and certainly before 1801, when Delano at the Sandwich Islands heard of the disaster, naming no date. The adventurous mariner, if we may credit his associates, was always so wrapped in grand schemes as to be behindhand in the ordinary affairs of life. It seems he could not even die 'on time.'[23] I have already noted the possi-

[19] *Vancouver's Voyage,* iii. 299–316.

[20] Messrs Tufts and Sturgis give no names between 1793 and 1796.

[21] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 229. He also says, p. 223, that Captain Brown was killed by the natives of the Sandwich Islands in January 1795.

[22] *Sturgis' Lecture on the North-west Fur-trade, 1846,* in *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, xiv. 535.

[23] According to the *North Amer. Review,* xvi. 385, a son of Kendrick was with his father and remained some time at Nootka in the Spanish service. In the California archives a John Kendrick is named as supercargo of the *Elisa,* Rowan, but this is very likely an error, or at least another man is

bility that the Kendrick who visited California may have been a son of the original.

meant. According to a report in *U. S. Gov. Doc., 19th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Rept. No. 213*, p. 14, the title-deeds to the land purchased by Kendrick from the Indians were deposited in the office of the United States consul in Canton. In 1796 the lands were offered for sale in London by Mr Barrel, agent for the owners of the *Columbia*. The author of *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 2–5, says: 'Captain Kendrick wrote to his wife of this purchase, also of depositing the original title in Canton, and transmitting the duplicate to Washington. It was never seen by the family, and the letter in relation to it was lost...by fire.' The representatives of the owners of the vessels applied to the U. S. government for a confirmation of the title, but a committee of congress reported that though the claim was a just one the rightful heirs had not appeared. Kendrick bought the *Washington* before altering her into a brig. 'When dying he called his mate into the cabin and put him in charge of the vessel, with instructions to proceed direct to the United States. The vessel left the islands, but was never heard from afterward [therefore this must have been after 1796].' And thus were lost all his effects, including journals and records. 'There are proofs in the family that Captain Kendrick was one of the famous Boston Tea Party in 1773, and that he was with Captain Cook in his last voyage of 1776.' Captain Amasa Delano, *Narrative of Voyages*, Boston, 1817, pp. 399–400, who met Kendrick at Canton in 1791, and who in 1801 at the Sandwich Islands heard of his death, eulogizes him as a navigator with but few equals, noted for his enterprising spirit, good judgment, and courage. A man of rare merits, his faults being but few compared with his amiable qualities. In about 1839–40 Hall J. Kelley became interested in the Kendrick title, and was instrumental in bringing it before congress. From a pamphlet on the subject, *Kelley's Discov. N. W. Coast*, I have already cited in the preceding chapter, note 33, the title-deeds and some correspondence. This writer speaks of the attempt to sell the lands in London in 1796, when advertisements in four languages were circulated, bearing impression of the Columbia medals. Mr Wardstrom, in a work on *True Colonization*, is said to have expressed confidence in the title, giving also the pictured medals. Kelley, *Letter* of January 1, 1870, states that Kendrick's death was on the 4th of July 1793; but the correspondence above cited—if Mr Howell, as represented, sailed for China with the papers after the captain's death—seems to show that it must have been early in 1795; while if it were not for the date of Howell's letters I should place it after 1796. The following, in which the reader will note a few errors, is from the New York *Tribune*, November 25, 1871: 'The name of Captain John Kendrick, the first American explorer to the north-west Pacific, is one which our history can hardly afford to lose. The young and daring men who are attached to the scientific expedition in that quarter to-day, could not ask a worthier figure to head their annals than this upright and fearless captain whom tradition says absolutely knew not the fear of savage or storm, whom no disaster could daunt or suffering subdue. He commanded the expedition sent out by a company of Boston merchants to the Pacific, which was actually the first time that an American ship sailed round the globe. He met with incredible hardships on different voyages; two sons were killed by Indians before his eyes; yet he returned again and again to the Pacific, doing great service in exploring the islands and the coast about Vancouver's, to the northward. For this he received finally the patent of a large tract of land equal in extent to nearly the whole state of Oregon; but the papers were lost with him on his last voyage, and his family, after a few efforts, gave up their claim. He brought home maps of the coast and pictures of savage costume, as well as the scenery, painted with no small skill by the ship's painter, a man who had talent beyond his trade. Yet there is scarcely a trace left of this gallant navigator, and his name is barely mentioned in any record of north-western explorations. His services were so

On the 16th of October, no despatches having arrived, the English vessels sailed for Monterey, where they arrived on the 2d and 6th of November, and were joined by the *Princesa* on the 7th. Four days later Álava's instructions came from Mexico; and that officer, says Vancouver, who had received no despatches, "very obligingly confiding to me, that part of his instructions which stated, that no further altercation would take place with respect to the precise meaning of the first article of the convention of... 1790, as the documents transmitted by the late Señor Quadra and myself, had enabled our respective courts to adjust that matter in an amicable way, and nearly on the terms which I had so repeatedly offered to Señor Quadra in September 1792. In addition to which the Spanish ministers set forth, that this business was not to be carried into execution by me, as a fresh commission had been issued for this purpose by the court of London.[24] The same was announced to Governor Borica by the new viceroy of Mexico, with instructions to receive the person acting under this commission into their presidios."[25] Accordingly Vancouver sailed for home by way of Cape Horn on the 2d of December, reaching his destination in October 1795. This famous explorer died before his work appeared in print, but not before he had convinced himself by conversations with Captain Colnett that

valued that the city of Boston gave him a public reception on his return from the first voyage, and a medal was struck in honor of the event. A few of these medals are still preserved, and papers relating to the voyage and explorations are in the state department, but all efforts of historians and others to get sight of them have yet proved useless. The work of setting the dauntless Kendrick before the country which owes him so much has been undertaken by loyal and loving hands, but is sadly hampered for want of authentic documents.'

[24] In a note, p. 332, Vancouver says this was not the fact, as the fresh instructions were at first addressed to him.

[25] *Revilla Gigedo, Instruccion reservada á su Sucesor Branciforte, 1794*, a MS. in the library of congress cited by Greenhow, states 'that orders had been sent to the commandant [at Nootka] to abandon the place, agreeably to a royal *dictamen;*' and also contains advice not to extend the Spanish establishments beyond Nootka. The viceroy's announcement that a new commission has been issued is dated the 16th of May 1794, and the governor's receipt the 12th of November. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xi. 172; *Prov. Rec.*, vi. 29.

the latter "had been extremely ill used, and that no dependence is to be placed on the accounts given to Señor Quadra, or myself, by the American commanders, who are stated to have been eye-witnesses of most of the transactions. The documents and papers which Captain Colnett has since produced to me, fully prove that the Americans wilfully misrepresented the whole affair, to the prejudice of his character, and the interest of his British majesty's subjects."[26] Vancouver was very willing to be convinced of American perfidy, and the reader already knows what weight is to be attached to Colnett's testimony.

Meanwhile the Nootka controversy had been definitely settled by a convention signed at Madrid on the 11th of January 1794, by the British and Spanish ministers St Helens and the Duke of Alcudia. By the terms of this agreement the respective commissioners were to meet as soon as possible on or near the spot where stood the buildings formerly occupied by British subjects, and there to exchange declaration and counter-declaration as literally prescribed in the document. The former was a final restoration of the buildings and lands of which British subjects had been dispossessed about April 1789, and the latter a formal declaration that the restoration was complete and satisfactory. "Then the British officer shall unfurl the British flag over the land thus restored as a sign of possession, and after these formalities the officers of the two crowns shall retire respectively their people from the said port of Nootka. And their said majesties have furthermore agreed that the subjects of both nations shall be free to frequent the said port as may be convenient, and to erect there temporary buildings for their accommodation during their residence on such occasions. But neither of the two parties shall make in said port any permanent establishment, or claim there any right of sovereignty or

[26] *Vancouver's Voy.*, iii. 316 et seq., 491 et seq.

territorial dominion to the exclusion of the other. And their said majesties will aid each other to maintain their subjects in free access to the said port of Nootka against whatever other nation may attempt to establish there any sovereignty or dominion."[27]

General Álava seems to have passed the winter in California. On the 13th of January 1795 the *Activa* sailed from San Blas, commanded by Lieutenant Cosme Bertodano, and having on board Lieutenant Thomas Pierce of the marines, the newly appointed British commissioner. One month later the brig touched at Monterey, and having taken Álava on board sailed on March 1st for the north. We have few details of the acts of restitution on the 23d of March, change of flags, and final abandonment of Nootka; but the formalities were clearly prescribed in the treaty, and were doubtless closely followed. Letters were left with the Indians for subsequent English or Spanish visitors, explaining what had been done; then the establishment was broken up, and all movable property transferred to the ships.

Of the *Activa's* return I have no record, as she did not probably touch at any California port; but the *San Cárlos,* bringing Comandante Saavedra and his men, arrived at Monterey on the 12th of May. Some of the garrison remained to strengthen the presidial forces, and some twenty northern Indians were brought down to be baptized and to settle in California, as others of their race had been in the preceding years. The next year Maquinna's subjects had transferred their village to the site of the abandoned Spanish post; and from 1795 to 1883, so far as I know, there has been no settlement of white men at Nootka. The glory of the place had departed,

[27] *Nootka, Acuerdo ó convenio entre España é Inglaterra para la ejecucion del artículo 1º de la convencion de 28 de octubre de 1790: firmado en Madrid el 11 de Enero de 1794,* in *Calvo, Recueil complet des Traités,* iii. 366–8.

but its name was often on the lips of learned partisans in later discussions.[28]

The nature of this final settlement of 1794–5 has remained, so far as I am aware, for the most part unknown to writers on the Northwest Coast. Lieutenant Broughton, who was informed the next year by letters from the commissioners of what had been done, chose to reveal in his narrative only the restitution of the port to the British; and most English writers have since stated or implied uniformly that Spain was obliged to give up Nootka in accordance with the treaty; only this, and nothing more. If any of them knew of the treaty and the enforced abandonment by England as well as Spain, they maintained a discreet silence. Mr Greenhow, the leading American writer on the subject, quotes an English historian: "It is nevertheless certain, from the most authentic subsequent information, that the Spanish flag flying at Nootka was never struck, and that the territory has been virtually relinquished by Great Britain;" and he deems it unlikely that under the circumstances England should have required, or Spain assented to, the surrender; but "more reasonable to suppose that the Spaniards merely abandoned the place, the occupation of which was useless and very expensive."[29] Doctor

[28] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xiii. 80, 89; *Prov. Rec.*, vi. 37–46; *Gaceta de Mexico*, vii. 266; *Broughton's Voy.*, 50. The last named writer simply learned from a letter received at Nootka in 1796 'that the Spaniards had delivered up the port of Nootka, etc., to Lieutenant Pierce of the marines, agreeably to the mode of restitution settled between the two courts.'

[29] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 257–8, citing *Belsham's Hist. Great Britain*, viii. 337. The second clause was quoted by me from the edition of 1845; but in the later edition of 1847 it reads as follows: 'It is more reasonable to suppose the agreement to have been, that the lands at Nootka should be delivered up in form, to save the credit of the British ministry, and that both parties should abandon the north-west coast of America, than that either should have persisted in its original demand at a moment when their cordial union and coöperation was so desirable for both.' He also quotes the following letter from Lieutenant Pierce from Tepic, in 1795, which still, as will be noticed, gives a wrong impression about the final settlement: 'I have the honor of acquainting your grace, that, in obedience to your instructions, I proceeded from Monterey to Nootka, in company with Brigadier-general Alava, the officer appointed on the part of the court of Spain, for finally terminating the negotiations relative to that port; where, having satisfied myself respecting the state of the country at the time of the arrival of the

Twiss, on the other hand, deems the statements of Broughton, Koch, and Mofras as conclusive against that of Belsham, and believes there can be no doubt that the place was restored to England.[30] But neither champion had the least suspicion of the formal abandonment by England, or of the mutual agreements made respecting the future.

As to their respective rights on the Northwest Coast, no controversy ever arose between England and Spain after the abandonment in 1795. Neither party ever attempted to found a settlement or to exercise any rights in this region under the treaties of 1790 and 1794. Neither power contemplated the forming of any permanent establishment on the coast. Nor did they have an opportunity to show their policy respecting settlements founded by other nations. For years the country was practically forgotten by all but the fur-traders. It is possible that there was an understanding in 1794 that the stipulations respecting Nootka should apply to the whole coast; that is, that no permanent establishments should be founded anywhere. It is almost certain, at any rate, that such would have been the position plausibly assumed if either power had subsequently attempted to occupy any part of the territory against the wishes of the other. By the letter of the treaties, however, both England and Spain had a right to trade and settle

Spaniards, preparations were immediately made for dismantling the fort which the Spaniards had erected on an island that guarded the mouth of the harbor, and embarking the ordnance. By the morning of the 28th, all the artillery were embarked, part on board of his Catholic majesty's sloop of war *Active*, and part on board of the *San Cárlos* guardship. Brigadier-general Alava and myself then met, agreeably to our respective instructions, on the place where formerly the British buildings stood, where we signed and exchanged the declaration and counter-declaration for restoring those lands to his majesty, as agreed upon between the two courts. After which ceremony, I ordered the British flag to be hoisted in token of possession, and the general gave directions for the troops to embark.'

[30] *Twiss' Or. Quest.*, 121–3, citing *Mofras, Explor.*, ii. 145, and *Koch, Histoire Abrégée des Traités*, i., chap. xxiv. The latter says of the explorations of restoration: 'Elles furent terminées le 23 Mars de cette année, sur les lieux mêmes, par le brigadier espagnol Alava, et le lieutenant anglais Poara [Pierce], qui échangèrent des déclarations dans le golfe de Nootka même. Après que le fort espagnol fut rasé, les espagnols s'embarquèrent, et le pavillon anglais y fut planté en signe de possession.'

anywhere above Bodega, subject to the condition that all settlements were to be free of access to subjects of either power, and that at Nootka there should be no permanent settlement. Neither nation had the slightest claim to exclusive possession or to sovereignty; either might acquire such a claim, but only by actual occupation in the future. The old formalities of taking possession were now null and void; the Northwest Coast, though so fully explored, was open for settlement to the whole world; exclusive titles were matters for future creation. For some years no nation took steps to acquire such a title; Spain never took such steps. The theory that the Nootka convention—especially as supplemented by the agreement of 1794 and resulting in official acts—was nothing but a series of temporary concessions by which during the continuance of peace Spain merely encumbered her exclusive title, seems to me, with due respect to the able men who have sustained it, an absurdity. Spain retained no title which she could transfer to another nation; and this is equally true whether or not the treaties of 1790 and 1794 be deemed to have been ended by a subsequent war with England.

The only trading-vessel of the year of which anything is known is the *Phœnix*, Captain Moor, from Bengal, which has been noticed as one of the fleet of earlier years; and all that we know about her trip is that she touched on the California coast in August, leaving a 'Boston boy' in that country, and creating quite a ripple of excitement among the people on guard against an attack by Great Britain.[31]

Captain Broughton's visit to the coast in 1796 has already been mentioned. He came from the Sandwich Islands on the sloop *Discovery*, after a survey of the northern Asiatic coast, arriving at Nootka Sound on the 15th of March, remaining two months for repairs, visiting Neah Bay, and thence proceeding

[31] *Hist. Cal.*, i., chap. xxv., this series.

to California. There is nothing further to be said of his visit, except that he found the *Lady Washington* at Nootka.[32] The only other traders of the year of which we have any definite record were the snow *Sea Otter*, Hill master, and a vessel, perhaps the *Dispatch*, under Captain Newbury, both of which are named by Mr Tufts as having left Boston the year before, though there is no reason to suppose the trading fleet of this year was smaller than that of the preceding.[33] There are, however, a few vague references to the northern traders in the California archives, revealing also apparently that a Spanish ship was sent to northern waters this year, either to obtain some remnants of property at Nootka or possibly to make a secret examination of the Columbia, nothing but one indirect reference being extant respecting the voyage. On the 15th of July Governor Borica writes to his comandantes: "The American captain Dorr, who recently met Don José Tobar, commander of the *Sutil*, at Nootka, reported to him that he had been told at Botany Bay by the English captain Barba that he had orders to attack the [Spanish] expeditions, and that he had similar orders for Broughton, of the *Providence*."[34]

There is nothing more about the *Sutil*, but Captain Ebenezer Dorr, commanding the *Otter* of Boston, the first American vessel that ever anchored in Californian waters, made his appearance at Monterey in October, doubtless coming from a fur-seeking cruise in the north. She was possibly identical with the *Sea Otter* already mentioned, though probably not. Captain Dorr created some excitement by leaving in California, against the will of the officials, a number

[32] *Broughton (William Robert), A voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*, London, 1804, 4to. The matter relating to our territory is on pp. 48–58. The commander of the *Lady Washington* is not named.

[33] *Tufts' List.* Newbury's vessel is called a schooner and not named; but in *Niles' Register*, xviii. 417, it is said that the *Dispatch*, Newbury, with William Smith on board, sailed from Boston on the 28th of October 1794, returning in June 1796.

[34] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. Rec.*, iv. 148–9.

of convict stowaways from Botany Bay, as related in another volume of this series.[35]

From 1797 we have but a meagre record of trading vessels that visited the Northwest Coast. It is not probable that the names even of half the number are known. It is fortunate, from an historical point of view, that it is the latest rather than the earliest period of the fur-trade whose annals are so incomplete. In 1797 the *Sea Otter* remained on the coast, entered the Columbia, and it is said that Captain Hill was killed. The ships *Dispatch* and *Indian Packet*, commanded by Jonathan Bowers and by Rogers—Dorr and Sons owners—and the ship *Hazard*, Swift master, owned by Perkins, Lamb, and Company, are named as the Boston ships of the year.[36]

The fleet of 1798 included five vessels which cleared from Boston the year before with trade cargoes invoiced at from seven thousand to seventeen thousand dollars, as shown by the custom-house records. The *Alexander*, under Captain Asa Dodge, with Charles Winship as supercargo and part owner, was the only one of the number whose invoice was less than thirteen thousand dollars. The *Hazard*, Swift master, which had wintered in the Pacific, according to Gray entered the Columbia. The others were the *Jenny*, Bowers master; the *Alert*, Bowles master; and the *Elisa*, commanded by James Rowan. Of the adventures and achievements of the fleet we know nothing.[37] The cutter *Dragon*, Lay master, from China, was also on the coast this year or the year before.[38]

In 1799 there was one voyage recorded in a printed

[35] See *Hist. Cal.*, i., chap. xxv., of this series, which and the following chapters contain also information about the war between Spain and England as waged, on paper, in California.

[36] *Tufts' List; Gray's Hist. Or.*, 14; *Niles' Register*, xviii. 417.

[37] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 71; Custom-house record, in *Id.*, 76–7. In *Tufts' List* no vessels are named for 1798, but the *Elisa* is accredited to the next year, perhaps correctly; she was owned by Perkins, Lamb, and Company.

[38] *Cleveland's Nar.*, 46, 94.

narrative, that of Richard J. Cleveland, a young commercial adventurer from Salem, Massachusetts. He bought the *Dragon* at Canton, changed her name to the *Caroline*, and fitted her out for a fur-trading cruise. He sighted land on March 30th at Norfolk Sound, and most of his operations were on the Alaskan coast; but he finally came down to Queen Charlotte Islands, and with a valuable lot of furs he reached the Sandwich Islands in July, and Macao in October.[39] Cleveland met five other traders. The *Ulysses*, Captain Lamb, which left Boston with a cargo valued at fourteen thousand dollars, had arrived in February, "but the success which ought to have resulted from so early an arrival, was defeated by a mutiny of long and ruinous duration."[40] The *Elisa*, Captain Rowan, had wintered probably at the Islands and had arrived on the trading-grounds in February. When Cleveland met Rowan on the 9th of April he had been very successful, and "was on his way to the southward to complete his cargo, and then to leave the coast. He mentioned, that ten vessels would probably be despatched from Boston for the coast this season." In May, Rowan made his appearance at San Francisco, the *Elisa* being the first American vessel to anchor in that port. She carried twelve guns, and John Kendrick—probably not our old friend of that name—was understood to be her supercargo. Rowan's letter of the 27th of May, promising to pay cash for needed supplies, to depart at once, and to touch at no other port, is still preserved in the California archives. Cleveland met him again in October at Macao, and was told of his visit to the Spanish coast.[41]

[39] *Cleveland's Narrative of Voyages and commercial enterprises.* Cambridge, 1842, 12mo, 2 vols., pp. 45–6, 51, 69–94; also *N. Am. Review*, xxv. 458, in which the vessel is termed an English one. The names used by Cleveland, as applied to tribes, chiefs, and places are: Skittigates, Coneyaws, Cummashaw, Tytantes, Tatiskee Cove, North Island, Kiganny, Point Rose, North Island, Eltargee, and Kow.

[40] *Cleveland's Nar.*, 90; *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 76. Owned by Lamb and others. *Tufts' List.*

[41] *Hist. Cal.*, i., chap. xxv., this series; *Cleveland's Nar.*, 74, 102; *Tufts' List.*

Two other Boston ships, the *Hancock*, Crocker, and the *Dispatch*, Breck, were met by Cleveland near Norfolk Sound early in June, having arrived on the coast rather too late to insure successful voyages the present season.[42] The English ship *Cheerful*, Captain Beck, had also not obtained many furs, having moreover grounded on a sand-bank and been attacked by the Indians.[43] And finally Mr Tufts names the Canton ship *Dove*, commanded by Duffin.

The fleet of 1800, as named by Tufts, consisted of the *Alert*, Bowles, owned by Lamb; the *Jenny*, Bowers; and *Rover*, Davidson, owned by Dorr and Sons; the *Alexander*, Dodd master, Bass owner; the *Hazard*, Swift, Perkins; and the *Dove* of Canton, commanded by Duffin.

The *Betsy*, a Boston brigantine under the command of Captain Charles Winship, is the only other trader of 1800 of which we have any record. She had left Boston the preceding year, and after a trip in the north, of which nothing is known, touched at San Diego for supplies, remaining at anchor in that port—the first American vessel to enter it—from the 25th of August to the 4th of September. It is not unlikely that a full record of her movements would show the *Betsy* to be the pioneer in a new field of west-coast enterprise, that of contraband trade and fur-hunting on the shores of the two Californias, in addition to legitimate trade farther north; or at least Captain Winship may have been engaged in exploring the new field, in which his brothers subsequently reaped so rich a harvest. He obtained the desired assistance at San Diego, with the usual warning to touch at no other Spanish port; but later he anchored at San Blas, again in great need. Presently a Spanish man-of-war entered the port, and the Yankee craft, fearing doubtless a confiscation of her contraband furs, put

[42] *Cleveland's Nar.*, 83–4; *Tufts' List.* Both ships were owned by Dorr and Sons.

[43] *Cleveland's Nar.*, 89; *Tufts' List.*

to sea in such haste as to leave her captain and supercargo on shore with the supplies they had obtained. How these officers regained their ship does not appear in the records; it is said that later in this voyage Captain Winship died of a sunstroke at Valparaiso.[44]

[44] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xxi. 44; *Prov. Rec.*, viii. 132; xii. 6; *St. Pap. Sac.*, ix. 12–13; *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 71–2.

# CHAPTER X.

## LAST OF THE EXPLORERS.

### 1801–1818.

Boston Ships of 1801—Record of 1802—Mishap of the 'Manchester'—Sturgis on the Coast—Loss of the 'Boston,' 1803—Massacre of the Crew—Jewett's Captivity—Rowan and Brown at San Francisco from the North—List of 1804—Smugglers—O'Cain and his New Idea—Russian Contracts—Indians Attack the 'Atahualpa,' 1805—Lewis and Clarke's List—Rezánof and his Plans, 1806—Coming of the Winships—'O'Cain,' 'Derby,' and 'Guatimozin' of 1807—'Pearl,' 'Vancouver,' and 'Mercury' of 1808–9—The Fur-hunters of 1810–11—Winship's Columbia Settlement—The 'Albatross'—Voyage of the 'Tonquin'—The 'Beaver' of 1812—Effects of the War—The Traders Blockaded—Seizure of the 'Mercury' and 'Charon,' 1813—Captain Smith—H. B. M. Sloop 'Raccoon' Takes Astoria—The 'Pedler' of 1814—The 'Isaac Todd'—The Northwest Company's 'Columbia' of 1815—The 'Colonel' in California, 1816—Last of the 'Albatross'—Roquefeuil's Voyage in the 'Bordelais,' 1817–18—Last of Maquinna and Nootka—The Men-of-war 'Ontario' and 'Blossom'—Vessels of 1819–40.

The vessels trading on the Northwest Coast in 1801 from American ports were at least thirteen in number. From Boston, Perkins and Company had despatched the *Globe*, Captain Magee, the *Caroline*, Captain Derby, and the *Charlotte*, Captain Ingersoll; Lyman and Company, the *Guatimozin*, Captain Bumstead, and the *Atahualpa*, Captain Wildes; Dorr and Sons, the *Dispatch* and *Littiler*, each commanded by one of the Dorrs; Cobb, the *Lucy*, Pierpont master; Coolidge, the *Belle Savage*, Captain Ockington; and Thomas Parish, the *Polly*, commanded by Kelley. The *Manchester*, Captain Brice, was from Philadelphia; the *Lavinia*, Captain Hubbard, was owned by

De Wolf of Bristol, Rhode Island; and the *Enterprise*, Captain Ezekiel Hubbell, by Hoy and Thorn, of New York.[1] Their invoices ranged from $9718 to $29,253, the amounts carried respectively by Pierpont and Magee. None of the fleet has left any record of operations in 1801 except the *Enterprise*, about which vessel we know that she touched at San Diego for supplies in June, carrying ten guns and a crew of twenty-one men.[2] The *Hazard*, under Captain Swift, is said to have entered the Columbia River this year. The afterward famous William Smith was on this vessel in a subordinate capacity, making his fifth voyage round the world.[3]

The new names of 1802 were those of the Boston ships *Alert*, commanded by Ebbetts and owned by Lamb; the *Catherine*, Worth captain, Coolidge owner; the *Jenny*, Crocker captain, Dorr owner; and the *Vancouver*, Brown captain, Lyman owner; also the *Hetty*, Captain Briggs of Philadelphia; and the *Juno*, Captain Kendrick, owned by De Wolf of Bristol.[4] The *Manchester* touched at Nootka this year, and, as the natives reported to Jewitt later, seven of her men deserted and joined Maquinna, by whose order six of them were put to death for an attempted redesertion to the service of a rival chieftain, while the other, a boy called Jack, was sold to Wicananish, and soon died.[5] According to Mr Tufts, Captain Magee of the

[1] Custom-house records, in *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 76–7, 11; *Tufts' List*. Captain O'Cain seems to have been on the coast, but perhaps not in command of a vessel.

[2] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. Rec.*, xii. 11–12.

[3] *Niles' Register*, xviii. 418; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 14. The *Hazard* returned to Boston May 6, 1802.

[4] *Tufts' List*.

[5] *Jewitt's Nar.*, 90–1: 'He gave me a book in which I found the names of seven persons belonging to the ship Manchester, of Philadelphia, Capt. Brian, viz.—Daniel Smith, Lewis Gillon, James Tom, Clark, Johnson, Ben, and Jack . . . A most cruel death it was, as I was told by one of the natives, four men holding one of them on the ground, and forcing open his mouth, while they choaked him by ramming stones down his throat. As to Jack . . , I was informed by the princess *Yuqua*, that he was quite a small boy, who cried a great deal, being put to hard labor beyond his strength by the natives, in cutting wood and bringing water, and that when he heard of the murder of our crew, it had such an effect on him that he fell sick and died shortly after.'

*Globe* was killed during this voyage. The *Caroline* went to the Hawaiian Islands, probably to spend the winter there as the traders were wont to do, and there Captain Derby died. His grave on the island of Oahu was visited the next year by Captain Cleveland.[6] Wildes of the *Atahualpa* is recorded as having first heard of the Stikeen River in August of this year while his vessel was in the region of Queen Charlotte Sound.[7] Captain William Sturgis, who became wealthy and famous in connection with the fur-trade of the North Pacific, seems to have visited the coast personally in 1802, perhaps as owner or supercargo of one of the vessels named. He says: "In 1801, the trade was most extensively, though not most profitably prosecuted; that year, there were fifteen vessels on the coast, and in 1802 more than 15,000 sea-otter skins were collected, and carried to Canton. But the competition was so great, that few of the voyages were then profitable, and some were ruinous."[8] There were no arrivals on the Californian coast this year, or at least no record of such arrival appears in the archives.

The ship *Boston*, owned by the Amorys of Boston, having obtained a cargo in England, sailed from the Downs in September 1802, doubled Cape Horn, and without touching at any port, made Woody Point, on the island of Cuadra and Vancouver, March 12, 1803. John Salter was the captain, his mates were B. Delouisa and William Ingraham, and the crew numbered twenty-four. The natives had established their village on the site of the old Spanish post in Friendly Cove; and Salter anchored his vessel several miles farther up the sound, so near the shore that she was

[6] 'In a retired spot, clothed with verdure and surrounded with cocoa-nut trees, my guide pointed to the grave of my old friend and former shipmate, Charles Derby, who died here last year, on board a Boston ship, which he commanded, from the Northwest Coast. Charles and I had sailed many a thousand leagues together, and, being of the same age, the probability was as great when we parted, that he would visit my grave as I his.' *Cleveland's Nar.*, 232.

[7] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.*, 1804, 242, containing an extract from the log, as cited by Greenhow, *Or. and Cal.*, 254.

[8] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 536.

secured by a hawser to the trees. For several days, while the Americans were occupied in obtaining wood and water, Maquinna and his men often visited the ship, and were entertained as was usual in such cases. They made themselves entirely at home, gratified their curiosity by examining everything on board, and maintained the most friendly relations with their visitors. To Maquinna was given a double-barrelled fowling-piece, with which he appeared greatly pleased; and on March 21st, when the ship was nearly ready to depart, he came back with a gift of wild ducks. He brought back the gun, however, with one of the locks broken, remarking that it was *peshak*, or bad. "Captain Salter was very much offended at this observation, and considering it as a mark of contempt for his present, he called the king a liar, adding other opprobrious terms, and taking the gun from him tossed it indignantly into the cabin... Maquinna knew a number of English words, and unfortunately understood but too well the meaning of the reproachful terms that the Captain addressed to him.—He said not a word in reply, but his countenance sufficiently expressed the rage he felt, though he exerted himself to suppress it, and I observed him while the Captain was speaking repeatedly put his hand to his throat and rub it upon his bosom, which he afterwards told me was to keep down his heart, which was rising into his throat and choaking him. He soon after went on shore with his men, evidently much discomposed."[9]

The Nootka chieftain had resolved on vengeance for the insult received at this time and for other

[9] This is Jewitt's account, to be noticed presently. The version received by Captain Rowan of the *Hazard* from the Tatacu chief at Fuca Strait and brought down to California was as follows: The chief Quatlazape was told by the American captain 'that he was a mean fellow to trade with. The captain told him he had met many chieftains in the north, and knew that he had no appearance of a chieftain, and appeared a very low man. The chief replied, 'Piceque' [peshak], which in their language means 'bad man;' and the captain taking a musket threatened him, and ordered him on shore as an insolent fellow. Going to his ranchería he summoned all the Indians from Fuca Strait to the north point of Nootka, who assembled within three days;' and it was resolved to capture the ship. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *St. Pap., Miss. and Col.*, i. 89–91; Captain Rowan's letter of August 12, 1803, to Argüello.

wrongs perhaps of earlier date;[10] and the story of what followed cannot be better told than by continuing to quote the words of one who was present. "On the morning of the 22d the natives came off to us as usual with salmon, and remained on board, when about noon Maquinna came along side with a considerable number of his chiefs and men in their canoes, who after going through the customary examination were admitted into the ship. He had a whistle in his hand, and over his face a very ugly mask of wood representing the head of some wild beast, appeared to be remarkably good humoured and gay, and whilst his people sung and capered about the deck, entertaining us with a variety of antic tricks and gestures, he blew his whistle to a kind of tune which seemed to regulate their motions."[11] Captain Salter was induced in the afternoon to send nine men in the boats to catch salmon, thus dividing the force. "Shortly after the departure of the boats I went down to my vise-bench in the steerage," says Jewitt the armorer, "where I was employed in cleaning muskets. I had not been there more than an hour when I heard the men hoisting in the long boat, which, in a few minutes after, was succeded by a great bustle and confusion on deck. I immediately ran up the steerage stairs, but scarcely was my head above deck, when I was caught by the hair by one of the savages, and lifted from my feet; fortunately for me, my hair being short, and the ribbon with which it was tied slipping, I fell from his hold into the steerage. As I was falling, he struck at me with an axe, which cut a deep gash in

[10] Maquinna told Jewitt later that he had several times been ill-treated by foreign visitors. Captain Tawnington, commanding a schooner which wintered at Friendly Cove, had entered Maquinna's house in his absence and taken 40 fine skins, besides frightening the women. Then Martinez had killed four chiefs; and soon after, Captain Hanna of the *Sea-otter* had fired upon the canoes and killed over twenty of the natives, Maquinna himself having to swim for his life. His desire for revenge was rekindled by Captain Salter's insult.

[11] In the account given to Rowan, the Indians are said to have obtained in advance permission to have a dance on board as a ceremonial making-up after the recent dispute, all as part of a plot to seize the vessel.

my forehead, and penetrated the skull; but in consequence of his losing his hold, I luckily escaped the full force of the blow. I fell stunned and senseless upon the floor." When he regained consciousness he found the hatch closed and judged by their yells that the savages were in possession of the ship. Presently he was summoned before Maquinna and promised his life on condition of becoming a slave to make and repair weapons for his master. On the quarter-deck he was shown in a line the heads of twenty-five murdered companions, and was ordered to identify each by name. After seizing the ship and killing all on deck, they had sent a well armed force to bring back the heads of those in the boats.[12]

The *Boston* was moved from her anchorage, beached at Friendly Cove, stripped of the more easily accessible portions of her cargo, and a few days later accidentally burned. Meanwhile another man, John Thompson the sail-maker was found in the hold, where he had concealed himself after receiving a knife-wound in the nose. Jewitt's life was spared because of his skill in making weapons; and Thompson's at the intercession of Jewitt, who represented him as his father; though there were many who wished to kill both. The two survivors lived among the savages in Maquinna's service for three years, generally well enough treated, and suffering such hardships only as were naturally connected with the situation. Jewitt lived for a time with a native wife, and they travelled considerably over the island; but escape was ever in their minds. The traders avoided Nootka after the massacre; but letters were sent in various directions, and finally in July 1805, the *Lydia*, Captain Hill, anchored in the port. Maquinna was desirous of renewing the old commercial relations, and he went on board, carrying such a letter of recom-

[12] According to Rowan the massacre was begun while the dance was going on, at a signal from the chief, a crowd of natives being close at hand in their canoes.

mendation from Jewitt as caused his immediate arrest as a hostage for the captive's release. After a trading cruise the two men left the coast in August 1806, and before the end of 1807 arrived in Boston *via* China. Jewitt was an Englishman, only twenty years old at the time of his capture. He had shipped at Hull for this voyage, and kept a diary during his captivity, from which a book was published on his return in 1807, and afterward in many different editions. The narrative is a fascinating one of the author's personal adventures, containing also much valuable information on the manners and customs of the Nootka Indians. For details of the captivity beyond what has been presented I have no space.[13]

A few days after the capture of the *Boston* two ships were seen approaching the port at Nootka, but they were frightened away by the hostile demonstrations of the natives, who opened fire upon them with muskets and blunderbusses. "After firing a few rounds of grape shot which did no harm to any one, they wore ship and stood out to sea. These ships, as I afterwards learned, were the *Mary* and *Juno* of Boston. They were scarcely out of sight when Maquinna expressed much regret that he had permitted his people to fire at them, being apprehensive that they would give information to others in what manner they had been received, and prevent them from coming to trade with him."[14]

[13] *A narrative of the adventures and sufferings of John R. Jewitt; only survivor of the crew of the ship, Boston, during a captivity of nearly three years among the savages of Nootka Sound; with an account of the manners, mode of living, and religious opinions of the natives, embellished with a plate representing the ship in the possession of the savages.* New York, 1816, 12mo, 208 pp. This is marked 3d edition. I have before me another of Ithaca 1849, 12mo, 166 pp., 'embellished with engravings.' According to Sabin the original, published in Boston 1807 and New York 1812, was entitled: *A Journal kept at Nootka Sound by John R. Jewitt*, etc. He also notes thirteen other editions, stating that one version was compiled from Jewitt's oral relations by Richard Alsop, and another edited by Goodrich, or 'Peter Parley.' Sproat, *Scenes and Studies*, 5, gives some slight reminiscences of Jewitt's captivity obtained by W. E. Banfield from an old Indian who had known the captive.

[14] *Jewitt's Nar.*, 36. The *Juno* was one of the preceding year's vessels; the *Mary* was owned by Gray of Boston and commanded by Bowles, who is said to have died during the voyage. *Tufts' List.*

Two other traders suffered this year from Indian hostilities, the *Alexander*, Captain John Brown, and the *Hazard*, Captain James Rowan. They made their appearance at San Francisco on the 11th of August, coming from the north in distress, and asking for relief. Captain Brown was known in California, having been detected at the beginning of the year in smuggling operations at San Diego, and having subsequently obtained supplies at San Francisco under false pretences. Therefore no attention was paid to his present demand, and he was ordered away from the port. He succeeded better at Monterey, where he obtained supplies, running away at night to avoid payment for the same. The nature and extent of the *Alexander's* injuries on the northern coast are not known. Captain Rowan, on the other hand, was well treated and allowed four days for refitting, having presented a written statement of his vessel's condition, the truth of which was verified by Comandante Argüello by a personal inspection. The *Hazard* had been several times attacked by the natives in Chatham Strait, and had narrowly escaped capture, besides receiving damages from striking on a rock. None of her men had been lost, but her hull and rigging were riddled with balls, the Indians having been well provided with fire-arms. On his way south Rowan had touched at the strait of Fuca, where he heard of the *Boston's* disaster, and brought the news to California.[15]

The *O'Cain*, Captain Joseph O'Cain, sailed from Boston January 23, 1803, and reached Sitka before the end of the year. Jonathan Winship, one of the owners, made his first visit to the coast on this vessel. It does not clearly appear that she touched on the Northwest Coast proper this year; but the voyage

[15] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *St. Pap., Miss. and Col.*, i. 84–9. See *Hist. Cal.*, ii. chap. i., this series, for some additional particulars about the experience of Brown and Rowan in California. The *Hazard* is said to have had 50 men and 22 guns. In *Niles' Register*, xviii. 418, she is said to have sailed from Boston in September 1802, returning on the 6th of May 1805, under Swift as master and Smith as mate; so also in *Tufts' List;* and as the Spaniards write the name *Aser* there is a possibility that Rowan commanded another vessel.

lasted three years, and we shall hear more of this craft.[16] Mr Gray names the *Alert*, commanded by Ebbetts, and the *Vancouver*, by Brown, among the vessels that visited the coast this year.[17]

William Sturgis, probably commanding the Boston ship *Caroline*, arrived at Kaigan early in 1804. On a previous visit he had noticed the high value attached by the natives to the ermine-skin, and he had obtained about five thousand of them at a cost of about thirty cents each in Boston. The result was that in half a day he purchased five hundred and sixty prime otter-skins, worth fifty dollars each, for half of his ermines, or 'clicks,' as the Indians called them.[18] The *Lelia Byrd* was a ship that had caused some excitement on the Californian coast in 1803, and in 1804 she came back under the command of Captain William Shaler. Coming from China, she arrived at the mouth of the Columbia on the 1st of May, but for eight days was unable to cross the bar, and finally proceeded down the coast in search of a more accessible port, entering Trinidad the 9th of May.[19]

The *Hazard* also came back from the Hawaiian Islands this year, as is shown by records in the archives of California. Having obtained supplies at San Francisco in February, Captain Rowan sailed for the Northwest Coast. Of his operations there nothing is known, but in September he reappeared in the southern ports, as usual in great need of provisions.[20] Smuggling and an illicit fur-trade on the coasts of upper and lower California were becoming much more attractive to the Boston men than the barter of old with the northern savages, who had

[16] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 11–12.
[17] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 14.
[18] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 536; *Tufts' List.*
[19] *Shaler's Journal*, 138–9. The operations of the *Lelia Byrd* on the Californian coast in 1803–5 are related in *Hist. Cal.*, ii., chap. i.–ii., this series.
[20] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xviii. 330, 361, 373, 376–9; *Prov. Rec.*, xi. 103; *St. Pap. Sac.*, v. 70. Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 14, tells us that the Perkins company sent the *Hazard* under Swift to the Columbia in 1804; also that Theodore Lyman sent the *Guatimozin*, Captain Bumstead, from Boston.

now acquired new ideas respecting the value of their furs, had become hostile and revengeful, often with much cause, and who had become somewhat too well supplied with fire-arms. Captain O'Cain had the honor of introducing a new development of the fur-trade this year. He was still prepared for barter with the Indians, and he was still alive to the charms and profits of smuggling; but his genius demanded a broader field. On his arrival at Sitka in the fall of 1803, he induced the manager of the Russian establishments, Baránof, to furnish Aleut otter-hunters with their *bidarkas* for a hunting tour in the south, the product to be divided between the Russian company and the Boston owners. The result of this first trip of the *O'Cain* was eleven hundred otter-skins carried from the Californian coasts, chiefly from those of the peninsula, to Alaska in June 1804, the vessel thence directing her course to China and homeward.[21] This new system of hunting on shares was continued for years with some profit to the contracting parties, especially to the Americans; but it was at last terminated by the Russians when they convinced themselves that their Yankee partners could neither be trusted nor watched, besides arousing the enmity of Spain by their unlawful operations. The whole subject is fully treated elsewhere in this work, mainly concerning California and Alaska. Hunting under this new arrangement was chiefly confined to the southern coasts, almost exclusively so far as the records show. Naturally the Spanish archives mention only complications with the Californian authorities; the Russian records deal only with the contracts, outfits, and results; while but few log-books are extant. Yet as these vessels passed each year up and down between Alaska and California, it seems necessary to mention them in connection with the maritime annals of the Northwest Coast, even if no records appear of their occasional landings and adventures within that territory.

[21] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 11-12; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 8; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obozranie*, app., 272-5. See also *Hist. Cal.*, ii., chap. ii., this series.

No traders visited Californian waters in 1805, or at least they left no record of their visits; but there are a few items extant respecting their movements in the north. The ship *Atahualpa*, Captain O. Porter, despatched by Lyman of Boston, "was attacked by the savages in Millbank Sound, and her captain, mate, and six seamen, were killed; after which the other seamen succeeded in repelling the assailants and saving the vessel."[22] The ship *Caroline* was still on the coast; and new arrivals included the Boston ships *Vancouver*, Brown, and *Pearl*, Ebbetts, despatched by Lyman and Lamb, respectively.[23] Lewis and Clarke reaching the mouth of the Columbia by an overland journey, learned from the Indians their version of the names of a dozen foreigners who had been wont to visit their country in command of vessels; but none of the names can be identified.[24] The *Lydia* of Boston, commanded by Samuel Hill, arrived at Nootka to rescue Jewitt and Thompson, as we have seen, in July 1805. The ship then made a cruise to the north, entered the Columbia for spars, returned to Nootka in November, and finally sailed for China in August of the next year.[25] The *Juno*, Captain De Wolf, very likely visited this region this year, as late in the autumn she was sold to the Russian American Company at New Archangel.[26]

[22] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 268. He says the *Atahualpa* was from Rhode Island. Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 14, tells us she was sent from Boston in 1805 by Lyman and Company. Henry A. Peirce, *Memoranda*, MS., 7–8, afterward sailed with Nicholas Wrenthem, who had been mate of the *Atahualpa*, who said: 'The natives became saucy, the mate not liking the look of things told the captain, who pooh-poohed, but the natives made an attack on the crew. They were at last beaten off by the crew, but they had no sooner done this than they saw the Indians sawing away at the hempen cable. The captain took his blunderbuss and fired at the natives, killing six of them...The boatswain was named Griffin. Captain Porter was stabbed in the back and thrown overboard. He was carried on shore and lived a few days.' In *Tufts' List* the *Atahualpa* arrived in 1804.

[23] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 14; *Tufts' List.*

[24] *Lewis and Clarke's Journey*, 497. The names were as follows: Haley, the favorite trader, stays some time; Zallamon, not a trader; Callalamet, with a wooden leg; Davidson, a hunter; Skelley, only one eye; absent for several years; Youens, Sivipton, Moore, Mackey, Washington, Mesship, Jackson, and Bolch.

[25] *Jewitt's Nar.*, 154–63. Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 15, speaks of the *Lydia* as sent from Boston to the Columbia by Lyman in 1806. Tufts says she sailed in 1804.

[26] *Rezánof, Zapiski*, 203–4. She left Boston in 1804, being owned as well as commanded by De Wolf. *Tufts' List.*

The imperial inspector Rezánof from Alaska in 1806 urged upon his company and his government the importance of founding a Russian establishment on the Columbia River, with a view of gaining exclusive possession of the fur-trade. "To accomplish this it would be necessary to build as soon as possible an armed brig to drive away the Bostonians from this trade forever. From the Columbia we could gradually advance toward the south to the port of San Francisco, which forms the boundary line of California. I think I may say that at the Columbia we could attract population from various localities, and in the course of ten years we should become strong enough to make use of any favorable turn in European politics to include the coast of California in the Russian possessions."

"Captain Winship told Mr Baránof that last autumn sixty men had started from the United States overland to settle on the Columbia River, which would have been easier for us than anybody else. The American states claim the right to those shores, saying that the headwaters of the Columbia are in their territory; but on the same principle they could extend their possessions all over the world, where there was no previous European settlement. But I think they have determined to settle there, because the Spaniards have opened to them four ports on the eastern side of America under the condition that they should not touch on their western coasts.[27] This happened after Winship's departure from Boston, and is yet unknown to the American vessels here. Four Boston ships are at present cruising and trading in the sounds, namely: Captain Heale on the brig *Lida*;[28] Captain Porter, brother of the one killed, on the ship *Hamilton*;[29] Captain Brown on the ship

[27] I do not understand this allusion.

[28] This may be the Haley of Lewis and Clarke's list.

[29] Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 15, mentions the *Hamilton*, Captain L. Peters, as having been sent to the Columbia by Lyman of Boston, arriving in 1807. Tufts, *List*, gives the name L. Porter and the date 1806.

*Vancouver;*[30] and Captain Gichitz in the ship *Pearl.*[31] At Kaigan there are also several vessels trading, the *Urodel, Hazard,*[32] *Peacock*, and others. When shall we drive these unwelcome guests away?" Rezánof himself went down to California on the *Juno,* as is fully related in another volume of this work,[33] and in his letters he writes: "I had the intention to explore the Columbia River. We sighted its mouth on the 14th of March, but contrary winds compelled us to stand off. After keeping a northerly course for a time we returned next day and expected to run in, but the strong current had carried us sixty miles to the north, and we were opposite Gray Harbor. We sent off a bidarka, in which Dr Langsdorff entered the harbor. We tried again to run into the Columbia as the only harbor this side of California to obtain fresh provisions, and we approached it on the evening of the 20th. The following day we expected to enter, but a rushing tide and a channel covered with high breakers opposed us;" and four days later they reached San Francisco.[34]

The *Peacock*, named in Rezánof's list, left Boston in September 1805, doubled Cape Horn in company with the *Hazard*, and came to California from the Hawaiian Islands in February 1806. She is described as of one hundred and eight tons, with eight guns and fourteen men; and was commanded by Captain Kimball, said to have been a brother-in-law of O'Cain. Though bound for the north with supplies for the Russians, she attempted smuggling—that is, applied for provisions—at several southern ports, and in consequence lost four men, who were

[30] Sent out to meet Lewis and Clarke, but not arriving until after their departure, according to Gray.

[31] The captain's name was Ebbetts. She was fitted out by Lamb and Company, according to Tufts.

[32] Left Boston July 22, 1805, under William Smith as master; and returned July 23, 1808. *Niles' Register*, xviii. 418; *Tufts' List.* Gray says she was sent out under Smith in 1807.

[33] *Hist. Cal.*, ii., chap. iv.

[34] *Rezánof, Zapiski*, 233, 254, 279; see also *Langsdorff's Voyages*, ii. 97 et seq.

arrested at San Diego and sent to San Blas.[35] Another vessel of the year was known to the Spaniards as the *Reizos*, though there may be some error about the name. She was apparently engaged in otter-hunting, or at least was in company with other vessels so engaged.[36]

The *O'Cain* came back this year, having left Boston in October 1805, under the command of Jonathan Winship, with Nathan Winship as mate. She had a force of thirty men, a coppered bottom, not common in those days, and was specially fitted out for hunting as well as trading. A hundred Aleuts with fifty *bidarkas* were obtained at New Archangel in April, and some attempts at hunting were made on the way southward. Winship's chief operations were confined, however, to the Baja California coasts and islands, where he left his hunters and returned by the Sandwich Islands to Kadiak with skins valued at $60,000.[37] Another vessel, not named, but commanded by Captain Campbell, possibly Kimball of the *Peacock*, made a contract in October for hunting on shares, and came back to Alaska the next August with 1230 skins.[38]

The Winships on the *O'Cain* with a new party of fifty hunters left Kadiak in January 1807. Touching at the Farallones, at the islands of the Santa Bárbara Channel, and at San Pedro, Winship rejoined the hunters he had left on the peninsular coast, where he remained until April, and then returned to the north with the whole force of Aleuts. There were over two hundred souls on board, two more at the end than at the beginning of the trip northward, and the log shows some narrow escapes from shipwreck on the way. With a cargo worth $136,000 the *O'Cain* sailed

[35] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 136–8, 153–5, 174–6; *Prov. Rec.*, xii. 46; *Rezánof, Zapiski*, 273.

[36] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 129–30, 134–6, 141–3. The captain's name is called O'Cain and in one place is written Pocnicar.

[37] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 13–20; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9–10, 137; *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 107–8; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obozranie*, i. 167.

[38] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9.

for China in October; and at the beginning of the next year started for Boston in company with the *Atahualpa* and *Augustus*, captains Sturgis and Hill.[39] Meanwhile the old commander of the ship, Joseph O'Cain, was on the *Eclipse*, a vessel chartered by the Russian company, which was wrecked among the Aleutian Islands in September of this year, the captain and his men saving their lives after many hardships.[40] According to a Russian authority, Captain Swift in the *Derby* made an otter-hunting trip to California this year under an arrangement similar to that of the Winships; but nothing further is known of the voyage except Mr Gray's statement that the *Derby* entered the Columbia River the next year.[41] The *Guatimozin*, Glanville master, Lyman owner, left Boston in July 1806, and was on the coast from March 1807 to September 1808. She entered the Columbia, and her trading operations extended up to 59° 30′. On July 4th the men had moose and salmon for dinner on the Columbia; and a pewter medal was found which had been given to the Indians by Lewis and Clarke.[42]

The Boston ships *Pearl*, Captain Suter, and *Vancouver*, Captain Whittemore, owned and fitted out by Perkins, were on the coast in 1808–9, according to Tufts and Gray. In these years also the *Mercury*, commanded by George Washington Ayres, was engaged in hunting on shares under a contract with the Russians. Captain Ayres lost some deserters in California; but he obtained two thousand and eighty

[39] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 12–27. The *Atahualpa* is in *Tufts' List* for 1807, owned by Lyman.

[40] *Campbell's Voy.*, 26–7, 42–8. The author sailed on this vessel from China under the assumed name of McBride. In some of the Russian authorities the *Eclipse* is spoken of as visiting the southern coast, being perhaps confounded with the *O'Cain*.

[41] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obozranie*, i. 171; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 15; *Tufts' List*, owned by Perkins.

[42] *Swan's Northwest Coast*, 406–7, 425, with a *fac-simile* of the medal; *Tufts' List*. Mr Tufts, who furnished the information published by Swan, was supercargo of the *Guatimozin* on this voyage. The vessel was wrecked in 1810 on the New Jersey coast.

sea-otter skins for sharing.[43] Greenhow tells us that Mr Astor, in 1809, "despatched the ship *Enterprise*, under Captain Ebbetts, an intelligent and experienced seaman and trader, to make observations at various places on the north-west coasts of America, and particularly at the Russian settlements, and to prepare the way for the new establishments;" but nothing further is stated about the voyage.[44] Captain Kuskof visited California in 1809 with a view to selecting a site for the proposed Russian settlement; but he did not touch on the coast between Alaska and Trinidad.

In 1810–11 four ships, the *O'Cain*, *Albatross*, *Isabella*, and *Mercury*, commanded respectively by Jonathan and Nathan Winship, William H. Davis, and George W. Ayres, were engaged in hunting otters under Russian contracts. They also did a very large and profitable business in hunting fur-seals on the Farallones and at other points. Their hunting operations were exclusively in southern waters, and are recorded in another volume of this work.[45] It is probable that they traded to some extent in the north, but of their movements on the Northwest Coast nothing is known beyond their trips to and fro between Alaska and California. There is, however, one important exception to be noted in the case of the *Albatross*. The Winships had planned a permanent settlement or trading-post on the Columbia, and with that end in view Captain Nathan, on his first arrival from the Sandwich Islands, spent nearly two months, from May 26th to July 19th, in the river. A site was selected at a place called Oak Point, on the southern bank, about forty miles from the mouth. After considerable progress had been made on a building, and in preparing land for planting, an inundation forced them to move the foundation to a higher spot near by; and

[43] *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 111; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9; *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. Rec.*, viii. 97–8; ix. 120; xii. 283–4.

[44] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 295.

[45] See *Hist. Cal.*, ii., this series.

then the hostile attitude of the Indians caused the project to be abandoned altogether, since although the Indians might easily have been controlled during the ship's presence, it was not deemed safe to leave a small party exposed to such danger. Full particulars of this earliest attempt at settlement in Oregon will be given in a later chapter of this work. Captain Ayres also entered the Columbia in the *Mercury* while Winship was there. It seems that Ayres took ten or twelve natives from the Nootka region to serve in the south as hunters; and instead of bringing them back to their home, as he had promised, he left them on some desert islands on the Californian coast.[46] Kuskof started this year on a new expedition to California; but touching at Queen Charlotte Islands he was attacked by the Indians, who killed several of his men and left him in such a condition that he was forced to return to Alaska.[47]

Besides the four otter-hunting craft in southern waters, five vessels were seen in the summer of 1811 at Kaigan, in the north. These were the *New Hazard*, Captain Nye; the *Lydia*, Captain Bennett; the *Otter*, Captain Hill; and two ships, not named, under captains Porter and Blanchard,[48] the latter's vessel being the *Catherine*, which was hunting for the Russians on shares. Captain Blanchard and Captain Thomas Meek of the *Amethyst* delivered to the company this year over fourteen hundred sea-otter skins. The *Charon*, commanded by Captain Whittemore, was another of the hunting craft, which carried north eighteen hundred skins, and was found at the Farallones by Winship the next year.[49] The *Otter* is said to have been attacked by the natives at Nootka, several of the crew being killed.[50]

[46] *Franchere's Nar.*, 187.

[47] *Tikhménef, Istor. Obosranie*, i. 208.

[48] Log of the *Albatross*, in *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 56.

[49] *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, 9–10; *Baránof, Shizneopissanie*, 148–9; *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 62.

[50] *Peirce's Memoranda*, MS., 14. The writer's brother, Joseph, was on board and was wounded. Captain Hill is spoken of as father of the actor known as Yankee Hill. The date is given as 1810.

The annals of the Pacific Fur Company and the foundation of Astoria on the Columbia are presented fully elsewhere in this work; bare mention of the subject in its maritime phases will suffice here. The party that actually founded the establishment came in the ship *Tonquin*, Captain Jonathan Thorn, which left New York in September 1810 and entered the river in March 1811. After the crew had assisted in the preliminary work of the post, Captain Thorn sailed for the north to engage in trade for the company. Two years later a native interpreter who had sailed on the vessel returned to Astoria with the following report, as quoted from Greenhow: "The *Tonquin*, after quitting the river, sailed northward along the coast of the continent, and anchored, in the middle of June, 1811, opposite a village on the bay of Clayoquot, near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. She was there immediately surrounded by crowds of Indians in canoes, who continued for some days to trade in the most peaceable manner, so as to disarm Captain Thorn and Mr McKay of all suspicions. At length, either in consequence of an affront given by a chief to the captain, or with the view of plundering the vessel, the natives embraced an opportunity when the men were dispersed on or below the decks, in the performance of their duties, and in a moment put to death every one of the crew and passengers, except the interpreter, who leaped into a canoe, and was saved by some women, and the clerk, Mr Lewis, who retreated, with a few sailors, to the cabin. The survivors of the crew, by the employment of their fire-arms, succeeded in driving the savages from the ship; and, in the night, four of them quitted her in a boat, leaving on board Mr Lewis and some others, who were severely wounded. On the following day, the natives again crowded around and on board the *Tonquin;* and while they were engaged in rifling her, she was blown up, most probably by the wounded men left below deck. The seamen who had endeavored to escape in the

boat were soon retaken, and put to death in a most cruel manner, by the Indians; the interpreter was preserved, and remained in slavery two years, at the end of which time he was suffered to depart."[51] It should also be stated here that a schooner of thirty tons, the frame for which had been brought from New York, was launched on the 2d of October, named the *Dolly*, and used thereafter for river navigation, being too small for coasting voyages, for which she had been intended.[52]

Captain Jonathan Winship came back on the *Albatross* to California in 1812 for the purpose closing up his fur-trading and hunting operations, having made arrangements to embark in a new enterprise, the sandal-wood trade. He did not go farther north than Drake Bay on this trip, and this seems to have been his last visit to the western coast, though we shall meet the vessel again.[53] The only vessel known to

[51] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 300; *Irving's Astoria*, 45–84, 106–16; Gabriel Franchère came out on the *Tonquin*, and in his *Narrative of a Voyage* gives a full account of the trip. This book, pp. 180–9, also contains the fullest account of the massacre, as reported by the Indian interpreter. Captain Smith of the *Albatross*, according to Franchère, attributed the disaster largely to the action of Captain Ayres of the *Mercury*, who, as already noted, had taken ten or a dozen natives of the Nootka region as hunters, and had failed to return them to their homes. I shall give a full description of the voyage and capture of the *Tonquin* in connection with the Astor expeditions.

[52] *Franchere's Nar.*, 130.

[53] I quote from *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., p. 68 et seq., as follows: 'The captains Winship returned to Boston during 1816 and retired from the sea... And now, in parting with the nautical part of Captain Jonathan Winship's life, a passing tribute is due to him as a commander. The writer was personally acquainted with him, and gladly records his own opinion with the testimony of other men of the sea who knew him intimately. As an early pioneer to the North-West coast, and as agent for the company and chief in command of the ships of the expedition, he must frequently have been called to the firmest exertion of authority and command. His humanity is apparent from his treatment of the natives, while the health, the convenience, and as far as it could be admitted, the enjoyment of his seamen were the constant objects of his attention; kind and courteous to all, he was manly and honorable in the transactions of the multifarious business in which he was engaged, whether with the savages of Nootka Sound, the savage king of the Islands, or the more civilized subjects of the Flowery Kingdom. As a seaman and navigator he ranked among the foremost. His brother appears to have been a counterpart of himself, and an able coöperator... Captain Winship was sorely disappointed at the result of his brother's attempt at the [Columbia] River; he hoped to have planted a Garden of Eden on the shores of the Pacific, and made that wilderness to blossom like the rose. Repulsed on the western slope

have touched the Northwest Coast in 1812 was the *Beaver*, commanded by Captain Cornelius Sowles. She brought from New York another detachment of Astor's fur company, and entered the Columbia on the 10th of May. She left the river in August and proceeded on a trading tour up the coast. The intention was to return to Astoria, but the vessel proceeded instead from Sitka to the Sandwich Islands and to China, where she remained during the war between England and the United States.[54]

The war of 1812–14 caused a complete stagnation in maritime affairs on the Northwest Coast. Only two vessels are known to have reached the Columbia in 1813. It does not appear that any English vessels at this time were engaged in the fur-trade; and the American traders, fearing with much reason capture by British cruisers, hastened to take refuge in neutral ports on receipt of the news that hostilities had begun. The *Beaver* from Astoria, having landed Mr Hunt, chief agent of Astor's company, at the Sandwich Islands, was fortunate enough, as we have seen, to reach Canton. "I had sent orders to the captain to return to Astoria; but he was fearful of being captured, and remained safely at Canton till the war was over, when he came home."[55] The *O'Cain* and *Isabella* are said to have been blockaded at the Sandwich Islands for nearly three years, while the *Charon* was so unlucky as to fall into the hands of the foe.[56] Another well known vessel of the fleet, engaged in the Russian, fur-hunting, and contraband service, the

of the continent, he returned to the eastern... In his native town of Brighton he laid out and cultivated the most extensive gardens of the kind then existing on the continent of America, filled with the choicest plants and shrubbery... His latter years were peacefully spent among beds of flowers. He died among his roses. How useful and honorable the life—how beautiful its close.'

[51] Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, came out on board of the *Beaver*. See also *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 295, 299; Astor's letter, in *Id.*, 440; *Franchere's Nar.*, 154–61; *Irving's Astoria*, 355–8, 465–73.

[55] Astor's letter in *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 440.

[56] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 63. The author includes the *Albatross* with the others; and it is possible that she was detained at the Islands after her return from the Columbia in 1813.

*Mercury*, although she kept out of the way of British men-of-war, was captured by the Spaniards in June near Santa Bárbara, California, and was confiscated as a smuggler.[57] The government at Washington could send no protection either for American shipping in the western ocean or for the American trading-post on the Columbia. England increased the force of her Pacific squadron, and at last succeeded in capturing the frigate *Essex*, Commodore Porter, the only United States man-of-war in these waters. Meanwhile early in 1813 Mr Astor despatched the ship *Lark*, laden with supplies for the Columbia River; but this vessel was wrecked at the Sandwich Islands, both ship and cargo being a total loss.[58]

In June the *Albatross*, Captain Winship, arrived at the Islands from the Indies with the news that war had broken out, and that fear of English cruisers had forced her and her three consorts—perhaps the *Isabella*, *O'Cain*, and *Charon*—to sail precipitately, reporting also the detention of the *Beaver* at Canton. The *Albatross* had on board some goods for Astoria; and she was chartered, under the command of Captain William Smith, to carry these goods and other supplies with chief agent Hunt to the Columbia. She arrived at Astoria on the 4th of August, remaining in the river until the end of the month. Meanwhile the resident partners and others had determined to abandon the post in consequence of the war. Mr Hunt was obliged against his will to concur in this resolve; and as Captain Smith's vessel was under engagements that did not permit her to wait and carry away the people and their effects as was desired, the agent returned on her to the Islands in search for another vessel to effect the removal.[59]

[57] For particulars see *Hist. Cal.*, ii., this series.

[58] Astor's letter, as before cited.

[59] *Franchere's Nar.; Greenhow's Or. and Cal.; Irving's Astoria*, 473–6 et seq. It is not necessary to give minute references here, as the annals of Astoria are to be fully recorded in later chapters of this work. Captain Smith's eighth voyage round the world is described in *Niles' Register*, xviii. 418, as follows: 'Sailed July 6, 1809, in the ship *Albatros*, Nathan Winship, master,

Besides the traders, most of which managed to keep out of danger, the Columbia post was the only prize exposed to capture by British cruisers. One of the several men-of-war sent to the Pacific was detached from the squadron for this purpose in the southern ocean. This was the sloop-of-war *Raccoon*, of twenty-six guns, commanded by Captain William Black. She arrived at Astoria on the last day of November, but before that the Pacific Fur Company had sold out the whole establishment to the Northwest Company, so that all was now British property. Formal possession was taken, however, for England on December 12th; the British flag was raised, and the name was changed from Astoria to Fort George. After making some surveys at the river's mouth, the *Raccoon* sailed for the south at the end of December, her officers much disappointed at the profitless character of their seizure. They had expected to secure not only an American fort, but divers American

and returned in the ship *O'Cain*, Robert McNeill, master, October 15, 1817. For about seven years of this voyage he commanded the *Albatros*, which vessel was employed about four years of the time in transporting sandal wood from the Sandwich islands to Canton, for capts Wm. H. Davis and Jona. Winship. . . but in consequence of the war, and the arrival of the English sloops of war *Raccoon* and *Cherub*, the contract was broken, through the interference of the commanders of those vessels; the remainder of the time capt. Smith was cruising in the Pacific ocean in quest of seal islands, and trading on the coast of California. On this coast, having gone ashore in the boat, he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards with his boat's crew, and after a detention of two months was released, and proceeded to the Sandwich Islands, where he joined the ship *O'Cain*, in which he came home.' By the same authority it appears that on his ninth voyage on the *Borneo*, which left Boston in 1817, he was wrecked January 28, 1819, near Kaigan, among the Haidahs, losing all his journals of earlier voyages. He returned to Boston in 1820, and subsequently came to California, where he spent the rest of his life when not engaged in pleasure voyages on the Pacific. Something about this man's life will be found in connection with the *History of California*. The author of *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 63 et seq., gives an account of the sandal-wood contract and the way it was broken. The *Albatross* perhaps carried the Winships back to Boston in 1816, and never returned to the Pacific. I quote from this MS. as follows: 'The merchants of Boston sent out the fast sailing schooner *Tamaahmaah* to the Pacific at the commencement of the war, to warn the American ships on the north-west coast of their danger. The warning was a timely one, and those at the Russian ports, and at the Sandwich Islands, mostly remained at the neutral ports where the schooner found them. Most of their furs and some of their crews were taken down to China by the *Tamaahmaah*, under the command of Captain Porter. The ship *Jacob Jones* was fitted out in Boston, and sailed during the war under the command of Captain Roberts. She was a heavily armed letter of marque bound to Canton.'

trading craft laden with rich furs as prizes.[60] From the Columbia the *Raccoon* ran down the coast, and in the middle of February made her appearance in San Francisco Bay. Captain Black boasted of having captured an American battery in the north; but in a subsequent collision with another vessel his sloop had received some injuries, which with his need of supplies brought him to California. He departed for the Sandwich Islands on the 19th of April.[61]

Meanwhile Mr Hunt at the Hawaiian Islands obtained the brig *Pedler*,[62] and taking on board Captain Northrop with the survivors of the unfortunate *Lark*, sailed for Astoria, where he arrived at the end of February 1814, only to learn of the transfer of the property to an English company. He accordingly took on board a few Americans who had not joined the Northwest Company and preferred a sea voyage to the overland trip, sailing early in April for New York.[63] He is said to have reached his destination after a tedious voyage, impliedly performed for the whole distance on the *Pedler*. One event of the voyage was the brig's capture at San Luis Obispo in August by a Spanish vessel. The charge of smuggling could not be substantiated, and she was released. The story told at the investigation was that she had come from the Sandwich Islands with a cargo for Ross, en-

[60] *Franchere's Nar.*, 196–202; *Cox's Adven.*, i. 266 et seq.; *Irving's Astoria*, 486–8.

[61] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. Rec.*, xii. 226–8; ix. 132–3; *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 368–70; *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 6; *Soulé's Annals of San Francisco.* Cox, *Adven.*, i. 285–6, says: 'This vessel, on quitting the Columbia, struck several times on the bar, and was so severely damaged in consequence, that she was obliged to make for San Francisco, which port she reached in a sinking state, with seven feet of water in her hold. Finding it impossible to procure the necessary materials there to repair the damage, Captain Black and his officers had determined to abandon the vessel, and proceed overland to the Gulf of Mexico... but when the *Isaac Tod* arrived they succeeded, with her assistance, in stopping the leaks.'

[62] Franchère says she was purchased at the Marquesas; Cox and Irving, that she was purchased at Oahu; and Greenhow that she was chartered at the Sandwich Islands.

[63] Cox, *Adven.*, i. 276, states that Hunt afterward became governor of Missouri.

tering San Luis because she mistook her captor for a Russian ship, to which a part of the cargo was to be delivered. The vessel had both American and Russian passports. The officers had nothing to say of affairs at Astoria, though one of them admitted that they had touched at the Columbia.[64]

Another vessel of the year was the ship *Isaac Todd*, commanded by Captain Frazer Smith. She had been despatched from London with a cargo of supplies for the Northwest Company, as part of the scheme for seizing the American establishment; and her arrival had been expected by representatives of the English company who came overland to Astoria. The *Todd* carried a letter of marque, and started with the *Raccoon* and other men-of-war, but parted from them before entering the Pacific, and, having touched at Juan Fernandez and the Gallapagos, made her appearance at Monterey in January 1814, and subsequently met the *Raccoon*, perhaps at San Francisco. The story of Captain Smith in California—it would never do to tell the Spaniards the truth—was that the *Todd* was an English merchantman bound to Manila for a cargo of tea. She lost several deserters and left three men to recover from the scurvy. The former were carried away by the *Raccoon;* and one of the latter was John Gilroy, the first permanent foreign resident of California. She finally reached Fort George on the 17th of April, greatly to the relief of the company, several partners and clerks of which were on board, as well as much needed supplies; and she soon sailed for China.[65]

In 1815 the Northwest Company sent their schooner *Columbia* down to California under the command of Captain John Jennings. Where this schooner came

[64] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 383; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, xlv. 3–6; *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 136; *Arch. Arzobispado*, MS., ii. 101.

[65] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 368–70; *Prov. Rec.*, xii. 226–7; *Cox's Adven.*, i. 285–6; *Franchere's Nar.*, 191. Cox gives an amusing account of the advent of Miss Jané Barnes, an English bar-maid, whom one of the company men had brought as a *compagnon de voyage*. She went back to China on the *Todd*, and did not therefore become a permanent resident of the Northwest Coast.

from does not appear, there being a possibility that it was the little *Dolly*, purchased from the Pacific company with the other property. Jennings had no trouble in getting all the supplies he needed for his vessel, but he failed in his chief purpose, that of establishing a regular trade between Monterey and Fort George, and of leaving an agent in California. The Spaniards were suspicious that contraband and not legitimate trade was the aim. Governor Sola favored the traffic, but would not permit it without instructions from Mexico; and those instructions, when they came, were unfavorable.[66] Two Russian vessels, the *Chirikof* and *Ilmen*, were in California this year, the latter being engaged in fur-hunting as well as trade; but it does not appear that the Russian craft, in their constant trips between Sitka, Ross, and the Spanish ports in these years, came at all into contact with the Englishmen of the Columbia, or even touched on the coast between the latitude of 42° and 55°.

Notwithstanding the refusal of Governor Sola in 1815 to permit the establishment of trade between California and the Northwest Company at Fort George, it seems that the company's schooner was expected to return in 1816, and that the missionaries had promised a cargo of produce in exchange for much needed goods. The governor indeed permitted them to do so finally, confessing to the Mexican authorities that he acted illegally, but pleading urgent necessity. The *Columbia* did not come, but in her place the Company's brig *Colonel*, commanded by Captain Daniel with McDougall as supercargo. She arrived at Monterey late in August and obtained flour, wine, and other

[66] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 387–9, 398–9; *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 135, 137; *Dept. St. Pap.*, iv. 156–8; *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., vii. 11. Antonio Rocha, a Portuguese, was left in California on this trip. The schooner visited Bodega also. According to a statement in *Brooks' Japanese Wrecks*, 10, the *Forrester*, Captain Pickett, was on the Californian coast this year; and the *Forrester* is also mentioned as under the command of John Jennings in 1813. There may be some confusion of name and vessels here.

products to the value of about seventy thousand dollars, for the northern hunters. I know nothing about the movements of the company's vessels in these years except what is learned from Californian records.[67]

I have no record of any other vessel that actually touched at the Columbia or on any part of the Northwest Coast in 1816. Two American craft, however, coming from the Russian establishments in Alaska were in trouble in January on the Californian coast, probably by reason of their smuggling proclivities. Their adventures are fully described in another part of this work, having but a slight bearing on my present topic. One was the schooner *Lydia*, Captain Henry Gyzelaar, which was seized with her crew and detained for several months. The other was our old acquaintance, the *Albatross*, still commanded by Captain Smith, who pretended to be bound from New Archangel to the Sandwich Islands. The ship escaped capture; but Smith with a boat's crew was taken. The charge of smuggling could not be proved and the prisoners were released, sailing on the *Lydia* in March. The *Albatross* on reaching the Islands seems to have sailed for Boston with Captain Winship, never to visit the Pacific again; Captain Smith went to Boston on the *O'Cain* the next year.[68] Two other Boston ships which entered Californian ports this year, bound ostensibly to or from Sitka, were the *Sultan* or *Sultana*, and the *Atala* or *Atlas*, the latter under Captain Kelley, and the former perhaps under Captain Reynolds.

The *Traveller*, a schooner commanded by James Smith Wilcox, came to Santa Bárbara in January 1817, and spent a large part of the year on the Californian coast, the captain being on most friendly terms

[67] *Arch. Santa Bárbara*, MS., ix. 197–303; *Arch. Arzobispado*, MS., iii. pt. i. 62–5, 71, 87–97, 120–1; *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 144–50.

[68] *Albatross and Lydia, Comunicaciones*, etc., MS. A full account of the whole affair, with numerous references to original papers, is given in *Hist. Cal.*, ii., this series. See note 59 of this chapter for mention of Smith's captivity in a quotation from *Niles' Register*.

with the Spanish authorities and people. That this vessel came down from Sitka is the only reason for naming her here.[69]

The *Bordelais*, a French merchantman under the command of Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil of the navy, engaged in a voyage round the world, with a view not only to immediate trade but to a prospective enlargement of national commerce, coming from San Francisco, arrived at Nootka at the beginning of September. This was the first visit to Nootka, since Jewitt's disastrous experience, of which we have any details, and it is the last trading voyage to be described in connection with my present topic—that of maritime exploration. At Nootka Roquefeuil was well received, and soon had a visit from the old chieftain Maquinna, who was saluted with seven guns, and was as ready for barter as in times of old, showing himself "an importunate and insatiable beggar, as Vancouver describes him, and not the generous prince that Meares would make him."[70] After a stay of three weeks, in which the region of the sound was pretty thoroughly explored, the Frenchman went down to Barclay Sound, where some furs were obtained before the *Bordelais* started for California early in October. I append some not very clear information derived from the natives respecting the fur-traders on the coast in late years. It would seem that the Indians were as much in the dark on the subject as modern writers have been.[71]

[69] *Wilcox, Cartas Varias*, 1817, MS.

[70] 'Noak [an inferior chief with whom the Frenchman had much to do] gave me an account of the death of Canicum [Callicum], who was killed by Martines, whom he had bitterly reproached, calling him a robber, on account of the plundering of a hut by his people. Except this officer, the natives speak well of the Spaniards, and have adopted many words of their language.' *Voy.*, 29.

[71] 'Swanimilich, . . lived at Tchinouk, behind Cape Flattery, . . assured me that there were at that place four Americans, who were left by a vessel from New York. He named three very distinctly, Messrs Clark, Lewis, and Kean. They had a house of their own, in which they were to pass the winter: he told me that several ships came every year, and mentioned an English vessel called the *Ocean*.' Noak told me that at Nootka 'the English formerly had a house, that the Spaniards had a larger one, but that both were abandoned. He added that thirty months before an English vessel had come into the cove, the captain

After a trip to the Marquesas, where he met Captain Sowles, formerly of the *Beaver*, Roquefeuil came back to New Archangel in April 1818, where he formed a contract to hunt sea-otters on joint account with the Russians. This enterprise having failed, the trading voyage was resumed, and the *Bordelais* coasting southward reached the latitude of 55° about the middle of August. She entered Perez Strait under the American flag and otherwise disguised, in the hope of seizing Indians to be held for ransom, and thus avenging past wrongs at their hands; but this plan not being successful, Roquefeuil steered for Port Estrada and engaged in trade along the northern shore of Queen Charlotte, not with much profit for lack of suitable articles for barter. Passing down the strait between the island and the main, he arrived at Nootka on the 5th of September. Maquinna gave his visitors a warm welcome, and though he had not collected the skins promised the year before, he showed an unabated willingness to receive presents. I append in a note some interesting items about old-time happenings at this port as obtained from the aged chieftain.[72] The southern ruler

of which had a wooden leg, and that he stopped only three days: that before that, and after the departure of the English and Spaniards, only two vessels had entered the Bay, one English, the other American; that they had anchored at Mawina; that at present, and for a long time since, his countrymen sent the furs to Naspaté (at the western extremity of the island), where they exchanged them for handsomer blankets than ours.'

[72] 'He then explained, in a very intelligible manner, that he had concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, which he made us understand by signs, had been put in writing; that by this convention he had ceded to them a piece of ground, on the coast of the bay, in return for a quantity of iron instruments, woollens, etc., which they delivered to him at stated periods; that they lived together on the most friendly footing, (the Spaniards occupying one part of the cove and the Indians the other); that they had built large houses, and erected batteries upon the little Islands at the entrance; that their presence was very advantageous to him, well as on account of the useful things which he received from them, as the terror they inspired into his enemies. He expressed great regret at their departure, spoke in high terms of the commanders, Cuadra, Alava, and Fidalgo, and gave to all the Spaniards in general, except to Martinez, praises... Macouina spoke also in praise of Vancouver, Broughton, and the English captains who frequented Nootka at the same time. He mentioned, among others, Meares, who, he said, had built a small house, in a place which he pointed out to me, in the western extremity of the village. I took this opportunity to obtain, at the fountain-head, information on a subject which has become interesting, on account of the quarrel to which

Wicananish was understood to be still in power at Clayoquot Sound, but was not visited. After a week's stay at Nootka, the *Bordelais* sailed again for California, there to obtain with considerable difficulty a cargo of produce, which was carried to Sitka in October; after which M. Roquefeuil, leaving the coast in December, sailed for the Sandwich Islands, China, and France, reaching home in November 1819, after a voyage of thirty-seven months around the world.[73]

In Alaskan waters Roquefeuil met two vessels which apparently had touched at different points below latitude 55° in 1817–18, though no particulars about their movements are given. One was the Boston brig *Brutus*, Captain Nye, which seems to have traded on the shores of Queen Charlotte; and the other was the British brig *Columbia*, commander not named, which had left England in 1817, and had perhaps visited the Columbia River. The same vessel is said to have touched at Monterey in September, coming from the north.[74] The only foreign trader of the year besides the *Bordelais* mentioned in the Californian records is the *Clarion*, Captain Gyzelaar, from the Sandwich Islands, not known to have visited the northern ports, though she probably did so.[75] There are, however, both in Roquefeuil's narrative and in the Californian records a few vague allusions to American trading craft not named, and which there are no means of identifying.

it gave rise. The result of my inquiry was, that Meares' house had been built with the permission of Macouina, but that there had not been any act of cession or treaty between them. These, then, are the buildings erected by Meares, and his rights to districts and portions of land, rights which England pretends were transferred to it by Meares, who went from Macao to America, under the Portuguese flag, without any public character whatever. Such was the subject of the quarrel, which was on the point of kindling a war between the three great maritime powers, in 1790, and for which France alone fitted out 45 ships of the line.' *Voy.*, 96–7.

[73] *A Voyage round the world between the years 1816–1819. By M. Camille de Roquefeuil, in the ship Le Bordelais*, London, 1823, 8vo, 112 pp. This work is printed in English as part of the *New Voyages and Travels*, ix. The French original, if any was published, I have not seen. M. Roquefeuil gives interesting descriptions of the various countries and peoples visited.

[74] *Roquefeuil's Voyage*, 81–2, 85, 107.

[75] *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 110, 89–90.

The United States sloop-of-war *Ontario*, commanded by Captain J. Biddle, visited the Columbia in 1818. By the treaty ending the war of 1812 all places taken by either party during the war were to be restored. Captain Biddle was sent as commissioner for the United States to receive possession of Fort George, which he did, in a manner not definitely described in any document that I have seen, on the 9th of August. Then the *Ontario* proceeded southward, touching at Monterey at the beginning of September.[76] But Biddle's act not being deemed satisfactory in all respects, the British frigate *Blossom*, Captain J. Hickey, sailed from Valparaiso for the Columbia, carrying also J. B. Prevost as commissioner for the United States. These gentlemen, together with J. Keith of the Northwest Company, accomplished the restoration in due form on the 6th of October, the establishment remaining, however, as before, in the hands of the English company.[77] The *Blossom*, like the *Ontario*, visited California on her voyage to the south, her arrival at Monterey at the beginning of November being recorded in the archives.[78]

Maritime exploration of the Northwest Coast as an historical topic may be conveniently regarded as ending with the voyages of the *Ontario* and *Blossom* in 1818. So far as the furnishing of real geographical information is concerned the series of expeditions might have been suspended many years earlier; but the meagre annals of fur-hunting voyages could not be so appropriately presented elsewhere. The few visits by sea to be noticed in later years connect themselves naturally with the progress of affairs on

[76] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 197.

[77] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 308–10, with references to and quotations from the president's messages and accompanying documents of April 15, 17, 1822. Prevost wrote a report from Monterey dated November 11th.

[78] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.; Ben. Mil.*, xlix. 28, *Guerra, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 20–1. 'Vino al rio Columbia con la comision de verificar su entrega á los Americanos, á cuyo fin conduce á los comisionados por los Estados Unidos, y seguirá su viage el 10 ó el 11,' writes Governor Sola to Captain Guerra on November 8th.

shore. The topic of the Oregon title also begins with 1818, the date of the first treaty between the rival claimants to this broad territory. Before proceeding to consider inland developments, however, I shall devote a chapter to the maritime fur-trade of past years.

Herewith is appended a list of such vessels as have come to my knowledge that are known to have touched on the Northwest Coast from 1819 to 1840. It has been made up of such fragmentary records as could be found, many of them neither official nor accurate. The files of Sandwich Island newspapers were a useful source of information on this subject after 1836. The California archives also afforded some items not elsewhere appearing; and it is probable that others of the vessels named in the California annual lists—for which see another volume of this series—should be added to this, but there are no means of knowing which ones. Printed memoirs of the Oregon missionaries contain some names; the Hudson's Bay Company's archives others; while I have a few old log-books or fragments; and for the rest we are obliged to depend on the manuscript reminiscences of men who in those days went down to the sea in ships. I do not include in the list the Russian vessels plying each year between Sitka, Ross, and the Spanish ports of California, often extending their trips to Mexico, South America, Asia, or the islands; nor do I mention the whalers that visited the north Pacific in great numbers, and are recorded as touching in California and the Sandwich Islands; though it is likely that some vessels of both these classes touched from time to time on the coast, between latitude 42° and 55°. I shall have occasion to present more details respecting many of the vessels and commanders here mentioned, in later chapters and volumes of this work. The list arranged chronologically is as follows:

[1819–20.] *Borneo*, George Clark, American ship; wrecked at Kaigan in January 1819.

*Volunteer*, James Bennett, Boston ship; carried crew of *Borneo* back to the Sandwich Islands.

*Brutus*, David Nye, Boston brig; made a trip to Alaska and probably down the coast.

*Eagle*, Thomas Meek, Boston ship; from Northwest Coast to China. All these items are taken from a sketch of Captain William Smith's life in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* and *Niles' Register*, xviii. 418.

[1820.] A Japanese junk, laden with wax, cast away on Point Adams, according to Mr Brooks.

[1821.] *Arab*, American brig; trading on the coast. I have her original log, which lacks, however, both beginning and end. It is in this log that I find the following trading-vessels of this year:

*Fredie*, Stetson, Boston brig; arrived in August and went to Sandwich Islands.

*Pedler*, Meek, New York brig.

*Sultan*, consort of the *Fredie*.

*Hamilton*, *Lascar*, and *Mentor*, all Boston vessels; and two commanded by captains Post and Martin, perhaps identical with some of the preceding.

[1823–5.] *Rob Roy*, Cross, Boston brig, owned by Bryant and Sturgis; trading on the coast, also probably in later years. Mentioned in the *Memoranda* of Henry A. Peirce.

[1824 et seq.] *Herald*, Hammatt, owned by Bryant and Sturgis.

*Triton*, Bryant, owned by Bryant and Sturgis.

*Sultan*, Allen, owned by Bryant and Sturgis.

*Convoy*, McNeill, owned by Josiah Marshall.

[1825–8.] *Griffon*, M. T. Peirce, Boston brig, owned by Bryant and Sturgis; engaged in trade on the Northwest Coast. Henry A. Peirce, brother of the captain, was on board, and gives a full account of the trip in his *Memoranda*.

[1827.] *Cadboro*, Simpson, British schooner, from Columbia River; in California in December.

[1828–30.] *Volunteer*, Seth Barker, owned by Bryant and Sturgis.

*Active*, Cotting or Cotton, owned by William Baker and Company.

*Louisa*, Martin, owned by William Baker and Company.

*Owyhee*, Kelly, owned by Josiah Marshall.

[1828.] *William & Ann*, Hudson's Bay Company's vessel; wrecked inside the Columbia bar.

[1829–30.] *Owyhee*, Dominis, Boston ship; traded in Columbia River.

*Convoy*, Thompson; with the *Owyhee*.

[1830.] *Isabella*, Hudson's Bay Company's brig; castaway in Columbia River.

[1831.] A Japanese junk wrecked on Queen Charlotte Island, according to Mr Brooks.

[1831–2.] *Dryad*, English brig; in California from the Columbia River both years.

[1833.] Another Japanese wreck near Cape Flattery.

[1834.] *Llama*, or *Lama*, William O'Neill, Hudson's Bay Company's brig; in California for supplies, from Columbia River.

*May Dacre*, Lambert, American brig; in Columbia River for trade and salmon.

*Europa*, Allen, Boston trader on the coast, according to Kelley's *Memoir*.

[1835.] *May Dacre*, still in the river; Wyeth owner and agent.

*Ganymede*, Eales, Hudson's Bay Company's bark; in Columbia River.

*Dryad*, Keplin; left Columbia River for Sandwich Islands.

[1836.] *Joseph Peabody*, Moore; arrived at Honolulu from Northwest Coast and Kaigan, sailing for New York.

*Columbia*, Darby, Hudson's Bay Company's bark; at Honolulu from Columbia River. At Honolulu again under Captain Royal in December, and sailed for London.

*Nereid*, Royal, Hudson's Bay Company's bark; arrived at Honolulu from England, and arrived at Columbia River in August.

*Llama*, McNeill; in Columbia River and at Kaigan.

*Europa*, William Winkworth; from Honolulu to Northwest Coast and to Monterey.

*Loriot*, Nye, Blinn, and Bancroft successively; American trader, on special service, in Columbia River, California, and Sandwich Islands.

*Convoy*, Bancroft and later Burch, American brig; from Kaigan to Honolulu and back.

*La Grange*, Snow, Boston ship; at Honolulu from Kaigan and other ports on Northwest Coast.

*Beaver*, Holms, Hudson's Bay Company's steamer; in Columbia River, the first steamer to visit the coast.

[1837.] *Llama*, Bancroft, Sangster, Brotchie, and McNeill; from Columbia River to Honolulu and California.

*Nereid;* still in Columbia River.

*Cadboro*, William Brotchie, Hudson's Bay Company's schooner; made a trip from Columbia River to California.

*Loriot*, Bancroft; from Columbia River to California and Sandwich Islands; also a trip to Mazatlan under Captain Handley.

*Sumatra*, Duncan, English bark; carried missionaries from Honolulu to Columbia River.

*Hamilton*, S. Barker, American ship; trading trip from Honolulu to the Northwest Coast.

*Diana*, William S. Hinkley, American brig; carried missionaries from Honolulu to Columbia River; trip to California; name changed to *Kamamalu*.

*Sulphur*, Edward Belcher, H. B. M. ship; on an exploring voyage round the world; spent a week in Nootka Sound.

*Starling*, H. Kellett, H. B. M. exploring schooner; in company with the *Sulphur*.

[1838.] *Llama*, Bancroft, later Robinson and Perrier; hunting and trading trips to California and Sandwich Islands.

*Nereid*, Brotchie; at Honolulu from Columbia River, also in California.

*Cadboro*, Robbins; in California from Columbia River.

*Joseph Peabody;* engaged in fur-trade, according to Kelley's *Memoir*.

*Columbia*, Humphries; from England to Columbia River and return *via* Sandwich Islands.

[1839.] *Nereid*, Brotchie; trip from the Columbia River to the Islands and back.

*Vancouver*, Duncan, Hudson's Bay Company's bark; from London to Columbia River and back to Honolulu.

*Thomas Perkins*, Varney; left Sandwich Islands for Northwest Coast to trade.

*Joseph Peabody*, Dominis; trading on Alaska coast and perhaps farther south.

*Sulphur*, Belcher; in Columbia River, July to September.

*Starling*, Kellett; with the preceding.

[1840.] *Columbia*, Humphries; in California, Sandwich Islands, and Columbia River.

*Forager*, Thompson, English brig; left Honolulu for Columbia River and California.

*Lausanne*, Spaulding, American ship; in Columbia River, California, and Sandwich Islands; settlers and missionaries.

*Maryland*, Couch, Boston brig; in Columbia River, trading for salmon.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE MARITIME FUR-TRADE.

1778–1846.

THE SEA-OTTER—COMMENTARIES UPON IT—THE RUSSIAN BEGINNINGS—THE CHINESE MARKET—CAPTAIN COOK'S DISCOVERIES—BOLTS' ENTERPRISE—JOHN LEDYARD AND HIS PLANS—AN ECCENTRIC YANKEE—DISHEARTENING FAILURES—ENGLISH EFFORTS FROM INDIA—HANNA AND HIS FOLLOWERS—IN LONDON—PORTLOCK AND DIXON—FRENCH INVESTIGATION—LA PÉROUSE—MARCHAND'S EXPERIENCE—BEGINNINGS AT BOSTON—KENDRICK AND GRAY—ROUTINE OF THE TRADE—ENGLISHMEN VERSUS AMERICANS—PERILS OF THE BUSINESS—CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES—METHODS OF BARTER—ARTICLES DESIRED—STATISTICS—THE TRADE IN CALIFORNIA—THE ENGLISH COMPANIES—AMERICAN DEVICES—DECLINE OF THE FUR-TRADE.

THE home of the sea-otter was in the waters of the Northwest Coast, Alaska, and the Siberian islands. The fur of this amphibious animal, the most precious of all peltries, was the attraction that brought to these shores all the adventurous navigators whose exploits have been briefly recorded in the preceding chapters. A few did not engage directly in the fur-trade; but all such, with the possible exception of Captain Cook, came because of the operations of the fur-seekers. Much has been said bearing on this branch of commerce in the description of successive voyages; but it seems proper to devote a chapter to the general topic, and to give the information mainly in the words of the participators and writers, the same for the most part that have been so often cited before in this volume.

Cook describes as follows the first sea-otter seen by him at Nootka, he having had some doubt before

if the skins were really those of that animal: "It was rather young, weighing only twenty-five pounds; of a shining or glossy black colour; but many of the hairs being tipt with white, gave it a greyish cast at first sight. The face, throat, and breast were of a yellowish white, or very light brown colour, which, in many of the skins, extended the whole length of the belly. It had six cutting teeth in each jaw; two of those of the lower jaw being very minute, and placed without, at the base of the two middle ones. In these circumstances, it seems to disagree with those found by the Russians; and also in not having the outer toes of the hind feet skirted with a membrane. There seemed also a greater variety in the colour of the skins, than is mentioned by the describers of the Russian sea-otters. These changes of colour certainly take place at the different gradations of life. The very young ones had brown hair, which was coarse, with very little fur underneath; but those of the size of the entire animal, which came into our possession, and just described, had a considerable quantity of that substance; and both in that colour and state the sea-otters seem to remain, till they have attained their full growth. After that, they lose the black colour, and assume a deep brown or sooty colour; but have then a greater quantity of very fine fur, and scarcely any long hairs. Others, which we suspected to be still older, were of a chestnut brown; and a few skins were seen that had even acquired a perfectly yellow colour."[1] "A full grown prime skin," said Captain William Sturgis of Boston, an old trader, "which has been stretched before drying, is about five feet long, and twenty-four to thirty inches wide, covered with very fine fur, about three-fourths of an inch in length, having a rich jet black, glossy surface, and exhibiting a silver color when blown open. Those are esteemed the finest skins which have some white hairs interspersed and

[1] *Cook's Voyage*, ii. 295–6. An otter taken by La Pérouse and apparently full sized weighed 70 pounds. *La Pérouse, Voyage*, ii. 176.

scattered over the whole surface, and a perfectly white head. Mr Sturgis said that it would now give him more pleasure to look at a splendid sea-otter skin than to examine half the pictures that are stuck up for exhibition, and puffed up by pretended connoisseurs."[2]

There were other valuable furs in the country besides that of the sea-otter, and which were profitably exported in connection with the latter; but there were none which of themselves would in the early years have brought the world's adventurous traders on their long and perilous voyages to the coast. The fur-seal, however, was taken in large numbers; and in later years yielded greater profits, on account of its greater abundance, than the sea-otter.

On their first trips to the new continent and islands the Russians discovered the existence of the precious fur, and after 1741 these people, embarking from Siberia in their crazy craft, engaged actively in the hunt. The product was collected in the Kamchatkan ports, and transported by land, a part to Russia, but most to Kiakhta on the frontier, where they were exchanged for Chinese goods, which were carried overland to Europe. Notwithstanding the distances and consequent expense of transportation, making the price of a skin at least three times as much at Kiakhta as at Okhotsk, the traffic was a profitable one.[3] "Furs

[2] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 534. 'They are sometimes seen many leagues from land, sleeping on their backs, on the surface of the water, with their young ones reclining on their breast... The cubs are incapable of swimming till they are several months old... She will not leave her young ones in the moment of danger, and therefore shares their fate... They are unable to remain under water longer than two minutes... The male otter is, beyond all comparison, more beautiful than the female... Skins of this animal taken in the Corean and Japan seas, are superior to those of Russia or the North Western Coast of America.' *Meares' Voy.*, 241–4. 'Nothing can be more beautiful than one of these animals when seen swimming, especially when on the lookout for any object. At such times it raises its head quite above the surface.' *Jewitt's Nar.*, 67. See full description, with quotations from various authors, in *Marchand, Voyage*, ii. 29–37.

[3] The Russian fur-trade of the extreme north will be fully treated in a later volume on the History of Alaska. *Coxe's Russian Discoveries*, London, 1787, is the authority by which this trade was made known to the world. Coxe mentions a specimen cargo of furs yielding about $50,000 in Kamchatka. Irving, *Astoria*, 33, takes the following view of the overland transit: 'The Russians

form the principal and favorite dress of the inhabitants of the Northern provinces of China; and those of the rarest kind and the highest prices are eagerly purchased by them.—From five hundred to one thousand dollars, and even a larger sum, are frequently paid for a single suit of this precious cloathing." In the southern provinces also everybody who can afford it has a sea-otter cape at a cost of $6. And after the new system of importation had been introduced, "the reputation of the sea-otter skins brought...the Northern Chinese and Pekin merchants to Canton, a port which they had never before visited, and at the distance of near one thousand miles from the places of their residence.—Yet...they found it answered to their entire satisfaction, from being able to obtain the same species of furs which they had been accustomed to purchase at Kiascha, at a price so much below the usual rate of that market. They arrived at Canton laden with teas, silk and ivory; and took back in return furs and broadcloths."[4] Yet the Chinese, with all their extravagant fondness for furs, by their peculiar commercial policy involving many burdensome restrictions, made the fur-trader's road to fortune by no means a straight and pleasant one.

What was learned from the works of Coxe and others respecting the Russian trade with China, seems to have made no sensation in European commercial circles until verified and amplified by the reports of

had the advantage over their competitors in the trade. The latter had to take their peltries to Canton, which, however, was a mere receiving mart... The Russians, on the contrary, carried their furs, by a shorter voyage [?] directly to the northern parts of the Chinese empire; thus being able to afford them in the market without the additional cost of internal transportation.' Greenhow writes: 'The trade in furs had been conducted, almost wholly, by the British and the Russians, between whom, however, there had been no opportunity for competition. The Russians procured their furs chiefly in the northern parts of their own empire; and they exported to China, by land, all such as were not required for their own use. The British market was supplied entirely from Hudson's Bay and Canada; and a great portion of the skins there collected was sent to Russia, whence many of them found their way to China, though none had ever been shipped directly for the latter country.' *Or. and Cal.*, 161.

[4] *Meares' Account of the Trade*, etc., lxxxvi.

an English voyager. Captain Cook's special purpose in his expedition of 1776–80, so far as north-western America was concerned, was to find a passage to the Atlantic. He did not succeed in opening a channel by which Canadian and Hudson Bay furs might be sent direct to China by water; but he found what proved to be a richer store of furs than that on the Atlantic coasts, and he eventually found a good market.

The explorer and his men obtained from the natives at Nootka and other points a quantity of sea-otter skins, of whose real value they had no proper idea. Most of the furs had been injured by being made into garments; they were used for bedclothes on the voyage and preserved with but little care; two thirds of those obtained were spoiled or given away in Kamchatka, and it was thought that the full value was not obtained in China; yet the remnant was sold for about ten thousand dollars. Little wonder that, as Captain King says, "the rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's River, and, by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes, at one time, was not far short of mutiny; and I must own, I could not help indulging myself in a project," which was to have the work of exploration undertaken in connection with the fur-trade by the East India Company, in two vessels of one hundred and one hundred and fifty tons which could be fitted out at a cost of six thousand pounds. "Each ship should have five ton of unwrought iron, a forge, and an expert smith, with a journeyman and apprentice, who might be ready to forge such tools, as it should appear the Indians were most desirous of. . . It is well known, that the fancy of these people for articles of ornament, is exceedingly capricious; and that iron is the only sure commodity for their market. To this might be added, a few gross of large pointed case-knives, some bales of coarse woollen cloth (linen they would not accept from us) and a barrel or two of copper and glass

trinkets." This enterprise was to be directed chiefly to the Alaskan coast.[5]

"The last voyage of that renowned but unfortunate discoverer, Captain Cook, had made known the vast quantities of the sea-otter to be found along that coast, and the immense prices to be obtained for its fur in China. It was as if a new gold coast had been discovered. Individuals from various countries dashed into this lucrative traffic," says Irving; and Dixon, "A new and inexhaustible mine of wealth was laid open to future Navigators, by trading for furs of the most valuable kind, on the North West Coast of America." The information gained by Cook "became generally diffused before the publication of the journals [in 1784–5], and it did not fail to attract the attention of enterprising men in all maritime countries. That the furs might be sold advantageously at Canton was certain from a comparison of prices; and it was clear that still greater profits might be secured by a direct trade between China and the north-west coasts of America."[6]

But so far away was this new mine of wealth, and so little was known of the methods of working it, and so fully foreseen were the dangers and risks to be encountered, that the world's merchants "dashed into this lucrative traffic" somewhat deliberately. The earliest attempt in this direction, about which, how-

[5] *Cook's Voyage*, ii. 296, 401; iii. 370, 430–9. The best sea-otter skins sell in Kamchatka for 30 roubles each, but at Kiakhta, on the Chinese frontier, at more than double that price. Then they are sold at a good profit in Peking, and some of them again at an advance in Japan. 'What a prodigiously advantageous trade might be carried on between this place and Japan, which is but about a fortnight's, at most, three weeks' sail from it!...The fur of these animals, as mentioned in the Russian accounts, is certainly softer and finer than that of any others we know of; and, therefore, the discovery of this part of the continent of North America, where so valuable an article of commerce may be met with, cannot be a matter of indifference....There is not the least doubt, that a very beneficial fur trade might be carried on with the inhabitants of this vast coast. But unless a northern passage should be found practicable, it seems rather too remote from Great Britain to receive any emolument from it.' Twenty skins belonging to the dead commanders were sold for $800. One of the seamen sold his for $800. A few fine ones sold for $120 each.

[6] *Irving's Astoria*, 32; *Dixon's Voyage*, p. ix.; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 160–1.

ever, very little is known, was that of William Bolts, who as early as 1781 is said to have "fitted out the *Cobenzell*, an armed ship of seven hundred tons, for the north-west coast of America. She was to have sailed from Trieste, accompanied by a tender of forty-five tons, under imperial colours, and was equally fitted out for trade or discovery; men of eminence in every department of science were engaged on board; all the maritime courts of Europe were written to in order to secure a good reception; yet, after all, this expedition so exceedingly promising in every point of view, was overturned by a set of interested men, then in power at Vienna."[7]

John Ledyard was an eccentric American, a native of Connecticut, and educated at Dartmouth, who in his search for adventure had served as corporal of marines during Cook's voyage, an account of which he published. The prospective excitement and profits of the fur-trade in the new regions visited made a lasting impression on his mind; and on deserting from the British naval service in 1782, being then thirty-one years of age, almost without a dollar, he proceeded to devote himself with all the enthusiasm of his nature to "the greatest commercial enterprise that has ever been embarked on in the country; and one of the first moment as it respects the trade of America"—that is, the fur-trade on the Northwest Coast in American vessels. "It was clear, therefore, in his mind, that they, who should first engage in this trade, would reap immense profits by their earliest efforts, and at the same time gain such knowledge and experience, as would enable them to pursue it for years with advantages superior to any, that could be commanded by the competitors, who might be drawn into the same channel of commerce." "In New York he

[7] *Dixon's Voyage*, pp. xx.–i. 'Une intrigue dont on ignore et la source et les moyens culbuta cette entreprise.' *Fleurieu*, in *Marchand, Voy.*, p. cxxiii. 'The feeble effort of an imprudent man failed prematurely, owing to causes' not explained. *Portlock's Voy.*, 2.

was unsuccessful; his scheme was called wild and visionary, and set down as bearing the marks rather of a warm imagination, and sanguine temperament, than of a sober and mature judgment. No merchant was found willing to hazard his money, or his reputation, in an adventure so novel in its kind, and so questionable in its promise... His first inquiries in Philadelphia met with no better favor, till Mr Robert Morris... entered into his views, and made arrangements to furnish the outfits of a voyage according to the plan he drew up." Then followed a strange series of obstacles in the matter of obtaining a suitable vessel. "Thus a year was spent, in a vexatious and fruitless struggle to overcome difficulties, which thickened as he advanced, till his patience, and that of Mr Morris also, would seem to have been exhausted, for the voyage was altogether abandoned."

New London was the scene of Ledyard's next efforts, and one Captain Deshon was almost persuaded to embark in the scheme; but so glowing was the picture drawn and so extravagant the promise of profit that Deshon finally declined to place his trust in hopes so enthusiastic, afterward regretting his decision, it is said. "As far as can be ascertained," says Mr Sparks, "Ledyard's views of the subject, both as unfolded in the transactions with Mr Morris and with Captain Deshon, accorded exactly with those acted upon by the first adventurers, who were rewarded with extraordinary success. It was a part of his plan to purchase lands of the natives, and establish a factory, or colony, for the purpose of a continued intercourse and trade." "To some of his friends Ledyard mentioned his intention of leaving the ship on the coast, when the cargo should be obtained and exploring the country overland from Nootka Sound."

Disappointed in his own country, Ledyard went to Europe. In Spain he was encouraged by an English commissioner of the emperor of Morocco, but nothing came of it. Then he went to France in 1784, and

at L'Orient "his plan was received with so much approbation, that within twelve days he completed a negotiation with a company of merchants, and a ship was selected for the intended voyage." "I have been so much the sport of accident," said he, "that I am exceedingly suspicious. It is true, that in this L'Orient negotiation, I have guarded every avenue to future disappointment, yet this head I wear is so much a dupe to my heart, and at other times my heart is so bewildered by my head, that in matters of business I have not much confidence in either," and his forebodings were well founded, for it was deemed too late to sail that year, and, though the adventurer was liberally supported during the winter by his new friends, "we hear no more of the L'Orient negotiation, except that it failed," like the others.

Mr Jefferson, United States minister to France, "received Ledyard with great kindness, and approved most highly his design," which approval had no immediate effect, but is said to have suggested the idea of Lewis and Clarke's expedition of later years. Soon our adventurer formed the acquaintance of the famous Paul Jones, who "eagerly seized Ledyard's idea, and an arrangement was closed, by which they agreed to unite in an expedition, somewhat larger than Ledyard had before contemplated. Two vessels were to be fitted out, and, if possible, commissioned by the king." The scheme was arranged in all its details, and "so much was Jones taken with it, that he advanced money to Ledyard with which to purchase a part of the cargo," besides "an allowance of money sufficient for his maintenance;" but Jones was called away from Paris on other business and his ardor in the new enterprise cooled with reflection.

After an unsuccessful attempt to organize a commercial company in Paris, writes Thomas Jefferson, "I then proposed to him to go by land to Kamchatka, cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall down into the latitude of the

Missouri, and penetrate to and through that to the United States. He eagerly seized the idea, and only asked to be assured of the permission of the Russian government." The desired permission was obtained from the empress after some delay. Meanwhile Ledyard went to London, where a more direct means of accomplishing his purpose presented itself. He actually embarked on an English ship for the Northwest Coast. His plan was to land at Nootka and thence "pursue his course, as fortune should guide him, to Virginia;" but "the vessel was not out of sight of land, before it was brought back by an order from the government, and the voyage was finally broken off." Then Sir Joseph Banks and other prominent Englishmen raised a little money by subscription, and Ledyard went to Hamburg, and started on a trip by land to Siberia. He reached St Petersburg, after many adventures, in the spring of 1787. There he obtained his passport, and proceeded to Yakutsk, in Siberia. His usual ill-luck did not desert him, for while wintering so near his destination he was suddenly arrested in February 1788, in accordance with imperial secret orders, and carried to Moscow and to the frontiers of Poland, the reasons for his arrest not being known. The empress claimed to have been actuated by humanity; but it is not unlikely that the explorer was stopped through the machinations of the Russian-American Fur Company.

Ledyard reached London in May, and was soon recommended "to an adventure almost as perilous as the one from which he had returned," namely, the exploration of the African interior under the auspices of an English association. "When he returned to Paris," writes Mr Jefferson, "his bodily strength was much impaired. His mind, however, remained firm, and he after this undertook the journey to Egypt. I received a letter from him, full of sanguine hopes, dated at Cairo, the fifteenth of November, 1788, the day before he was to set out for the head of the

Nile; on which day, however, he ended his career and life: and thus failed the first attempt to explore the western part of our northern continent."[8]

"The Russians were the first to avail themselves of Cook's discoveries," says Greenhow—that is, his discovery of the sea-otter to the south of Alaska—by organizing a fur company in 1781, leading to Shelikof's expedition. Otherwise, and disregarding the unsuccessful efforts of Bolts and Ledyard, the first to engage practically in the new branch of trade were English merchants residing in India and China. The chief obstacle encountered by them arose from the great monopolies, the East India and South Sea companies; and they were obliged to resort to various more or less irregular expedients, notably that of sailing under other than English colors. Captain Hanna made the first trip in 1785 from China, and was followed by several others whose voyages have already been described. All, save one or two who were shipwrecked, seem to have been successful from a commercial point of view. Meares was the only one of the number who published an account of his adventures; and notwithstanding the disastrous termination of his own enterprise, arising from Spanish interference, he was very enthusiastic respecting the future benefits to be derived by Great Britain from the fur-trade.[9] Captain Barclay also made a trading

[8] *Sparks' Life of Ledyard*, passim; *Jefferson's Life of Lewis*, in *Lewis and Clarke's Exped.*, i.

[9] Meares, *Account of the Trade between Northwest America and China*, includes all branches of the Chinese trade, the fur-trade being but a small part—but on this and on all parts he is very enthusiastic as to the prospective benefits to Great Britain. He advocates also the whale-fishery and the acquisition of the Sandwich Islands. 'On considering, therefore, the prodigious population of China, and supposing the fur-trade to be carried on under proper regulations, the inaccuracy of an opinion which has been advanced with some degree of plausibility that the Chinese market may be overstocked with...furs, must appear evident to the most transient reflection. On the contrary, it is our decided opinion, that the sea-otter skins which have been imported to China since the commencement of the North West American trade, have not proved sufficient to answer the demands of the single province of Canton.' *Id.*, lxxxvi.–vii.

voyage to the coast in 1786–7, sailing from Ostend under the flag of the Austrian East India Company.

The first successful attempt in this direction from England, one failure at least having been noted in connection with Ledyard's career, was made in 1786, by Portlock and Dixon. Says the latter: Cook's discovery, "though obviously a source from whence immense riches might be expected, and communicated, no doubt, to numbers in the year 1780, was not immediately attended to. The prosecution of any effectual plan to carry on this novel undertaking, required not only patience and perseverance, but a degree of spirit and enterprize which does not often fall to the lot of individuals: however, in the Spring of 1785, a set of Gentlemen procured a Charter from the South Sea Company, for the sole right of carrying on this traffic to its utmost extent;" hence the voyage in question. Besides having to get a license from the South Sea Company, "whatever furs might be procured in our traffic on the American Coast, were to be disposed of in China, subject to the immediate control of the East India Company's Supercargoes, and in consequence of this consignment, both vessels were to be freighted home on the Company's account." The expedition was a very successful one, and both the merchant-navigators became enthusiastic in their predictions for the future. To put the fur-trade on a permanent footing, says Dixon, "I should conceive the most eligible plan to be, to establish a factory on the coast, and the North end of Queen Charlotte's Islands seems peculiarly well adapted for that purpose; the situation is nearly central, between Cook's River and King George's Sound; and we are well assured, that the furs to the Southward are of a very inferior quality. Two small vessels would not only collect all the skins in what harbours are hitherto known, but likewise explore...; besides, there are other valuable articles to be procured here, such as ginseng, copper, oil, spars, etc., and vast quantities of

salmon might be cured." And Portlock to the same effect: "The inestimable value of their furs will ever make it a desirable trade, and whenever it is established upon a proper foundation, and a settlement made, will become a very valuable and lucrative branch of commerce. It would be an easy matter for either Government or our East India Company to make a settlement of this kind; and the thinness of the inhabitants will make it a matter of easy practicability; and as the Company are under the necessity of paying the Chinese in cash for their teas, I look upon it a settlement on this coast might be effected at a very inconsiderable expence...Another convenience likely to accrue, is from a well-known enterprising character having, if he meets with proper encouragement from the country, intentions of going overland to these parts...That such an event may take place, must be the wish of every lover of his country; and though the enterprise is fraught with every danger that idea can suggest, yet what is it that British valour dares not attempt?"[10] A subsequent expedition was despatched by Etches and Company of London, in which enterprise that of Meares was merged before the end of 1739.

In France, where attention had been called to the subject both by Cook's report and Ledyard's efforts, the famous La Pérouse was instructed in his ex-

[10] *Dixon's Voyage*, ix. x. 236, 321–2; *Portlock's Voyaye*, 3–4, 294–5. Of the early voyages Portlock says: 'These enterprises have proved extremely important to the world, though their profits, considering the capital and the risques, were not enviously great. These enterprises, however, by enlarging the limits of discovery, made navigation more safe in the North Pacific Ocean...They taught the American savages, that strength must always be subordinate to discipline: and, having discovered the Ahooa Indians on the borders of Nootka Sound, who had so far advanced from their savage state as to refuse to sell to Mr Strange, for any price, the peltry which they had already engaged to Mr Hanna, these enterprises have ascertained this exhilarating truth to mankind, that civilization and morals must for ever accompany each other!' And Dixon, of the prospects: 'Thus much we can venture to affirm,.. that the fur trade is inexhaustible wherever there are inhabitants, and they, (experience tells us) are not confined to any particular situation, but are scattered in tribes all along the coast, which (as far as concerns future traders to examine) extends from 40 to 61 degrees.'

ploring expedition of 1786–90 round the world to fully investigate the prospects of the fur-trade for French enterprise. Consequently he obtained about a thousand sea-otter skins, mostly in pieces, which were sold for ten thousand dollars in China, and the proceeds divided among the crews of the two vessels.[11] "I believe," writes the navigator, "that there is no country in the world where the sea-otter is more common than in this part of America; and I should be little surprised that a factory extending its operations only forty or fifty leagues along the sea-shore might collect each year ten thousand skins of this animal."[12] Yet he did not favor any project of a French fur-trading establishment on the Northwest Coast, or even the granting an exclusive right to engage in this trade to a French company. Such were his views as expressed in a memoir written in December 1786, on the way from California to China. He had no doubt that sea-otter skins might be obtained in unlimited quantities; indeed so plentiful was the supply that the Chinese market in his opinion could not possibly maintain prices on a profitable basis. Moreover, he feared that an establishment on the coast might cause trouble with the courts of Madrid or St Petersburg. He gave, however, an approval of private experimental expeditions undertaken by French traders.[13]

[11] *La Pérouse, Voyage*, i. 29–30; iv. 165–7; *Fleurieu*, in *Marchand, Voyage*, cxii.–cxvii.

[12] *La Pérouse, Voyage*, ii. 176.

[13] *La Pérouse, Mémoire sur le commerce des peaux de loutre de mer*, in *Id., Voy.*, 162–172. 'Quelqu'étendu que soit l'empire de la Chine, il me paraît impossible que les peaux de loutre s'y mantiennent à très-haut prix, lorsque les différentes nations de l'Europe y en apporteront en concurrence.' 'J'ai beaucoup réfléchi sur le projet d'une factorerie au Port des Français ou dans les environs; et j'y trouve de très-grands inconvéniens, à cause de l'immense éloignement où ce comptoir se trouverait de l'Europe, et de l'incertitude des résultats de ce commerce à la Chine, lorsque les Espagnols, les Russes, les Anglais et les Français y apporteront en concurrence ces peaux, qu'il est si facile de se procurer sur toute la côte. On ne peut d'ailleurs douter que notre compagnie des Indes ne réclamât contre le privilége qu'il faudrait accorder aux armateurs pour qu'ils pussent faire leur vente à la Chine... Ces priviléges exclusifs tuent le commerce, comme les grands arbres étouffent les arbustes qui les environnent.' 'Ainsi, en résumant les différens articles de ce mémoire, mon opinion est qu'on ne doit point encore songer à l'établissement d'une factorerie, qu'il

The papers of La Pérouse's expedition not having been published, "French commerce," writes M. Fleurieu, "had not been able to engage in any enterprise of rivalry with that of other nations in the fur-trade. It would have been rash indeed to engage without preliminary examination in speculations which would require in order to be realized that vessels should make voyages round the world. Before embarking in this new career it was essential that our merchants should have been able to procure data nearly accurate, which on the one hand might put them in a condition to form a plan on the conduct to be observed with the Americans of the north-west coast, and on the selection of merchandise necessary for barter with them, and which on the other hand might give them a glimpse of the profits to be expected from the second exchange of American furs for Chinese productions." But Captain Marchand met Portlock in 1788, and obtained from him such information as to induce a French house to make the venture in 1790–1.[14]

Marchand obtained a fair quantity of furs, but on carrying them to China in 1791 he found that an order had been issued prohibiting any further introduction of peltries into the ports; therefore they were carried home and deposited at Lyons, where they were destroyed by worms during the siege of that city, involving the owners in a serious loss. Marchand confirmed the ideas of La Pérouse as to the abundance of sea-otter skins; but he also feared that the

n'est pas même temps d'établir une compagnie exclusive pour faire ce commerce à l'aventure; qu'on doit encore bien moins le confier à la compagnie des Indes, qui ne le ferait pas, on le ferait mal, et en dégoûterait le gouvernement; mais qu'il conviendrait d'engager une de nos places de commerce à essayer trois expéditions, en lui accordant la certitude d'un fret en Chine.' M. Monneron, chief engineer of the expedition, regards a French fur-trading post as inexpedient, and is ready to argue the case if the government so desires. He says also that La Pérouse wrote a paper against such an establishment. 'Il n'est pas difficile de présumer que l'âpreté de ce climat, le peu de resources de ce pays, son éloignement prodigieux de la métropole, la concurrence des Russes et des Espagnols, qui sont placés convenablement pour faire commerce, doivent éloigner toute autre puissance européenne que celles que je viens de nommer, de former aucun établissement entre Monterey et l'entrée du Prince-Williams.' *Id.*, iv. 120–1.

[14] *Fleurieu*, clxxxiv.–v.

trade would not be permanently profitable, though he had no doubt the Chinese prohibition would be evaded, unless it could be regulated and systematized.[15] There was another French trader on the coast in 1792, but nothing definite is known of results.

It was in 1788 that the Americans began their fur-trading operations on the coast by the expedition of Kendrick and Gray, fully recorded elsewhere in this volume. In the Coolidge building, opposite the Revere House, Boston, writes Bulfinch, "was assembled, in the year 1787, a group, consisting of the master of the mansion, Dr Bulfinch, his only son Charles, and Joseph Barrell, their neighbor, an eminent merchant of Boston. The conversation turned upon the topic of the day,— the voyages and discoveries of Capt. Cook, the account of which had lately been published. The brilliant achievements of Capt. Cook, his admirable qualities, and his sad fate. . . these formed the current of the conversation; till at last it changed, and turned more upon the commercial aspects of the subject. Mr Barrell was particularly struck with what Cook relates of the abundance of valuable furs offered by the natives in exchange for beads, knives, and other trifling commodities valued by them. . . Mr Barrell remarked: 'There is a rich harvest to be reaped there by those who shall first go in.' The idea thus suggested was followed out in future conversations at the doctor's fireside, admitting other congenial spirits to the discussion, and resulted in the equipping of an expedition," by Messrs Barrell, Brown, Bulfinch, Darby, Hatch, and Pintard.[16] It is not unlikely either that

[15] *Marchand, Voyage*, ii. 368–72, 391–4, 521–2. He learned also that the year before the average price had been forced by competition down to fifteen dollars. Nothing of the prohibition appears in the statements of other traders of the year. 'Mais le commerce des Fourrures a des limites fixées par la Nature et par la Raison: . . Il est aisé de concevoir que la nouvelle introduction de Pelleteries par la voie de mer et les Ports du Midi de la *Chine*, en appelant les Anglais, les Américains, les Français, les Espagnols et les Portugais au partage de ce commerce, en les faisant entrer en concurrence et en rivalité avec les Russes, doit faire descendre les marchandises qui en sont l'objet, á des prix qui ne présenteront plus un bénéfice suffisant,' etc.

[16] *Bulfinch's Oregon and El Dorado*, 1–3.

Ledyard's old-time enthusiasm had left an influence still more or less potent in the minds of Boston's solid men.

Though figures are lacking, this first venture is said not to have been profitable, and some of the partners withdrew from the enterprise; but the rest persevered, and others entered the new field with large but varying success. Perkins, Lamb, Dorr, Boardman, Lyman, and Sturgis are names connected with firms that are said to have made fortunes in the fur-trade. Down to 1788–9 there had been fourteen English vessels engaged in the trade; but from 1790 to 1818 there were one hundred and eight American vessels and only twenty-two English, nearly all before 1800, with three French, and two Portuguese, so far as recorded, though the list of all classes, particularly of the British craft, is doubtless incomplete. Indeed very little is known in detail of English ventures in this direction after the Nootka controversy of 1789–95; but it appears that the trade was gradually abandoned by reason of divers obstacles, notably the opposition of the East India Company.

Said Captain Sturgis in his lecture on the subject: "The trade was confined almost exclusively to Boston. It was attempted, unsuccessfully, from Philadelphia and New York, and from Providence and Bristol, in Rhode Island. Even the intelligent and enterprising merchants of Salem failed of success...So many of the vessels engaged in this trade belonged here, the Indians had the impression that Boston was our whole country. At the close of the last century, with the exception of the Russian establishments, the whole trade was in our hands, and so remained until the close of the war with Great Britain, in 1815. In 1801, the trade was most extensively, though not most profitably prosecuted; that year, there were fifteen vessels on the coast, and in 1802 more than fifteen thousand sea-otter skins were collected, and carried to Canton. But the competition was so great,

that few of the voyages were then profitable, and some were ruinous. Subsequently, the war with Great Britain interrupted the trade for a time; but after the peace in 1815 it was resumed, and flourished for some years."[17]

"In the year 1792, there were twenty-one vessels under different flags," writes Mr Irving, "plying along the coast and trading with the natives. The greater part of them were American, and owned by Boston merchants. They generally remained on the coast, and about the adjacent seas, for two years, carrying on as wandering and adventurous a commerce on the water as did the traders and trappers on land. Their trade extended along the whole coast from California to the high northern latitudes. They would run in near shore, anchor, and wait for the natives to come off in their canoes with peltries. The trade exhausted at one place, they would up anchor and off to another. In this way they would consume the summer, and when autumn came on, would run down to the Sandwich Islands and winter in some friendly and plentiful harbor. In the following year they would resume their summer trade, commencing at California and proceeding north: and, having in the course of the two seasons collected a sufficient cargo of peltries, would make the best of their way to China. Here they would sell their furs, take in teas, nankeens, and other merchandise, and return to Boston, after an absence of two or three years."[18]

[17] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 534–6. 'The direct trade between the American coasts and China remained, from 1796 to 1814, almost entirely, . . . in the hands of the citizens of the United States.' *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 266.

[18] *Irving's Astoria*, 32–3. 'Desde el año de 1787, hasta el presente han anclado en aquel puerto [Nootka] veinte y ocho embarcaciones de varias Potencias con el fin de comerciar con los Indios de toda la costa. . . atendiendo todos éstos á la crecida utilidad que les promete el comercio clandestino que tienen sobre nuestras costas, pues por un pequeño pedazo de cobre, cuyo valor no es mas que tres reales en Nueva-España, logran comprar una piel de nutria, que vendida en Canton asciende su precio á ciento y veinte pesos, ó á ciento y ochenta, segun la calidad que estiman los Chinos, siendo la mejor la mas grande y negra, con la condicion que tenga el hocico blanco.' *Tobar, Informe*, 157–8.

An English navigator of 1792 writes: "The vessels employed in commercial pursuits this season on the north-west coast of America, have I believe found their adventures to answer their expectations: many were contented with the cargo of furs they had collected in the course of the summer; whilst others who had prolonged their voyage, either passed the winter at the Sandwich islands, or on the coast, where they completed small vessels which they brought out in frame. An English and an American shallop were at this time on the stocks in the cove, and when finished were to be employed in the inland navigation, in collecting the skins of the sea-otter and other furs; beside these, a French ship was then engaged in the same pursuit," and the Spaniards were also collecting information on commerce.[19] And a Spanish voyager of that year says, Dixon's profits excited the cupidity of traders, and thus, "although various circumstances have caused a considerable diminution of the profits which this traffic yielded at first, twenty-two vessels engaged in it have been counted in 1792, eleven English, eight American, two Portuguese, and one French; and the American Mr Gray has collected by himself alone 3000 skins. Hardly is there a point on the coast from 37° to 60° which is not visited by these vessels; so that, if we lack a detailed and accurate map from the reports, explorations, and surveys of these navigators, it is because those who discover a port or entrance not known before, where they find inhabitants and an opportunity to procure skins advantageously, take advantage of the occasion and conceal the news of the discovery with a view of doing an exclusive trade for a long time."[20]

[19] *Vancouver's Voyage*, i. 408. 'Ainsi l'*Europe*, l'*Asie*, et l'*Amérique* du *Nord-Est*, par un mouvement simultanée ont dirigé leurs vaisseaux vers les Côtes du *Nord-Ouest* du Nouveau Monde, et ont multiplié à l'envi, sans principes comme sans mesure, de spéculations hasardées.' *Marchand, Voyage*, ii. 391.

[20] *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 112-13. 'Sabemos tambien que la nacion inglesa, ansiosa de extender su comercio por todo el globo, oyó con gusto las noticias del Capitan Cook sobre el tráfico de pieles en las costas al N. O. de la

"There are better ships nowadays, but no better seamen," says one of the old Boston commanders;[21] and another, "The vessels usually employed were from one hundred to two hundred and fifty tons burthen, each. The time occupied for a voyage by vessels that remained upon the coast only a single season, was from twenty-two months to two years, but they generally remained out two seasons, and were absent from home nearly three years."[22] "The American vessels, employed on the N. W. coast," says a writer whose patriotism was excited in 1822 by rumors of Russian interference, "are well armed, and amply furnished with the munitions of war. Separated from the civilized world, and cut off, for a long time, from all communication with it, they have been accustomed to rely on their own resources for protection and defence; and to consider, and treat as enemies, all who attempted to interrupt them in the prosecution of their lawful pursuits. To induce them to relinquish this commerce, 'persuasion' will be unavailing; 'threats' will be disregarded," and force will be met by force—unless the odds appear too great.[23]

English writers did not always greatly admire the American methods of carrying on the fur-trade,

América, que lo emprendió inmediatamente, que cogió sus primicias, y que lo continúa con actividad, quizá con otras miras de mayor interés; pero si las ganancias de aquel tráfico pueden haberse minorado, tambien hay razones que persuaden á que esta adquisicion se vaya haciendo cada dia mas dificil y costosa. Frecuentan aquellos mares muchos buques de distintas naciones: todos se emplean en el comercio de pieles.' *Revilla-Gigedo, Informe 12 de Abril, 1793*, pp. 147–51. For half a century or more after declaring their independence of Great Britain the people of the United States conducted, by sea and land, a lucrative commerce with the north-west coast. During this time discoveries were made and possession taken of many places which shrewd merchants did not regard it advantageous to their business then to make known. *Franchere's Nar.*, 17.

[21] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 31. 'Such is the spirit of enterprize and the activity of these mariners, who are inured to danger and fatigue, that an American has been known to leave a detachment of his crew at the Falkland Islands, to double Cape Horn, ascend to the north, leave a second detachment on the rocks before St Francisco, in California, 2500 leagues from the other, then repass the Cape with some men, collect his detachments on both coasts, and purchase in China with the produce of their fishery, a cargo for the United States.' *Roquefeuil's Voyage*, 17.

[22] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 533.

[23] *North American Review*, xv. 393–4. The writer seems to have been Captain Sturgis.

though it nowhere appears that those methods differed materially from those of the British traders, except in their greater success and more energetic application. Says Alexander Mackenzie in 1800: The Pacific trade "is at present left to American adventurers, who without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, look altogether to the interest of the moment. They therefore collect all the skins they can procure, and in any manner that suits them, and having exchanged them at Canton for the produce of China, return to their own country. Such adventurers, and many of them, as I have been informed, have been very successful, would instantly disappear from before a well-regulated trade"—such as England is urged to establish by opening overland communication across America.[24] Another writer describes the operations of the Yankees in a manner by no means so uncomplimentary to the latter as it was intended to be, as follows: These "adventurers set out on the voyage with a few trinkets of little value; in the southern Pacific they pick up some seal-skins, and perhaps a few butts of oil; at the Gallipagos they lay in turtle, of which they preserve the shells; at Valparaiso they raise a few dollars in exchange for European articles; at Nootka and other parts of the north-west coast they traffic with the natives for furs which, when winter commences, they carry to the Sandwich Islands to dry and preserve from vermin; here they leave their own people to take care of them, and in the spring embark in lieu the natives of the islands to assist in navigating to the north-west coast in search of more skins. The remainder of the cargo is then made up of sandal,..tortoise-shell, shark-fins, and pearls of an inferior kind,..and with these and their dollars they purchase cargoes of tea, silks, and nankeens, and thus complete their voyage in the course of two or three years."[25]

[24] *Mackenzie's Voyage*, 411.
[25] *Quarterly Review*, xvi. 84.

In reply to the unfavorable imputations referred to, Mr Greenhow says: "It would, however, be easy to show, from custom-house returns and other authentic evidence, that the greater number of the vessels sent from the United States to the north-west coasts were fine ships or brigs, laden with valuable cargoes of West India productions,..and that the owners were men of large capital and high reputation in the commercial world...The American traders have also been accused, by British writers, of practising every species of fraud and violence in their dealings with the natives of the coasts of that sea; yet the acts cited in support of these general accusations are only such as have been, and ever will be, committed by people of civilized nations,—and by none more frequently than the British,—when unrestrained by laws, in their intercourse with ignorant, brutal, and treacherous savages, always ready to rob and murder upon the slightest prospect of gain, or in revenge for the slightest affront. Seldom did an American ship complete a voyage through the Pacific without the loss of some of her men, by the treachery or the ferocity of the natives..; and several instances have occurred of the seizure of such vessels, and the massacre of their whole crews."[26]

Among the acts of hostility committed by the natives from time to time against the voyagers of different nations, as already recorded, may be mentioned the following: Seven of Heceta's men in 1775, landing in latitude 47° 20′ for wood and water, were killed by the ambushed Indians for no other apparent motive than to obtain the nails which held the boat together. In 1778 the natives farther north made an absurd attempt to plunder one of Cook's ships and steal her boat. Hanna in 1785 inaugurated the fur-trade by a fight with the Nootka people. Barclay had a boat's crew of five men murdered in 1787. Captain Gray's men were attacked in 1788 at Murderers' Harbor, or

[26] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 267–8.

Tillamook, and one man was killed, others escaping with serious wounds after a desperate resistance. In the same year Meares' boat was assaulted by the savages within the strait of Fuca, and several men were wounded. Kendrick's men were attacked at Barrell Sound in 1791, and the same commander had several minor conflicts with the natives, of which not much is known; and Gray lost his mate and two men in the north.

The reader is familiar with the plot of the Indians to seize the *Clayoquot* in 1792. The *Boston* was seized, all her men but two being massacred at Nootka in 1803; and other trading craft were annoyed by hostile demonstrations about the same time. Eight men of the *Atahualpa* were killed in 1805; and the crew of the *Tonquin* was massacred in 1811.

Thus it appears that the ordinary perils of long ocean voyages were not the only ones the traders had to encounter. Indeed I do not remember that on the Northwest Coast proper, or on the voyage to and from Boston, England, or China, there is any definite record of a shipwreck among trading craft in early times, though there were several on the Alaskan coast. There is hardly one of the voyages, however, whose log would not afford more than one thrilling description of situations where wreck seemed inevitable and impending death was faced by the bold mariners. Besides what was suffered from the hostilities of north-western Indians, several vessels came to grief at the hands of Hawaiian Islanders, or dwellers on other inhospitable coasts and islands of the Pacific. And the scurvy was an ever present scourge, that destroyed not a few lives in spite of all precautions. Plenty of molasses, sugar, and tea, as well as warm clothing, was deemed essential; and a variety of vegetables and fruits was obtained from the Islands as a preventive. Spruce-beer was also a standard remedy and luxury to all who visited the coast, yeast being brought for the purpose, and the brewing of

beer being as regular a duty at each anchorage as the obtaining of wood and water.

There can be no doubt that in some cases the hostile acts of the natives were provoked by wrongs committed by unscrupulous traders, though in most instances evidence respecting the exact causes is not obtainable. Englishmen accused Americans of frequent outrages on the Indians; Gray and Kendrick represented that Meares and his companions took property by force, giving in return what they chose; and in turn the Americans were accused by the Indians of doing the same thing, in one instance killing seven of their number in order to get possession of their furs.[27] Respecting the causes of these troubles, Captain Belcher writes: "When offering objects for sale they are very sulky if their tender is not responded to... Upon mature consideration of what I have seen and heard respecting this subject, I think many of the unprovoked attacks we have heard of have originated in some transaction of this nature—refusal to trade being deemed almost a declaration of war. Facts, however, which have been acknowledged, prove that wanton malice has visited upon the next tribe the sins of their offending neighbours."[28] There can be no doubt that the Spaniards treated the natives more justly and humanely than did either English or Americans; but it is also true that they had less provocation for injustice. The Indians were not only fickle and thievish, but they seem to have been as a rule, if not ferocious and blood-thirsty, at least disposed to attach no value to a foreigner's life, and to have been kept in check solely by fear of detection.

[27] *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 24. On this subject the Spanish editor says: 'Habiendo baxada el valor respectivo del cobre por la concurrencia de las embarcaciones Europeas, el capitan mercante que viene á traficar sin este conocimiento calcula sobre el valor que antes tenia para proporcionar su cargamento: llega á negociar, halla que los Indios han subido el precio de las pieles, y que, baxo el cambio que quieren, le van á resultar crecidas pérdidas; olvida los principios de equidad, cree inaveriguables sus operaciones, y se vale de la fuerza para sus ventajas.'

[28] *Belcher's Voyage*, i. 101.

The traders for safety had to depend on constant watchfulness; and they could not trust to appreciation of kind treatment. Of foreigners as of aborigines it may be truly said that one party had often to suffer for wrongs inflicted by another; and on both sides there were instances of unprovoked outrage.[29]

"In trafficking with us," writes Captain Cook, "some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return. But, in general, it was otherwise; and we had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However, their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and indeed any kind of metal, was so great, that few of them could resist the temptation to steal it, whenever an opportunity offered."[30] And Meares: "The natives now favoured us with their daily visits, and never failed to exert their extraordinary talents in the art of thievery. They would employ such a slight of hand in getting iron materials of any kind as is hardly to be conceived. It has often been observed when the head of a nail either in the ship or boats stood a little without the wood, that they would apply their teeth in order to pull it out. Indeed, if the different losses we sustained, and the manner of them were to be related, many a reader would have reason to suspect that this page exalted the purloining talents of these people at the expence of truth."[31]

[29] It is noticeable that nowhere in the records of the fur-trade does it appear that any troubles arose from irregular sexual relations between the visitors and native women. Most voyagers represent the latter as apparently cold-blooded as well as destitute of personal attractions, while the men were jealous and vigilant. The French sailors found the women, however, at several points on the coast more complaisant than cleanly when they could elude the watchfulness of their husbands; and one American captain of 1825 tells us that native women were regularly admitted to the ships to sleep with the crew.

[30] *Cook's Voyage*, ii. 311. 'Ils traversaient un bois très-fourré, dans lequel il nous était impossible de pénétrer le jour; et, se glissant sur le ventre comme des couleuvres, sans remuer presque une feuille, ils parvenaient, malgré nos sentinelles, à dérober quelques-uns de nos effets: enfin ils eurent l'addresse d'entrer de nuit dans la tente où couchaient MM.., qui étaient de garde à l'observatoire; ils enlevèrent un fusil garni d'argent, ainsi que les habits de ces deux officiers, qui les avaient placés par précaution sous leur chevet.' *La Pérouse, Voyage*, ii. 178–9.

[31] *Meares' Voyage*, xiii.

Haswell pronounces one tribe "like all others on this coast without one exception, addicted to theft."[32] A peculiarity of their character was that when detected in a theft, even from a visitor who had treated them most generously, they were not in the slightest degree abashed; if the detection preceded the completion of the theft they gracefully admitted their defeat, but if it was later they could never understand that the original owner had any claim to an article successfully stolen. And the traders generally found it to be best to adopt the native view of the matter and trust to precautions only.

"Trade," says Captain Sturgis, "was always carried on alongside, or on board the ship, usually anchored near the shore, the Indians coming off in their canoes. It was seldom safe to admit many of the natives into the ship at the same time, and a departure from this prudent course has, in numerous instances, been followed by the most disastrous and tragical results." Dixon tells us that at Cloak Bay, Queen Charlotte Island, "A scene now commenced, which absolutely beggars all description... There were ten canoes about the ship, which contained about one hundred and twenty people; many of these brought the most beautiful beaver cloaks; others excellent skins, and, in short, none came empty handed, and the rapidity with which they sold them, was a circumstance additionally pleasing; they fairly quarrelled with each other about which should sell his cloak first; and some actually threw their furs on board if nobody was at hand to receive them. Toes were almost the only article we bartered... In less than half an hour we purchased near three hundred beaver skins." Each cloak was made of three sea-otter skins.[33] Meares' trade is de-

[32] *Haswell's Voyage of the Columbia*, MS., 21.

[33] *Dixon's Voyage*, 201, 222. On Queen Charlotte Island, he says, 'The chief usually trades for the whole tribe; but I have sometimes observed that when his method of barter has been disapproved of, each separate family has claimed a right to dispose of their own furs, and the chief always complied with this request.' And Haswell, *Voy.*, MS., 62, says that at Barrell Sound the chief bartered for all his subjects.

scribed as a ceremonial exchange of presents chiefly. "On our arrival at the habitation of the chiefs, where a great number of spectators attended to see the ceremony, the sea-otter skins were produced with great shoutings and gestures of exultation, and then laid at our feet. The silence of expectation then succeeded among them, and their most eager attention was employed on the returns we should make." One tribe would not sell a skin until the women permitted it.[34] At one place on the Oregon coast, says Haswell, "They would hand their skins on board without scruple and take with satisfaction whatever was given in return. This we very seldom found to be the case in any other part of the coast."[35] "In all our commercial transactions with this people," says Meares at Clayoquot, "we were more or less the dupes of their cunning; and with such peculiar artifice did they sometimes conduct themselves, that all the precaution we could employ was not sufficient to prevent our being overreached by them. The women, in particular, would play us a thousand tricks, and treat the discovery of their finesse with an arch kind of pleasantry that baffled reproach."[36]

Iron, copper, and coarse woollen goods were, one year and one place with another, standard articles of barter, while beads and gewgaws had less value than with savages in most other parts of the world. So far, however, as any one place at any one time was concerned, the choice of a cargo to suit the taste of customers was a mere game of chance, so fickle and whimsical were the native traders, so peculiar and varying their ideas of value.[37] Articles given by the

[34] *Meares' Voyage*, 120, 324.

[35] *Haswell's Voyage*, MS., 24.

[36] *Meares' Voyage*, 148; *Marchand, Voy.*, ii. 6. 'On peut dire que, sous le rapport de l'intérêt et du traffic, ils ont deja fait de grands pas dans la civilization, et que les Hébreux modernes auroient peut-être peu de choses à leur apprendre.'

[37] 'The first adventurers employed iron, beads, glass, and Indian gewgaws as the medium of barter; but those who succeeded them added British woollens to the trade, and whole villages of American natives were seen clad in blankets... After some time the Indians became so fond of woolen articles,

Winships in 1800 averaged from two to fifty cents each for sea-otter skins. Captain Sturgis "had seen prime sea-otter skins obtained for articles that did not cost fifty cents at home, and had seen given for them articles that cost here twice as much as the skins would sell for in China." "Such as were dressed in furs," writes another trader, "instantly stripped themselves, and for a moderate quantity of large spike nails, we received sixty fine skins." It has already been recorded how Haswell got two hundred skins for one small chisel on the shores of Queen Charlotte Island. An old woman on the same coast contemptuously refused all of Dixon's offers of axes or anything else for a curious lip ornament, but when some bright buttons appeared she yielded to the temptation. "Brass pans, pewter basons, and tin kettles," were the articles most esteemed at one place, while at another near by only 'toes' were prized. Yet Dixon found iron the staple commodity, "everything else depending, in a great measure, on fancy and caprice." Says Captain Cook: "Six of the finest skins purchased by us were got for a dozen large, green, glass beads." Elsewhere they rejected all pieces of iron that did not exceed eight inches in length. Of the articles carried by Marchand, copper and tin pots and kettles were preferred; also weapons, iron things generally not being cared for; but only for articles of clothing, of which there were none save those kept in stock for the sailors, they would give their finest furs.[38]

that no trade could be carried on without them. 'The fickleness that they at times discovered in their traffic, was occasionally very troublesome. At one time copper was their favorite object; at another, iron was the only commodity in estimation among them; beads would also have their turn of preference. But this hesitation in their choice was generally determined by a medley of them all.' *Meares' Voyages*, lxix. 121.

[38] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 17; *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 537; *Meares' Voyages*, xv. Haswell, *Voy.*, MS., 24, 61–2, who says clothing was more in demand than iron at Barrell Sound, adds: 'We purchased a number of otter skins for knives, axes, adzes, etc.; but had we had copper, a piece two or three inches square would have been far more valuable to them;' Dixon, *Voyage*, 62, 68, 192, 203, 208, 228–9, 245, says: 'Saws were not cared for. At our first trading the natives took toes and blue beads, but the toes are held in the greatest estimation, a middling sized toe fetching the best otter-skin they had got...The number of sea-otter skins purchased by us

The Indians were often so extravagant in their demands, particularly when they had been visited by many vessels, that no traffic was possible—that is, without paying nearly half the value of the furs, which was not to be thought of. Thus at one point where furs were plentiful, nothing but muskets would be taken; while at another place the Indians would exchange their peltries for great-coats only, demanding, moreover, two great-coats for each sea-otter skin. The Spaniards found that shells from Monterey would purchase not only furs, but the choicest articles for which their furs had been bartered. Captain Sturgis,

at Queen Charlotte's Islands, was no less than 1821, many of them very fine: other furs are found in less variety here than in many other parts of the coast, the few raccoons, a few pine marten, and some seals being the only kinds we saw. Toes, at first, were quite a leading article in barter; but so great a number of traders required a variety of trade, and we were frequently obliged to produce every article in our possession, before we could please our numerous friends. Thus in one fortunate month has our success been much greater than that probably of both vessels during the rest of the voyage—so uncertain is the fur trade on this inhospitable coast.' 'Les vêtements,' says Marchand, *Voy.*, ii. 5, 'etoient les seuls effets pour lesquels il fut possibles d'obtenir les belles peaux de Loutre de la première qualité. Les petits couteaux, les grains de verre coloré, les bagues, les boutons de metal, et tous les colifichets d'Europe etoient à peine agrées en pur don, ou en pot-de-vin.' *Cook's Voyage*, ii. 358; iii. 438. Says Portlock, *Voyage*, 284: 'I could not purchase a good skin for less than a light-horseman's cap, two yards of inferior broadcloth, a pair of buckles, two handfuls of small beads, and two fish-hooks. The articles we bartered with were the light-horsemen's caps, striped woollen blankets, towes 18 or 20 inches long, buckles, buttons, and beads. However I could not procure even a piece of skin with any of the latter articles; they were only given by way of concluding a bargain, as were tin kettles, brass pans, and pewter basons; but hatchets, adzes, trowels, they would scarcely take for anything whatever.' 'De tous les articles de commerce ils ne desiraient ardemment que le fer; ils acceptèrent aussi quelques rassades; mais elles servaient plutôt à conclure un marché, qu' à former la base de l'échange. Non parvînmes dans la suite a leur faire recevoir des assiettes et des pots d'étain; mais ces articles n'eurent qu'un succés passager, et le fer prévalut sur tout.' *La Pérouse Voyage*, ii. 172. 'A moderately good sea-otter skin will fetch from six to seven blankets, increasing to thirteen for the best; no bargain being conclusive without sundry nicknacks similar to the Chinese *cumshaw*. These generally may be estimated at one blanket, which should be worth twelve shillings here. In money they frequently ask forty dollars; on the coast of California at San Francisco and Monterey as much as eighty to a hundred.' *Belcher's Narrative*, i. 101. 'Este comercio ha llegado á ser muy lucroso [to the natives] en estos últimos tiempos por haber aumentado el precio de las pieles á proporcion de lo que ha crecido su consumo y el concurso de compradores. Decia Macuina que las habia vendido al Capitan Meares á diez por plancha (de cobre) en el año de 1788; y en el dia se da una plancha de media arroba por cada piel de primera calidad. En nuestra corto trato con los Nuchîmases no conseguimos que nos diesen tres pieles de regular tamaño y calidad por dos planchas de cobre de una arroba de peso.' *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, 112.

as elsewhere related, once obtained a large quantity of ermines at about thirty cents each from Europe, and with these he had no difficulty in purchasing the best skins at the rate of five ermines, or 'clicks,' for each. "It is the usage of the natives," says Marchand, "to terminate no bargain without demanding a present, which they call *stok*. On voit que déjà ils commencent à s' *européaniser;*" and on the same subject Sturgis also remarks: "Several smaller articles were given as presents nominally, but in reality formed part of the price." "To avoid trouble, which would certainly follow if he yielded in a single instance, he had found it necessary to waste hours in a contest with a woman about articles of no greater value than a skein of thread." "Most of the skins," writes Cook, "which we purchased were made up into garments. Some of them were in good condition, but others were old and ragged enough, and all of them very lousy."[39] All, including the chieftains, were usually ready enough to strip off their fur cloaks and reduce themselves to a state of nudity.[40] In later years, when the Indians had learned to expect the traders' regular visits, the furs were less frequently damaged by cutting and by being worn as garments; but in respect of vermin the improvement was less marked.[41]

It is not possible from existing sources of information to form a statistical statement of the fur-trade south of Alaska. It was carried on by individual adventurers or private companies; and only fragmentary reports of prices, profits, or quantities of furs obtained were incidentally made public in connection with special voyages. From 1785 to 1787, not including the operations of Meares, according to Dixon's

[39] *Cook's Voyage*, ii. 401.

[40] An exception was when Wicananish and his companions on his first interview with Meares could not be persuaded to part with their beautiful cloaks. *Meares' Voy.*, 125.

[41] 'On peut dire qu'en prenant une cargaison de fourrures on prend une cargaison de poux.' *Marchand, Voy.*, ii. 52.

statement 5800 sea-otter skins were sold in China for $160,700, an average price of not quite $30 each.[42] Mr Swan gives the total shipments of sea-otter skins from the Northwest Coast in 1799–1802 as 11,000, 9500, 14,000, and 14,000, or a total of 48,500 in four years.[43] "More than once," said Sturgis, "he had known a capital of $40,000, employed in a north-west voyage, yield a return exceeding $150,000. In one instance an outfit not exceeding $50,000 gave a gross return of $284,000." "He had personally collected 6000 in a single voyage, and he once purchased 560 of prime quality in half a day.[45]" "In 1801," says a writer in 1822, "which was perhaps the most flourishing period of the trade, there were 16 ships on the coast, 15 of which were American and one English. Upwards of 18,000 sea-otter skins were collected for the China market in that year by the American vessels alone.[44]" According to Coxe the price at Kamchatka in 1772 was from $15 to $40; and at Kiakhta from $30 to $140. From $30 to $60 were the figures quoted by La Pérouse in the year 1786, he believing the latter price to be "celui qu'il faut demander pour obtenir moins." Marchand tells us that the average price was forced down in 1790 to $15; and according to Sturgis the skins sold for $20 in 1802; the price of prime skins advancing to $150 in 1846. Mr Hittell states that the number of sea-otter skins taken on the coast annually after 1880 is 5500, worth in San Francisco $440,000, or $80 each. The fur-seal skins are much more numerous, and in the aggregate more valuable.[46]

Statistical and other information respecting Russian fur-hunting operations, both in Alaska and California,

[42] *Dixon's Voyage*, 315–21; *Id., Remarks*, 12–13.
[43] *Swan's Northwest Coast*, 424.
[44] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 536–7.
[45] *North American Review*, xv. 372.
[46] *Coxe's Russ. Discov.*, 13–14; *La Pérouse, Voyage*, iv. 174; *Marchand, Voyage*, ii. 369; *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 536; *Hittell's Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast*, 331.

is comparatively complete, because the business was carried on by a company with a systematic organization; but this matter is fully treated in other volumes of this work, there being nothing that calls for special notice in Russian operations on the Northwest Coast proper. In 1822, however, there were some feeble premonitions of an intention to extend Russian control over that coast down at least to the Columbia River, the northern hunters complaining not so much of the rivalry of the Americans—who moreover were in several respects very useful—as of their habit of selling arms and ammunition to the Indians, and making them in many cases more formidable foes to the forces of the Russian American Fur Company.[47]

On the Californian fur-trade, for the meagre items that exist on that subject in addition to what was done by the Russians, I may also refer the reader to other volumes. The native hunters employed by the company and their Yankee partners did not quite annihilate the sea-otter in Californian waters, where that animal was very abundant, though producing a fur somewhat inferior to that obtained in the north. The Californian Indians succeeded in killing a few otters each year, whose skins were collected by the padres and others, either to be sold clandestinely to American *contrabandistas* or sent to China *via* San Blas, by the yearly transport ships and Manila galleons.[48] Enough were left on the coasts to employ a dozen or more trappers from New Mexico for a part of their

[47] A writer in the *North Amer. Review*, xv. 394, admits that arms and ammunition were furnished to 'independent aboriginal inhabitants,' but not to natives subject to Russia. The Indians of Clayoquot 'venian provistos de fusiles y pólvora, porque Wicananish ha adquirido muchas armas en los cambios de su peletería con los Europeos; y á estos el deseo de la ganancia les ha hecho caer en la imprudencia de dar fomento á un poder respetable en los dominios de aquel Tais.' *Sutil y Mex., Viage*, 19–20.

[48] Sea-otter skins 'to the number of several thousand collected on the coast of California are sent by the Spanish missionaries to China [each year] by way of Manilla.' *Haswell's Voy.*, MS., 20. 'The Spaniards within these two years have imported the sea-otter to China: they collect their skins near their settlements of Monterey and San Francisco...The Padres are the principal conductors of this traffic. In 1787 they imported about 200 skins, and the beginning of this year near 1500...They are sent...to Acapulco, and thence by the annual galleon to Manilla.' *Dixon's Voyage*, 320.

time down to 1840 and later; and even native Californians engaged mildly and occasionally in the hunt during the same period. La Pérouse had feared the effect on the Chinese market of the 10,000 sea-otter skins that might easily be obtained each year at Monterey and San Francisco when their value became known; but beyond discoursing occasionally, in some grand commercial scheme never carried into effect, on the *nutria* as constituting an important element in Californian wealth, the Spaniards, and after them the Mexicans, did nothing in the matter. Spain, as we have seen, attached no value to the Northwest Coast by reason of its peltries. Martinez, indeed, on his return from the north in 1789 proposed a fur-trading association under government auspices; but the viceroy withheld his approval. He believed the profits under the prospective competition could not be long remunerative; and the extent of his recommendation was that Spanish traders be encouraged to secure a portion of those profits while they should last.

While private English traders practically abandoned this field of maritime fur-trade early in the nineteenth century, yet in later years the English companies, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay, in connection with their great hunt for fur-bearing animals in the interior, engaged to a considerable extent in the barter for sea-otter skins, as it was abandoned by the regular traders, despatching their vessels on frequent trips from the Columbia up and down the coast. So the Russian company continued its efforts uninterruptedly until succeeded by the American company still engaged in this industry. In 1846, says Sturgis, "the whole business of collecting furs upon our western continent, without the acknowledged limits of the United States, is now monopolized by two great corporations, the Russian and British Fur Companies."[49]

[49] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 538.

The Boston merchants not only carried on the fur-trade much more extensively than those of other nations, but they continued their operations long after others had abandoned the field—longer, indeed, than the barter for skins alone would have been profitable. From time to time, however, they combined new enterprises with the old, thus largely increasing their profits. Not only did they buy otter-skins of the northern natives but of Californian padres; and the goods given in exchange were smuggled with a most profitable disregard for Spanish and Mexican revenue laws. Not only did they barter for furs, but procuring native hunters from Alaska they obtained from California large numbers of skins, half of which had to be given to the Russian company; and some of them made fortunes by hunting fur-seals on the Farallones and other islands. Then they did a profitable business in furnishing the Russian establishments with needed articles from Boston, China, the Sandwich Islands, and California; and it is even stated that after 1815 they carried to the Columbia River all the stores required by the western British establishments, carrying away also to Canton all the furs obtained by the English company.[50] However this may have been, with the expedients named and others, including the sandal-wood trade at the Islands, the Americans were able to continue the fur-trade much longer than would otherwise have been possible. Says Sturgis: "The difficulties and uncertainty in procuring furs became so serious, that in 1829 the business north of California was abandoned... At the present time, (1846,) the whole amount collected annually within the same limits does not exceed two hundred, and those of very ordinary quality. The north-west trade as far as we are concerned has ceased to be of importance in a commercial view." And Greenhow, writing at the same date: "The fur-trade has been, hitherto, very profitable to those en-

[50] *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 536.

gaged in it; but it is now, from a variety of causes, declining every where."[51]

A topic closely allied to that of this chapter, the annals of the great transcontinental fur-hunt by companies of different nations, will be recorded in all desirable detail in a later part of this volume.

[51] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 412–13; *Sturgis' Northwest Fur Trade*, 533–6. Since 1801 'the trade has declined, the sea-otter having become scarce... There are at the present time absent from the United States fourteen vessels engaged in this trade, combined with that to the Sandwich islands...These vessels are from 200 to 400 tons burthen, and carry from 25 to 30 men each, and they are usually about three years in completing a voyage...The value at Canton of the furs, sandal wood,..carried thither the last season, by American vessels engaged in the trade, was little short of half a million of dollars... We believe this trade will be thought too valuable to be quietly relinquished' to Russia. *North Amer. Review*, xv. 372–3.

# CHAPTER XII.

## NEW FRANCE AND THE FUR-TRADE.

1524–1763.

CHANGE OF OWNERSHIP, IN 1759–63, OF NORTH AMERICA—DISCOVERY—FRANCE IN SOUTH AMERICA AND FLORIDA—THE FISHERMEN AND FUR-TRADERS OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE ST LAWRENCE—HISTORY OF THE FUR-TRADE—PELTRIES A VITAL ELEMENT IN COLONIZATION—THE CARTIER NEPHEWS AND THE ST MALO MERCHANTS—LA ROCHE—THE FORTY THIEVES—PONTGRAVÉ—CHAUVIN—DE CHASTES—CHAMPLAIN—DE MONTS—THE PORT ROYAL COMPANY—THE JESUITS IN NEW FRANCE—TADOUSAC BECOMES THE CENTRE OF THE FUR-TRADE—NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK FUR-TRADE—COMTE DE SOISSONS—THE COMPANY OF ST MALO AND ROUEN—CHAMPLAIN'S MISRULE—THE FRANCISCANS CELEBRATE MASS IN NEW FRANCE—THE CAENS—NEW FRANCE UNDER RICHELIEU—THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES—SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER AND THE BROTHERS KIRK—THE HURONS AND THE IROQUOIS—TROUBLES IN ACADIA—DISCOVERY AND OCCUPATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY BY DE SOTO, MARQUETTE, JOLIET, LA SALLE, HENNEPIN, AND IBERVILLE—THE GREAT FUR MONOPOLIES OF NEW FRANCE—FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—FINAL CONFLICT—TREATIES—BOUNDARIES.

THUS far in this history we have directed our attention more especially to affairs relative to the seaboard of the great north-west, merely glancing at explorations by land in various quarters. Let us now turn and review, still very briefly, the early affairs of French and English in Canada, their gradual movements westward, and finally the occupation as a game preserve of the immense area to the north and west by the subjects of Great Britain.

All England rang rejoicings, all save the little village where dwelt Wolfe's widowed mother. Scotland

too was glad; for on the plains of Abraham the bayonets of her wild highlanders had unlocked opportunity for multitudes of her shrewd sons. Nor were Anglo-American colonies displeased; for with the reduction of a foreign power perched since birth upon their border, was removed a standing menace, which had made them hesitate to declare independence of their too severely protecting mother, as seventeen years later they did not fail to do. It was in September 1759 that the citadel of Quebec surrendered; and one year after Canada, with all her possessions east of the Mississippi, passed to the British crown.

Hitherto France had been the great landholder upon this continent. Nearly all that is now British America was hers; nearly all that is now the United States she claimed and held. Of all this continental triangle, from Darien to Labrador and Alaska, there only remained to other European powers the comparatively insignificant areas of Central America and Mexico, a few little patches on the Atlantic seaboard, a narrow border round Hudson Bay, and the far-off Russian American corner, together with what we call the Northwest Coast—all the rest belonged to France; and of this, by the peace of Paris in 1763, and subsequently following the conquest of Canada, France hastened to divest herself, that portion west of the Mississippi going secretly to Spain, and all the remainder being swept into the maw of Great Britain.

If not the earliest to obtain footing in America, Francis I. was not far behind his rivals of Spain and England; for while Cortés was seating himself on Montezuma's throne, and Henry VIII. was hesitating whether to dispute Pope Alexander's partition, Giovanni Verrazano, a Florentine in the French service, crossed to Carolina, and thence coasted northward to Newfoundland, where even twenty years previous the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany had plied their craft.

Ten years later—that is to say in 1534, still three quarters of a century before John Smith entered Chesapeake Bay, or Carver landed on Plymouth Rock—Jacques Cartier sailed from France under the auspices of Philippe de Brion-Chabot and found the St Lawrence, which the following year he ascended to Montreal. Erected into a viceroyalty under Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, La Nouvelle France[1] was again visited by Cartier, with certain exclusive rights, in 1541; in the year following came Roberval, but only to find himself the woful follower of preceding woes. Then rested colonization in this region for half a century; perturbed Frenchmen filling the interval with buccaneering and protestantizing.

For while like a grim shadow the sixteenth-century superstitions of Spain hung quiescent over the greater part of Europe, France was alive with heresy, and from the burning of men and burying alive of women for opinion's sake, the Huguenots, with a sprinkling of restless orthodox adventurers, in 1555 under Villegagnon, and again in 1562 under Jean Ribault, turned and sought homes in the New World.

Villegagnon landed his colony on an island in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, and with an arrogance characteristic of the adventurers of that day took possession of all South America for the king of France, calling it La France Antarctique. After quarrelling fiercely with certain of his Calvinistic associates about the legality of mixing water with the wine of the eucharist, and making the sacramental bread of cornmeal instead of wheaten flour, he returned with all his followers to Europe, thus missing an opportunity which, but for the important theological issues that must be immediately settled, might indeed have given the continent to France.

[1] Cartier mistook the native word *kanata*, which signifies a collection of huts, for the name of the country, which in consequence became known later as Canada, though for a century or two called New France.

Florida was the landing-place of Ribault; and when Calvin's French disciples revelled in this fruitful wilderness, there was not a European besides them north of that Cíbola whose seven cities with their unspeakable wealth, the natives assured them, were but twenty days distant, and that by water. Next in 1564, René de Laudonnière brought to this shore a company of French Calvinists, not of the stern stuff of which successful colonists are made, but rather pirates, destined to be massacred, nine hundred of them some say, by the Luther-hating Spaniards under Pedro de Menendez, Ribault himself falling with the rest. In retaliation Dominique de Gourgues in 1568, while Menendez was in Spain, surprised and slaughtered the Spaniards, four hundred in number; after which he abandoned to the natives for demolition the fort which had been built. Thus died Huguenot effort in Florida. It was not for France to plant protestantism in America.

The next we hear of New France is in 1578, when, off Newfoundland, besides one hundred Spanish, fifty Portuguese, and fifty English vessels, there are one hundred and fifty French fishing craft and some twenty-five Biscayan whalers. Soon these fishermen find their way up the St Lawrence and ply a more lucrative trade, exchanging trinkets for beaver and bear skins.

And here, it may be said, begins the history of the fur-trade in America, which for two and a half centuries is indeed the history of Canada. Not that the skins of wild beasts had not before this been bought and sold, but now for the first time do we see the traffic in peltries assuming under royal protection a primary influence on colonization. In early times, and indeed in some localities until a comparatively recent date, Canada has presented this anomaly, that while properly classed among agricultural colonies, the cultivation of the soil has been of less importance than fishing and fur-trading.

The history of the fur-trade is the history of exploration, with its full quota of adventurers and heroes. To the courageous endurance of fur-hunters is due the earlier opening to the civilized world of distant and inhospitable regions, and the extension of geographical knowledge and settlement. Thus in some degree was lifted the veil that hid the Ultima Thule from the Latin world. As early as the sixth century Rome made tributary to her comfort the wild beasts of the north; and this trade would have been considerable but for difficulties of conveyance and profits of middle-men, which made the article too expensive for common use. By the eleventh century, however, intercourse being freer, prices were less exorbitant, and furs became fashionable throughout Europe, particularly among the nobility, who reserved for themselves the choicest kinds. At one time skins were almost the only article of export of certain northern countries. They were sometimes employed as a medium of exchange and taxation. In this commodity Russia received tribute from Siberia, whose wealth in furred animals had alone made her an object worth the conquest. England obtained supplies from Russia and northern Asia through Hanseatic and Italian traders, and notwithstanding the expense of this route the custom of wearing furs must have become prevalent, since Edward III. in 1337 thought fit to prohibit their use to those whose income was less than one hundred pounds a year. During the sixteenth century the English opened direct trade with Russia, and a British company was allowed to establish ports on the White Sea, and a depôt at Moscow for its commerce with Persia and the Caspian region; but this promising trade was necessarily abandoned when Elizabeth issued a decree forbidding the use of foreign furs.

The opening of trade with northern America proved most opportune for the European market. It was like finding a vast mine of gold; indeed in the

New World furs were to the French what gold was to the Spaniard, and the obtaining of them frequently in exchange for petty articles of little cost or value was often easier than the working of the richest gold mine.

Here upon the St Lawrence at this time furs were plentiful and easily secured; it is said that even the bison then inhabited these parts. Walrus-tusks likewise became an article of traffic, which, with the other attractions, drew annually from St Malo fleets of vessels. Wrangling with each other, and outraging the natives, the French fur-traders spread along the seaboard, coasted the islands of the gulf, and ascended the streams, plying their vocation by methods which led to subsequent disorder.

Upon the strength of their uncle's services, two nephews of Cartier, Noël and Châton, whose successful traffic had excited the jealousy of their competitors to that extent that they seized and spitefully burned several of their vessels, in 1588 asked and obtained from Henri III. letters patent giving them the same exclusive rights along the St Lawrence and its tributaries which were once accorded Cartier himself. But so great was the storm raised by the merchants of St Malo, by reason of this favoritism, that the grant was soon revoked.

The triumph of the St Malo merchants, however, was of short duration, for in 1598 the domination of Acadia, as Nova Scotia with indefinite limits was then called, Canada, and the region contiguous of almost limitless extent,[2] was given to the Marquis de la Roche, a Catholic nobleman of Brittany. Among

[2]The pretensions of the several European powers in asserting their claims to American territory, often of unknown and almost boundless extent, frequently border the ludicrous. Thus Lescarbot, the geographer, describing the limits of La Roche's government in 1611, writes: 'Ainsi notre nouvelle France a pour limites du côté d'ouest les terres jusqu'à la mer dite Pacifique, au deçà du tropique du Cançer; au midi les îles de la mer Atlantique du côté de Cuba et l'île Espagnole; au levant la mer du Nord qui baigne la nouvelle France; et au septentrion cette terre qui est dite inconnue vers la mer Glacée jusqu'au Pole arctique.' See also *La Hontan's Voy.*

other exclusive rights obtained by La Roche in the colonization of New France was that of trading in furs, and the noisy Bretons of St Malo were obliged again to stand aside. Famine and pestilence swept away La Roche's best efforts, but private adventurers crept inland and continued a peddling traffic with the natives.

For example, among the colonists of La Roche were forty convicts, whom on reaching Sable Island he landed, while he went farther to choose a site for a city. But the ship being driven away by a storm, the outcasts were left, some to kill each other, and the remainder to wander for five years, when twelve of their number, all that were left, were rescued and carried back to France. Arrayed in valuable furs, their long beards hanging upon their breasts, they uncovered their shaggy heads before the king, who permitted them to embark in trade on their own account, the skins brought back affording them sufficient capital. The men of St Malo were again lords in the ascendant.

With the opening of the seventeenth century French colonization in America becomes permanent. To speculation and self-aggrandizement as incentives is now added religious zeal. Luther and Rome are still at war in France, and Henri IV. is in a dilemma. As in France, Protestants may enjoy in America freedom of opinion and worship, but Catholics alone may make proselytes among the natives.

In 1599 Pontgravé, a merchant of St Malo, and Captain Chauvin,[3] who had secured the royal privi-

[3] F. X. Garneau, *L'Histoire du Canada*, tom. t. lib. viii. cap. 1, asserts that Chauvin's was the first regular patent granted; this I am at a loss to comprehend, as I find on good authority those which I have already named. There may be distinctions between regular and irregular patents which I do not understand, and which I cannot determine, not having before me all the patents granted at that time. The fact is, no one dared to cross the ocean in those days and colonize and trade without exclusive advantages; there was no necessity or object in doing so; and I can but think M. Garneau mistaken, though his *History of Canada* is exceedingly valuable, by far the best extant, and such as would be an honor to any country.

leges formerly conceded to La Roche, cross the sea, and building some huts at Tadousac, there leave sixteen men to gather furs; but some the merciless winter kills, while others are driven to take refuge with the natives.

Chauvin dies, and his mantle falls on Aymar de Chastes, governor of Dieppe, whom Pontgravé now persuades to form a trading society, with the leading merchants of Rouen and several men of rank as chief partners. The command of an expedition is given to a naval officer, Samuel de Champlain, who in 1603, with three barks of twelve or fifteen tons each, sails for the St Lawrence, which he in company with Pontgravé ascends as far as the Sault St Louis, and then returns to France. Meanwhile, De Chastes dying, Pierre du Guat, Sieur de Monts, succeeds to his privileges as viceroy of Acadia. De Monts is a Calvinist, though he by no means objects to the presence of the Catholic clergy in his expedition. His sovereignty lies between the fortieth and fiftieth parallels, the territory beyond these limits being regarded as worthless.[4] To the exclusive control of government and the soil, a monopoly of the fur-trade and all other commerce was added.

It was a discordant company that sailed with De Monts from Hâvre de Grace in 1604 to colonize Acadia. There were gentlemen and vagabonds, artisans and idlers, honest men and villains; gamblers fought over their dice, and ministers of Christ fell to fisticuffs as closing arguments in theological disputes.[5]

Arrived in Acadian waters, De Monts found five

[4] The Duc de Sully held in light esteem even these lands. In his memoirs he writes: 'This colony which was this year sent to Canada was among the number of things that did not meet my approbation. There was no kind of riches to be expected from those parts of the new world which lie beyond the fortieth degree of latitude.'

[5] Champlain was greatly amused at some of these demonstrations. In his *Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale* he says: 'J'ai vu le ministre et notre curé s'entrebattre à coups de poing sur le différend de la religion. Je ne sçais pas qui étoit le plus vaillant, ou qui donnoit le meilleur coup, mais je sçais très bien que le ministre se plaignoit quelquefois au sieur de Monts d'avoir été battu, et vuidoit en cette façon les points de la controversie.'

vessels quietly collecting furs, which, following the terms of his commission, he seized and appropriated to his own use, though the unfortunate traders probably had never heard of such a man as De Monts, certainly not of the exclusive privileges lately accorded him. At Port Royal, now Annapolis, was erected a fort consisting of wooden buildings enclosing a quadrangular court, with cannon-mounted bastions and palisades. L'Ordre de Bon-Temps was created, and a winter of good cheer and festivity was passed, which augured ill for a colony with so much work before it. The association originated by Pontgravé was continued and enlarged by De Monts; but the merchants of St Malo and Dieppe never ceased in their efforts to overthrow the monopoly, and finally succeeded. This, with the seizure by a party of Dutchmen of a year's accumulation of peltries at the depôt of this society, completed its ruin after three years of busy industry. A hundred thousand livres the Port Royal Company had spent in this adventure, in return for which six thousand were given them, which were collected by taxation from the fur-traders who supplanted them.

And now in 1611 appear the Jesuits in New France, and under the protection of Marquise de Guercheville force Poutrincourt to admit them into the abandoned fort of De Monts at Port Royal, whence they go out in their cap and robe, close-fitting and black, gliding through the forest and sitting round distant camp-fires, restless in their holy zeal, until from the St Lawrence to California the blessed cross is carried. Now suddenly hordes of scalping savages become saints, no less eager than their teachers to kill all who do not profess Christ. Fostered by fanatics at home, the Society of Jesus establish missions in New France, and after some conflict with the colonists buy out the temporal power, and become proprietors of a large part of what now

constitutes the United States and British America. Down upon Acadia like a bird of evil purpose next comes Samuel Argall, with his English crew, and in 1613, notwithstanding France and England were then at peace, takes possession of the country, destroys Port Royal, and then retires.

Meanwhile De Monts again obtains a monopoly of the fur-trade for one year, and in 1607 sends two ships to the St Lawrence, one under Pontgravé to trade for furs, and the other under Champlain for purposes of colonization. The Basques who are there peltry-hunting are put down, and Tadousac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, becomes the centre of the fur-trade. Thence the Montaguais, of Algonquin affinity, in their light birchen canoes ascend the streams in every direction for furs, and roam the stunted forests as far as Hudson Bay.

Where Quebec stood later Champlain builds a fort, and then sets out to find a new route to India, finding Lake Champlain instead, while the Iroquois open their long and terrible rôle of revenge.

Elsewhere the peltry interest assumes importance. George Waymouth trades with the natives of Maine in 1605; and in 1610 and subsequently, while the Dutch merchants open a lucrative traffic on the banks of the Hudson, John Smith forms a partnership with four wealthy London merchants for fur-trading and colonizing purposes in New England.

De Monts, failing to obtain a renewal of his monopoly, continues operations without it, and the St Lawrence again swarms with competitive traders. Proceeding to Paris, Champlain makes Comte de Soissons the king's lieutenant-general in New France, and Soissons then makes Champlain his lieutenant in return. Monopoly in furs is again in order. A society for colonization and traffic, with exclusive privileges, but yet in which every merchant who will may participate, is formed, and the merchants of La Rochelle,

St Malo, and Rouen are invited to join. The merchants of La Rochelle decline, and carry on a contraband trade in defiance of the law, while the others form the company of St Malo and Rouen, and build a factory and fort at Montreal. In 1611 Champlain proceeds to Montreal, while a hungry crew hunt in his wake. Montreal becomes the rendezvous, where every summer fleets of canoes come from distant lakes and streams, where Huron and Frenchmen meet, and furs and fire-water are exchanged, and no little scalping is done, in which latter refinement the chivalrous Champlain joins for sport.

That Soissons' speedy death should place Henri of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, at the head of French American affairs, did not prevent Champlain from carrying it royally in New France. The souls of savages now chiefly concerned him; their bodies were of trifling moment. In his Indian policy he was governed neither by justice, humanity, nor interest. In the wars of the Montaguais and Hurons with the Iroquois he took a base and foolish part, applying the arts of his civilization to the cruelties and treacheries of savagism. Instead of cultivating the friendship of all, and dealing fairly with all, holding meanwhile the balance of power in his own hands, he made allies of those nearest him, and then rashly threw himself against the most powerful people of the east. Life at the settlements became a vagabond existence; the winters were passed by the traders in a state of torpidity, and the summers in drinking and trafficking.

In 1613 Champlain penetrated northward into the land of the Ottawas, and two years later he visited the Nipissings, and thence crossed to Lake Huron, afterward discovering and naming Lake Ontario. To the great perplexity of the natives, who wondered why men should systematically turn the good things of their God to bitterness, mendicant Franciscans, they of strict observance called Recollets, appeared in their coarse gray garb with peaked hood and

knotted cord, and planting their altar near Champlain's fortified dwellings at Quebec in 1615 celebrated their first mass in New France, although half a century later the Franciscans were an excluded order.

Yet more bitter disorder followed the suppression in 1621 of the company of St Malo and Rouen. The two Huguenots, William and Emery de Caen, on whom the monopoly was now conferred by the Viceroy Montmorency, were so beset by the enraged traders, that they were obliged temporarily to admit them as partners.

Notwithstanding all the previous magnificent attempts, Canadian settlement in 1627 consisted of little more than scattering collections of trading-huts, with Montreal, Tadousac, Quebec, Trois Rivières and the rapids of St Louis as centres.[6] And yet the traffic was increased from fifteen thousand to twenty-two thousand beaver as the annual shipment; for this state of things, for obtaining the skins of wild beasts, was indeed better than a state of agricultural interference.

Then came forward the great Richelieu, and took New France under his wing. Hating the Huguenots, he stripped the Caens of their privileges, placed himself at the head of a hundred associates, under the name of La Compagnie des Cent Associés de la Nouvelle France, with a capital of three hundred thousand livres, and obtained from the crown a monopoly of all commerce for fifteen years, and a perpetual monopoly of the fur-trade. In return the company agreed to carry to New France during the year 1628 not less than two hundred artisans; and within the next fifteen years four thousand men and women were to be conveyed thither,

[6] 'A cette époque,' Charlevoix remarks, 'le Canada consistait dans le fort de Québec, environné de quelques méchantes maisons, et de quelques baraques, deux ou trois cabanes dans l'île de Montréal, autant peut-être à Tadoussac et en quelques autres endroits sur le Saint-Laurent, pour le commerce des pelleteries et de la pêche; enfin, un commencement d'habitation à trois Rivieres.' See *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, 82–3; *Raynal, Hist. Phil.*, viii. 96–101.

and there supported at the expense of the company for three years. None but Frenchmen and Catholics should be permitted a residence in the country. Had these brilliant opportunities been embraced and the promises kept, we might see, through this feudal proprietorship of a commercial and colonization company, the whole vast domain of northern America become permanently French in thought, language, and institutions as now it is English.

About this time war broke out in France, and England helped the Huguenots. Sir William Alexander had attempted to colonize Acadia, and now, with the assistance of the brothers Kirk and other Calvinist rebels and refugees, he essayed no less a thing than to wrest from France her American possessions.

Appearing in the St Lawrence while famine reigned at Quebec, the English sacked the fort at Cape Fournienté, attacked and sank the vessels of the Hundred Associates, and sailed for home. The following year the cross of St George was planted by Louis Kirk at Quebec. In the treaty which followed, Canada was restored to the French, but only to fall again into the hands of the English one hundred and thirty years later.

The treaty was of little moment unless enforced. Hence to Emery de Caen in 1632 was given a commission to clear New France of the English, for which service he was to enjoy a monopoly of the fur-trade for one year, after which exclusive privilege was to revert to the Hundred Associates.

Champlain meanwhile became saintly in his fanaticism, and turned the trading-post at Quebec into a Jesuit mission. Brandy and debauchery were banished, and civilized and savage vied with each other in prayers and repentance. Jesuit missions were established among the Hurons. In 1635 Champlain died and was buried by the Blackfriars.

The war of extermination between the Hurons and the Iroquois which now raged under Montmagny, originated chiefly from the presumptive hopes of traffic and revenge raised in the breasts of the Hurons by the Hundred Associates, following the envenomed policy of Champlain. The fruit of their evil example they were now made to eat. After spending more than a million livres in these disastrous struggles, the Hundred Associates were glad to relinquish their rights to the people for an annual seigniorial rent of one million beaver. By 1650 the downfall of the Hurons was complete.

In 1648 fifty-one envoys were sent from New England to Quebec, and from Canada to Boston, having in view a treaty of perpetual amity between the two colonies, which were to remain neutral in all disputes of the mother countries. The negotiations failed.

The Iroquois, after their dispersion of the Hurons, fell upon the French. Trade in skins meanwhile was much reduced, and so remained until the ratification of a treaty in 1662. The Compagnie des Cent Associés had dwindled to forty-five members, when in 1663 the governor-general, Baron d'Avaugour, advised Louis XIV. to dissolve it and himself to resume territorial jurisdiction, which was done, and Canada became a royal province of France.

Serious contentions followed the treaty of St Germain, by which France was made mistress of Acadia. For fifty years jealousy was rife, and wars succeeded each other. In 1654 Cromwell seized Port Royal, and granted the province to La Tour, Temple, and Crown, as an English dependency; but by the treaty of Breda in 1667 Acadia was again restored to France.

For the first time since Fernando de Soto in 1541 vauntingly led his bedizened train from Florida to the Mississippi, and the following year with clipped courage made his bed beneath its waters, the valley

of the Great River now takes a prominent place in history. No section of equal extent and importance in all the two Americas has changed permanent proprietorship so often as this. Spain, in silken vesture and burnished armor, with blood-hounds for hunting natives, and chains with which to bind them, first found this mighty stream; France with breviary and crucifix, in humble attitude and garb, first peacefully explored and planted settlements upon its banks; England first conquered it from a European power and held its eastern bank, while Spain claimed the western, and subsequently conquered from England the Florida portion of the eastern; and last of all, thus far, the United States was the first by honorable treaty to obtain possession.

Several missionary and trading expeditions had been made into the region beyond lakes Michigan and Superior, and information of the Father of Waters given, when in 1673 M. Joliet and Père Marquette crossed the narrow portage between Fox River and the Wisconsin, and embarking in two light canoes glided down to the Mississippi and descended the river to the thirty-third parallel, near the spot touched by Soto. Their provisions exhausted, and their mission, they returned, Marquette to his missionary labors among the Indians, and Joliet to Quebec.

To Robert de la Salle it remained to descend the Great River to its mouth and determine whether it discharged into the gulf of Mexico or into the Pacific Ocean. La Salle was a fur-trader, having a factory at Lachine, near Montreal, whence he made frequent visits to lakes Ontario and Erie. To the governor and others he suggested that the Pacific might perhaps be better reached by ascending than by descending the Mississippi. In 1680, having received royal privileges, he sent Père Hennepin down the Illinois to the Mississippi, with instructions to ascend the latter stream as far as he was able, which proved to be to the Sault St Antoine, while two years later La Salle himself

descended the Mississippi to its mouth and took possession of the country, calling it Louisiane. Returning to Quebec, La Salle embarked for France, where his report caused great excitement. To the bold discoverer was given the colonization of Louisiane, which term then embraced the whole of that vast tract drained by the Mississippi, and which now became a province of New France.

Sailing from France for the Mississippi in July 1684, with four ships and two hundred and eighty emigrants, La Salle missed the mouth of the river, lost one vessel, and finally in a sad plight struck the coast of Texas, where a colony was planted, thus adding that country to his discovery. While seeking his lost river, La Salle wandered into the basin of the Colorado, where he was traitorously shot by one of his company, leaving it with Lemoine d'Iberville to lay in 1699 the foundation of the future colony. In due time, by posts and settlements up the St Lawrence, round the great lakes, and down the fertile valley of the Mississippi, the two extremities of French American domain became united.[7]

Now, more than ever, the jealousy of the English colonists was aroused. Their actual occupancy in North America was confined to a narrow space on the Atlantic seaboard, while the French and Spanish claimed all the rest. Indeed, France had left but little footing even for Spain, the Mexican and Central American isthmuses, together with the lands drained by the Rio del Norte and the Rio Colorado, and on the Pacific the two Californias of undefined limits, being but a bagatelle compared with the vast regions of the middle and north.[8]

[7] 'The lilies of France cut on forest trees, and crosses erected on bluffs of the Mississippi, at length marked a chain of posts from the Mexican gulf to Hudson's Bay.' *Bury's Exodus of the Western Nations*, i. 386. 'Tout le Nord du Missouri nous est totalement inconnu.' *Le Paje du Pratz, Hist. Louisiane*, i. 327. To the expedition of La Salle are added the subsequent adventures of Hennepin, in *Am. Antiq. Soc., Trans.*, i. 61–91.

[8] 'La Louisiane située dans la partie Septentrionale de l'Amérique, est bornée au Midi par le Golfe du Mexique, au Levant par la Caroline, Colonie Anglaise, &

When in 1682 Lefebvre de la Barre assumed the governor-generalship of Canada in place of the Count de Frontenac, hostilities had broken out between the Iroquois and the Illinois. It was said that the people of New Netherlands, now New York, wishing to monopolize the fur-trade of that region, were constantly exciting the Iroquois against the French, and to the latter it now seemed necessary that they should assist the Illinois.

Taking the field against the Iroquois, Le Barre failed to accomplish any important purpose; and his successor, the Marquis de Denonville, succeeded but little better in attempting to exclude the Iroquois and English traders from the St Lawrence. After a period of unwonted tranquillity, in August 1689 fourteen hundred Iroquois suddenly appeared at Lachine and massacred the inhabitants.

Following the dissolution of the Hundred Associates, in 1664 was formed for New France another withering monopoly, known as the West India Company. Although exclusive trade was vested in the association for forty years, and the Atlantic seaboard of Africa was given them as well as America; and although Louis XIV., in addition to all the privileges formerly granted the Hundred Associates, placed a premium of forty livres on every ton of exported or imported merchandise, the company finally fell in pieces by the very weight of royal favors, for commodities so rose in price that purchasers could not be found, and the importation of goods ceased. In 1666 Colbert withdrew from the monopolists the peltry traffic, and at the same time relieved them from the

partie du Canada, au Couchant par le nouveau Mexique, au Nord en partie par le Canada: le reste n'a point de bornes, & s'éxtend jusqu'aux Terres inconnues voisines de la Baye de Hudson.' *Le Page du Pratz, Hist. Louisiane*, i. 138. 'At the close of the year 1757, France possessed twenty times as much American territory as England; and five times as much as England and Spain together.' *Ridpath's U. S.*, 270. 'Putting aside the untenable claims which France asserted in the patents granted to De Monts, she actually possessed settlements in all parts of North America, as far as Mexico on the south and California on the west.' *Bury's Exodus*, ii. 6.

restriction of their trade to France. Still the institution could not thrive; and with a hundred vessels employed, and with a debt of three and a half millions of livres, in 1674, the company became extinct. These wise rulers had yet to learn of *laisser faire*, to learn that trade thrives best when let alone.

The peltry monopoly in Canada now took an independent departure, and was hereafter less involved with other royal privileges, although to Oudiette, into whose hands from the West India Company it fell, were also farmed the duties on tobacco, which were then ten per cent. This continued until 1700, when the people again begged relief.

Roddes was the next fur-king; and after him Piccaud, who paid seventy thousand francs per annum for the monopoly, and formed an association called the Company of Canada, with shares at fifty livres, of which any Canadian might take any number. With this association the Hudson's Bay Company, whose history we shall trace in the next chapter, was concerned. The Canada Company falling into dissolution, Aubert, Nerot, and Guyot agreed to pay its debts—1,812,000 francs—for its privileges. With the expiration of their term the monopoly of Aubert and Company fell in 1717 to the Western Company, as the Mississippi Bubble Scheme of John Law was at one time known.

This was the grand epoch of the fur-trade in Canada under the old adventurous and lawless *régime*. Beaver-skins were the life of New France. It was all in vain that the government sought to control this traffic; and what is strangest of all to us is that after a century of failures rulers could not see that it was not possible. No more than the United States with all her armies would have been able to guard the gold banked in the Sierra Drainage, could France guard the wild beasts of the Canadian forests, or prevent her people from catching and skinning them.

As one among the many preventive measures

adopted by the king, an annual fair was ordered held at Montreal. It was at the opening of this commercial by-play that the arm-chaired governor-general, whom we read so much about in all the books, took his seat on the common, and midst much solemn smoking harangued the savages ranged round him upon the benefits accruing to mankind by reason of the peltry-packs which they had brought from distant forests to trade.

The scenes enacted here, where the highest merchants erected booths, and huckstering savages stalked the street, and half the town were drunk or nearly so, were conducive neither to commercial prosperity nor to good morals. Infatuated with the trade, scores of young men every summer returned with the savages to their distant homes, and became almost savage themselves, paddling their canoes and ranging the woods, whence the clan of *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* greatly multiplied, and became a striking feature of the century. For this forest traffic licenses were issued, but many preferred to take their chances without them.

An illustration of the futility and absurdity of government protection and trade monopoly here presents itself. While Oudiette and his associates held sway, the supply increased so largely as to ruin them. The hunters might sell to the merchants; but the merchants might sell only to Oudiette, and Oudiette must take all the furs offered him at a fixed price. The consequence was that when from over supply the market became glutted, and France refused to take them at half their cost, Oudiette was obliged to succumb; and the only way out of the difficulty, his successors found, was to burn three fourths of the stock on hand. And this was done more than once.

Round the trading-posts planted by La Salle along the Mississippi, and the missions established by the Jesuits south and west of Lake Michigan, little set-

tlements sprang up, until in 1711, when England declared war against France, throughout the great valley were scattered fur-traders of every class, whose intercourse on the north was with Quebec, and on the south with the Isle Dauphin, in Mobile Bay.

In 1712 Antoine Crozat obtained from the French court the appointment of governor of Louisiana, with a monopoly for mining and trading in that region for sixteen years. Crozat attempted to open commercial relations with Mexico, and in 1713 despatched a vessel to Vera Cruz, but the viceroy ordered its immediate departure. Moreover, the Virginians greatly troubled him by interfering with his peltry trade among the Natchez and other native nations of the Mississippi. Crozat was already a millionaire, and very grasping. By charging exorbitant prices for his goods, and paying the minimum rate for furs, he soon drove hunters out of the country, when he threw up his patent in disgust. It finally fell with others into the meshes of the famous Mississippi Bubble scheme.

New adventurers entered the field in 1717 under the name of the Western or Mississippi Company, before mentioned, which was connected with the Bank of France, and whose charter was to run for twenty-five years. To this were added the dormant rights of the Santo Domingo Association, formed in 1698, the Senegal and Guinea Companies, the Chinese Company of 1700, the Old West India Company, the Canada Company, and Aubert and Company.

The capital of the Mississippi Company was originally one hundred millions of livres, based on a popular belief in the resources of that country. It was a colonization scheme invented by the Scotchman John Law to free the French government from debt. To absorb new issues the name was changed to that of the West India Company, now revived for that purpose. The resources of the Mississippi, by means of certain financial legerdemain, were pledged, and im-

mediately to be applied to the payment of this indebtedness of two thousand millions of livres. The future for ten centuries was discounted. For a time the interest was promptly paid, and the shares rapidly advanced. Then madness seized the people. The stock rose one hundred per cent., one thousand per cent., two thousand and fifty per cent.! Then a crash, and the ruined ten thousand fell a-cursing their late idol, wishing to hang him.

In 1723 the defunct West India Company was succeeded by the Company of the Indies, with the duke of Orléans as governor. His jurisdiction extended over all the colonies of France, whether in America or elsewhere. From the wreck of the Law scheme a trading monopoly in the Louisiana and Illinois territories was saved, which continued until 1731, in which year the exclusive rights passed under immediate regal sway, and so continued throughout the remainder of French domination.

With the building of Fort Oswego a keen competition set in between the French and British fur-traders, the latter being disposed to pay the natives higher prices than the French had been accustomed to pay. The evil effects arising therefrom were in some degree obviated by the king, who by taking charge of the forts at Kingston, Niagara, and Toronto, and cutting off hitherto misapplied bounties to dealers, was enabled to compete with the British, and pay the natives higher prices.[9]

Until 1713, when by the treaty of Utrecht trade in the Hudson Bay and other territories must be relinquished, almost the entire peltry traffic of North

[9] 'At this time the average price of beaver-skins in money, at Montreal was 2 livres 13 sous, or about 2s. 3d. sterling, per pound.' *Smith's Hist. Canada*, i. lviii. It is not possible precisely to fix the value of furs exported from Canada under French *régime*. D'Auteuil places the annual returns in 1677 at 550,000 francs, and in 1715 at 2,000,000 francs. From the customs registers Governor Murray found the returns of 1754 valued at 1,547,885 livres, and those of 1755 at 1,265,650 livres. F. X. Garneau, *Canada*, tom. i. lib. viii. cap. 1, estimates the value of peltry exported from New France, immediately before and after the conquest, at 3,500,000 livres.

America, as we can but observe, was in the hands of the French. Every effort was made by the governors of New York to lessen French influence in the west, but without much success. The English possessed some advantages; European goods were lower at Boston and New York than at Quebec and Montreal, and there was considerable contraband trade between the colonists, even the monopolists themselves introducing into Canada cloth from Albany; but in the main during these earlier competitive times the French found favor with the savages, while the English were more suspiciously regarded.

Seeing that the advantages of contraband traffic were employed against their fur interests by the Canadian traders, in 1720–7 laws prohibiting the exchange of European goods for Canadian peltry were passed by the New York assembly, which was a heavy blow to the French traders. In retaliation Louis XIV. forbade by edict all commercial intercourse with the British colonies. Thereafter the blighting monopolies met with little opposition in New France. Those who dealt in peltries bought privileges from them, usually in the form of factory licenses, granted as a rule for three years. Those who held these temporary privileges of course made as much of them as possible while opportunity lasted, and the poor savage was usually the sufferer.[10]

The English possessions in America were granted to settlers in strips fronting on the Atlantic and extending through on fixed parallels to the Pacific. Thus to the London Company were given by James I. all lands lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth lines of latitude; to the Plymouth Company the forty-first to the forty-fifth parallels, the belt between being common; to the Council of Plymouth

[10] Mr Bell, the English editor of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, states that 'in 1754 at a western post, on one occasion beaver-skins were bought for four grains of pepper each; and that as much as 800 francs were realized by selling a pound of vermilion, probably dealt out in pinches.'

the fortieth to the forty-eighth parallel, and so on. Now, as the two nationalities quarrelled on their respective frontiers, the French would point triumphantly to the discoveries of Joliet and La Salle, while the English declared their lands had no western bound.

Banding for mutual protection, the American colonies resorted to arms as England declared war against France. Each seeking allies among the natives, the French and Indian war was inaugurated, which should forever settle this question of colonial supremacy. The immediate cause of this war was the intrusion of French fur-gatherers south of Lake Erie, to prevent which the Ohio Company was formed by a number of Virginians for the purpose of taking possession of the disputed territory. The French, however, were too quick for them. Bienville with three hundred men occupied the valley of the Ohio in the summer of 1749; but it was not until after 1753, when twelve hundred men were sent down the Alleghany by Du Quesne to colonize the country, and Washington was sent to remonstrate with General St Pierre, commander of the French forces in the west, that hostilities broke out. Then followed the expedition and defeat of the English under Braddock in 1755. In retaliation, with wanton cruelty, the English drove the French from Acadia. Meanwhile Johnson won a victory over the French at Lake George. In 1756 Washington repelled the enemy in the valley of the Shenandoah, while Montcalm successfully led the French across Lake Ontario, and the following year made a brilliant compaign into the Lake George country. In 1758 the English acquired Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, but failed before Ticonderoga. Fort Frontenac was taken by Bradstreet, and Du Quesne was burned. Twelve million pounds were voted by the British parliament to carry on the war, and Amherst was placed in command of the British and colonial forces, which by midsummer 1759 num-

bered fifty thousand men, while the French army scarcely exceeded seven thousand. It was therefore no great feat to crush them; and nothing else would satisfy Pitt. To this end three campaigns were planned: Amherst, with the main division, was to march against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; Pirdeaux was to take Niagara and Montreal, while Wolfe was to capture Quebec. Each accomplished his purpose. On the ocean the war lingered for three years after Montreal had fallen, but the British were finally victorious, and by the treaty of Paris, made the 10th of February 1763, half of the area of North America changed hands. To Spain, with whom England had also been at war, France surrendered that portion of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi, while Spain ceded to England all her domain east of that river. And thus it was made plain that decaying mediæval institutions should not stand before the enlightened and liberal progress of the New World.

By the treaty of Paris, made the 3d of November 1783, by which the independence of the United States was recognized, Florida was ceded by Great Britain back to Spain, and all English territory south of the great lakes and east of the Mississippi fell into the hands of the American confederation.

The territory west of the Mississippi, called Louisiana, was held by Spain until 1800, when Napoleon caused a secret cession of that domain to be made to France, and prepared to place an army at New Orleans, which should there maintain his authority; but the United States remonstrating, and affairs at home thickening, Napoleon finally authorized the sale of Louisiana. Mr Livingston and James Monroe were appointed by the President to negotiate the purchase. Terms were agreed upon by the 30th of April 1803, and for $11,250,000 together with the promise to pay certain claims of American citizens due from France, not to exceed $3,750,000—$15,000,000 in all—Louisiana was added to the United States.

In determining the boundaries of this purchase, Spain and Great Britain were concerned no less than the United States and France. The Mississippi River from the thirty-first parallel to its source was the eastern bound, and the gulf of Mexico to the north of the Sabine River the southern without question. The thirty-first parallel from the Mississippi to the Appalachicola, and down that stream to the gulf, was claimed by the United States, France, and England as the south-east boundary. To this, however, Spain dissented, asserting Iberville and lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to be the true line between Louisiana and west Florida. But she was finally overruled. On the south-west the line ran along the Sabine River to the thirty-first parallel; thence due north to Red River, and along that stream to the one hundredth degree of longitude west from Greenwich; thence north to the Arkansas, and up that river to the mountains, following them to the forty-second parallel of latitude. Thus far the western limits were fixed after much disagreement; and when the United States would continue the boundary line along the forty-second parallel to the Pacific Ocean, Spain made but slight objection, and finally in the treaty of 1819 gave her consent.

The northern limits of what should be United States territory affected only that country and Great Britain, and the line of partition was finally made the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific. Thus by the most momentous event of Jefferson's administration the possession of the great valley of the Mississippi fell to the United States. Out of the southern portion of the newly acquired domain was formed the territory of Orleans, while the remainder continued to be called the territory of Louisiana.[11]

[11] 'Between the years 1803 and 1819 there was some ground for controversy, but since the latter date none whatever, except as to the northern line.' *Ridpath's U. S.*, 379, note; in *American State Papers* see topics *Treaty of Paris, 1763; Definite Treaty between Great Britain and the U. S., 1783; Text of the Louisiana Cession, 1803; Boundary Conventions between the U. S. and Great Britain, 1818 and 1846; Treaty of Washington, 1819.*

By the treaty of Washington of the 22d of February 1819, east and west Florida were ceded by Spain to the United States; in consideration for which the latter power relinquished all claim to Texas, and promised to pay her own citizens a sum not to exceed five millions of dollars damages done them by Spanish vessels. The Sabine River at the same time was made the eastern boundary of Mexico.

For many years in several particulars that portion of the partition line between Canada and the United States extending from the Atlantic to Lake Huron had been in dispute. At the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, it was decided to refer the matter to three commissioners, but it was not until the Webster-Ashburton treaty of the 9th of August 1842 that the question was finally settled, that portion of the treaty of October 1818 fixing the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods westward as the dividing line being confirmed.[12]

[12] It appears, in their ignorance of western geography, statesmen of that day supposed the forty-ninth parallel crossed the Mississippi somewhere, and it was to this point only, Bouchette affirms, that partition should have been carried. 'But it was afterwards found,' he says, *Brit. Dom.*, i. 8–9, 'that such a line would never strike the river, as its highest waters did not extend beyond lat. 47° 36′ north, whilst the point of the Lake of the Woods, whence the line was to depart, stood in lat. 49° 20′ north, and therefore 104 geographical miles farther north than the source of the Mississippi. The fourth article of the treaty of London in 1794 provided for the amicable adjustment of this anomaly, but its intentions were never carried into effect; and the subject came under the consideration of Lord Holland and the late Lord Auckland, on one side, and Mr Monroe and Mr Pickering on the other, during the negotiations of 1806. The British negotiators contended that the nearest line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi was the boundary, according to the true intent of the treaty of 1783; the Americans insisted that the line was to run due west, and, since it could never intersect the Mississippi, that it must run due west across the whole continent.' As I shall have occasion to discuss this matter at length in another place, I will let it rest for the present.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## FOREST LIFE AND FUR-HUNTING.

NORTHERN AND WESTERN FUR TERRITORY—PHYSICAL FEATURES—HABITATS OF FUR-BEARING ANIMALS—VOYAGEURS—COUREURS DES BOIS—ANGLO-AMERICAN TRAPPER—HIS CHARACTERISTICS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE FRENCH CANADIAN—BOATING—BRIGADES—RUNNING RAPIDS—TRAVEL—DRESS—FOOD—CACHING.

PICTURE in your mind a sweep of country three thousand by two thousand miles in extent, stretching from ocean to ocean across the continent's broadest part, from Labrador to Alaska, and on the Pacific from the Arctic Ocean to the river Umpqua; picture this expanse bright with lakes and linking streams, basined by intersecting ridges between which are spread open plains and feathery forests, warm valleys and frozen hills, fertile prairies, marshes, dry scraggy undulations, and thirsty deserts in quick succession; picture it a primeval wilderness, thickly inhabited by wild beasts and thinly peopled by wild men, but with civilization's latest invention brought to their border and kept for their present curse and final extinction in small palisaded squares fifty or three hundred miles apart by white men who ever and forever urged the wild man against the wild beast for the benefit of the mighty and the cunning—imagine such a scene, and you have before you the domain and doings of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company as it was fifty years ago.

For clearer conception, place yourself upon the continental apex near the great National Park and between the springs of the Columbia, the Colorado,

the Athabasca, the Saskatchewan, and the Missouri rivers. The waters of the first flow westward, those of the second southward, of the third northward, of the fourth north-eastward, and of the fifth south-eastward. From where you stand, the continent slopes in every direction. British America slopes northward from the United States border to the Frozen Ocean; the United States slopes southward from the British American border to the Californian and Mexican gulfs; from the great Rocky Mountain water-shed the continent slopes eastward to the Atlantic and westward to the Pacific.

By four main mountain systems and a latitudinal divide of low table-land are formed the four hydrographical basins of North America, whence into the northern, western, and eastern oceans and the southern gulfs is discharged one third of all the fresh water that stands or flows. These four ranges, which cut the continent into longitudinal strips, are all parallel to the ocean shore line, to which they lie nearest. Between the Appalachian system of the east and the Rocky Mountains of the west is the central plain of the continent, which sweeps from the gulf of Mexico through the valley of the Mississippi round by the St Lawrence to Nelson River. Beyond the 49th parallel divide, which, as from the east it approaches the Rocky Mountains, is at once a physical as well as political partition line, and on to the Frozen Ocean lies a broken level of transfixed billows seemingly limitless, and in its cold winter dress as silent as a petrified sea. Westward of the Stony Mountains, and until the Cascade and Snowy ranges are reached, is a sandy basin, desert toward the south but at the north fertile. Last of all, crossing the Cascade-Nevada ridge we come upon the warm garden-valleys of the Pacific, the Willamette of Oregon, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin of California, protected on their west by the Coast Range. Of lesser altitude than either the Snowy or the Rocky ranges, the Coast Mountains for

the most part rise from the very verge of the ocean; and though broken in places, and sometimes separated from the sea by a low level surface twenty-five or fifty miles in width, they form a continuous chain from the Californian Gulf to Bering Strait. At San Francisco Bay they open to the Californian valley drainage, on the Oregon coast to that of the Columbia; on reaching the 48th parallel the range breaks in an archipelago, twelve hundred islands here guarding the shore for seven hundred miles, and then strikes the mainland again at mounts Fairweather and Elias. South of California all the ranges of western North America combine in a series of more or less elevated mountains and plateaux. The Chepewyan Mountains, by which name the northern extremity of the Rocky Mountains is known, form the water-shed between the Mackenzie and the Yukon. On the east side of the main continental ridge are lesser parallel ridges which subside into plain as the rivers are reached; on the western side mountain and plain are more distinctly marked. In Oregon there are the Blue Mountains; as a divide between Oregon and California we have the Siskiyou Mountains, where the Coast, Cascade, and Nevada ranges meet, with snow-capped Mount Shasta as their sentinel; in Alaska there is the Alaskan chain, extending from the Alaskan peninsula beyond the Yukon River. The interior of British Columbia is a mountainous plateau.

British America was the fur-hunter's paradise. Cold enough to require of nature thick coverings for her animal creations; fertile enough to furnish food for those animals; rugged enough in soil and climate to require of native man constant displays of energy; sterile and forbidding enough to keep out settlers so long as better land might be had nearer civilization, it offered precisely the field, of all the world, a fur corporation might choose for a century or two of exclusive dominion.

Starting from the rugged shores of Labrador, we

leave without regret its bleak interior table-land, covered with stunted poplar, spruce, birch, willow, and aspen, and strewn with casibon-moss-covered bowlders, and pass round through Canada, with its irregular plateaux, its wet wooded terraces and alluvial plains covered with hard-wood forests, when we enter Rupert Land and Canada's north-west territories.

Prominent here is frozen stillness, if it be winter, or if summer general wetness, with substrata of ice. Inland seas, lakes, and watercourses stand conspicuous. Not to mention the bays, sounds, and channels which communicate by straits directly with the ocean, there is a chain of lakes beginning with Superior, the largest body of fresh water on the globe, and stretching due north-west; Winnipeg, with Winnipegoos and Manitoba beside it, Deer, Wollaston, Athabasca, Great Slave, Great Bear, and scores of lesser sheets. By reason of these aqueous concatenations, this linking of lakes and rivers, one can travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, almost wholly by water.

Throughout much of this domain the climate is dreary, the country treeless, and game scarce. The winters are extremely cold, the summers short, with plentiful rainfalls along the eastern border, whose wealth is in its fisheries rather than in its furs. The richest of all that region, agriculturally, is the fertile belt extending from Red River to the Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, at the threshold of which on the east lies the Laurentian wilderness. North of 60° vegetation almost wholly ceases; and yet God's creatures are nowhere more boisterous in their frolics than here.

Notwithstanding so much general moisture, there are wide tracts sterile from dryness. Between the Qu'Appelle and the Saskatchewan, west of the 100th meridian, is a long lonely waste of treeless plain, rolling midst thicket-fringed hills, while north of the chain of lakes spreads an immensity of arid surface feebly

supporting a stunted vegetation, often declining into desert absolute. West of this we find desert, prairie, and forest; Peace River flows through much rugged country, between high banks relieved in places by wooded terraces, but once upon the higher level the indentations disappear, leaving the eye to meet copses and prairies in endless perspective.

Although spring is tardy after the long cold winter, yet flowers are quick enough to bloom and grass to grow when once the snow melts, and summer with its ripening sun and pure elastic air seems suddenly to drop upon the land, and finally to overspread the surface with a warm transparent haze, as if in tenderness to veil the land from such unaccustomed joy.

In autumn nature assumes her most gorgeous drapery. Even the shivering shrubs that nestle in some hollow or nervously cling to the base of hills show color when the frost strikes them, while the luxuriant forests revel in rainbow hues. A fortnight later, and the gold and amber-leaved beech, the red and yellow leaved maple, and the copper-leaved oak, are stripped of their gaudy drapery and stand naked upon an endless sheet of snow. Then breathes upon them the moist breath of nature, and lo! every twig is jewelled, encased in ice which glitters in the sun like a forest of glass.

Pass over the mountains into British Columbia, and on the rough, hilly plateau are found water, and wood, and plain, though there is no lack of wild, rolling mountains, bare and by no means prepossessing. Rivers here plow their deep furrows through the uneven surface, and leap down the sides of the plateau. There are, first the Fraser, then Thompson River, and Stuart, Babine, Quesnelle, Okanagan, and Chilcotin lakes and rivers. Almost all the tributaries of the great rivers here have a freak of becoming inflated by a sense of their importance, and so widening in places into lakes. The rivers and lakes of the western slope are less in number and extent than

those of the eastern. With the Mackenzie, Peace River, the Athabasca, Saskatchewan, St Lawrence, Mis-si-sippi, Missouri, Yellowstone, Platte, Arkansas, and Rio del Norte, we have the Colorado, the Sacramento, the Columbia, and the Yukon.

The upper regions are rainy, and the lower lands, where fertile, are densely wooded in the deepest green. There is, however, in the interior much undulating lightly wooded land, as well as open prairie of greater or less adaptation to pastoral and agricultural purposes. As a rule the valleys are fertile, and the hill-sides are wooded, while the plateaux are barren. A large level tract between Thompson and Fraser rivers is wooded. There are places in these highlands of awful, unspeakable grandeur; towering cliffs, yawning chasms; places where granite walls tower a thousand feet and more above foaming water-falls, which dash down cliffs and thunder through ravines, drowning the wild beasts' roar, and flinging rainbows through the descending spray upon the sky. Into the clear liquid blue, for example, of Stuart Lake, where the salmon after his wonderful journey from the Pacific rests as a stranger, forest-clad promontories stretch themselves, while from its western and northern shores tall mountains rise. Near the highest land that separates the Arctic from the Pacific is Macleod Lake, whence to the Coast Range extends an uneven plateau, south of which are seas of grass with shores of forest.

Excepting north-western Alaska, the Pacific slope is warmer, and toward the south drier than corresponding latitudes on the Atlantic; and yet in places it is cold enough. The coast of British Columbia is broken into islands and inlets which afford multitudes of excellent harbors. Vancouver Island is rocky, mountainous, and wooded. Climate here is modified by the ocean. The site of Victoria is one of the most picturesque in the world. The whole Northwest Coast near the sea is warm and wet, rain falling abun-

dantly during all the months of the year. The southern shore of Alaska presents a remarkable contrast in this respect to northern Labrador and southern Greenland, being for so high a latitude exceedingly mild, owing to the warm currents sent northward from the Japan Sea. East of the Cascade Range the climate is more like that of California, being dry in summer and rainy during winter. In the interior it is warmer in summer and colder in winter than on the coast.

Descending southward through the transparent waters of Admiralty Inlet and Puget Sound, whose gravelly shores are feathered by dense forests extending far back in opaque wilderness, we come to the Columbia, flowing from afar silently, majestically, though here and there falling in cataracts or rushing boisterously through narrow mountain gorges, the fertile fields of Oregon often drenched in moisture, then to the drier valleys of California; and finally turning to the eastward we encounter the arid sands of Arizona. East of the Cascade-Nevada range we find the same meteorological gradations. Between the Blue Mountains and the Cascade Range in the northern part there is much level country whose woodless surface of yellow sand and clay when covered with bunch-grass and shrubs was deemed worthless, but since converted into fields of waving grain. Proceeding southward, the Great Basin is entered, and the sandy sagebrush country of Nevada and Utah. East of the Blue Mountains are bare rocky chains interlaced with deep gorges, through which flows and foams the melted snow from the surrounding summits. Though there are on the Pacific slope hundreds of lakes so pellucid as to bring apparently within arm's length pebbles ten or twenty feet distant, yet there are some unattractive sheets, thick and murky with saline substances, and having no visible outlet, the greatest of which is Great Salt Lake of Utah.

Eastern Washington is elevated and irregular, the

western part only being densely wooded. Idaho and Montana consist of rolling table-lands, with many depressed valleys. Intersecting ranges of mountains rear their summits in places into the region of perpetual snow. The climate of the lower lands is mild. Forests of pine, fir, and cedar are interspersed with grassy plains. The Wahsatch Mountains divide Utah, the western part with Nevada belonging to the Great Basin with no outlet for their waters, while the eastern part is drained by the Colorado. All this region is arid, with sluggish streams, brackish lakes, and sandy plains, interspersed with small short ridges of mountains.

The term prairie is applied to a variety of open level surfaces. There are the alluvial prairies of the Mississippi Valley, the sandy prairies of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine, with their saline ponds half hidden by willow and aspen. Likewise parts of the low fertile belt of the Red River we might call prairie. The word plains is also applied to innumerable localities; but what emigrants to Oregon and California understood as the Plains was the country they were obliged to cross with so much tedious labor which stretches westward from the Missouri along the Platte, and far to the north and to the south of it.

Animals of various kinds, and fish and fowl, were originally distributed in prodigal profusion throughout this region, though, as we have seen, there were sterile places in which game was scarce.

Almost everywhere beaver were plentiful; the sharp-toothed otter, on which no other beast but man preys, likewise had a wide range, having been seen in Mexico and Central America; and on all the plains east of the Rocky Mountains were buffaloes: and indeed the buffalo once found its way westward as far as the plains of the upper Columbia, but its residence there was of short duration. Moose flourished about the Athabasca and Peace River country.

In Arctic quarters were reindeer, herds of ten thousand being sometimes driven from thickets to the shore of the ocean; also musk-oxen, white foxes, and polar bears; brown, grizzly, and cinnamon bears were their neighbors on the south and dominated the forests as far as Mexico. So numerous here during summer were geese, swans, ducks, pelicans, bustard, cranes, and cormorants as to cloud the sky, and so noisy as to fling round the listener a curtain of sound. The ermine was a northern animal, while the habitat of the American sable or marten was a little south, say between latitude 65° and 37°; yet its presence on the Arctic shores has been attested. Mention may be made of the walrus on Arctic shores, and seals, sea-unicorns, and black and white whales. Geese and ducks were everywhere from the Mexican gulf to the Arctic Ocean, and swans were plentiful in places. Wolves were numerous at the north, and coyotes south. In the northern forests were also the raccoon, badger, and musk-rat; the gray fox fancied the prairie.

Between the northern and southern extremes the elk ranged; likewise the black-tailed deer. The red deer or white-tailed deer enjoyed a wider range, covering in fact almost the entire continent. The antelope belonged specially to the great plains. The mountain sheep and goats found their homes among the rocky crags of the continental range. Lewis and Clarke saw mountain sheep at the Cascades. The grizzly bear, the largest of American carnivora, lived in the mountains, though descending every autumn to the plains for grapes and berries. The California lion is little more than a huge cat, but with senses exceedingly acute; the panther is his smaller brother. The wolverene spread over the whole of northern North America, extending as far south as latitude 39°, or perhaps farther. The great interior valley between Hudson Bay and the gulf of Mexico was the habitat of the American badger; south-west of this limit was the Mexican badger. The special domain of the sea-

otter was the Northwest Coast, whose shores and inlands it covered from Alaska to Lower California. Fish of all sorts abounded in the lakes and rivers, the piscatorial feature of the Pacific slope being its salmon. Over the plains northward and westward from the gulf of Mexico innumerable bands of cattle and horses ran wild. Most marketable furs are procured north of the fortieth parallel.[1]

It was the policy of the fur companies not to exhaust any part of the country; hence when it is found that animals are on the decrease, the district is abandoned for a time. There were places where beaver were trapped but one season in five. The beaver was usually taken by means of a smooth-jawed steel-trap, fastened to a stake driven in the pond near the dam. Most fur-bearing animals were captured by a steel-trap, poisoning and shooting being objectionable on account of injury to the skin. There was the clumsy dead-fall contrivance, among others, which the steel spring trap superseded.

When stripped, the skin was stretched until dry, after which it was folded, with the fur inward. Ten or twenty made a bundle, which when tightly pressed and corded was ready for transportation. The eighty-four or ninety-pound packs of the British American companies were uniform in size and shape, and were pressed by wedges or screws into the smallest compass and bound with thongs, the smaller and finer skins, such as the marten, musk-rat, and otter, of which there are often four or five hundred in a bale, being put inside and inclosed by the coarser kinds, deer, wolf, buffalo, and bear.

Hunters commonly used the brains of the animal for dressing the skin. After the flesh and grain were

[1] *Parliament Papers, Red River Settlement*, 142; *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, 25, 39, 43; *Newhouse's Trapper's Guide*, 215; *Richardson's Polar Regions*, 274–84; *Ballantyne's Hudson Bay*, 60, 66; *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, 288; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Exped.*, v. 144; *Farnham's Travels*, 436; *Morgan's Am. Beaver*, 218–47; *Hearne's Journey*, 226; *Burnett's Recollections*, MS., i. 118–20; *Victor's River of West*, 64–9; *Lewis and Clarke's Journey*, 377; and many other works belonging to hunting and natural history.

removed from the pelt it was soaked in a decoction of brains and water, and rubbed with the hands as it dried.

Between 1812 and 1841 the southern fur districts of the Pacific States, that is to say the California country lying between Oregon and Mexico, aside from individual trappers and private trading companies, was occupied by the Russians. Likewise at the extreme north-west, from Simpson River to Bering Strait, the Russians held sway; while from 1821 to 1841, between these two distant points the intermediate region as well as the interior back of Alaska was dominated solely by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The company then numbered among its servants many French Canadians, as well as Scotch, English, and Irish, though at first Orkney men were chiefly employed as boatmen, hunters, and laborers. I will now endeavor to give the reader more complete knowledge of the origin and character of that singular class, the Canadian boatmen and fur-hunters, and then proceed to institute some comparisons between them and the Anglo-American wood-ranger.

Out of the desire of Montreal merchants for the distant savage's stock of peltries arose a class *sui generis*. There is no being like the Canadian *voyageur*—or, if he be on land, the *coureur des bois*—except himself. He cannot be called a cross between French and Indian, though that would be the nearest approach to race measurement that we could make. His Gallic original he certainly retains, volatile enough at first, but when sublimated by sylvan freedom from restraint he is a new creation. It was his nature, different from that of other men, that made him thus; for of none but a Frenchman, not matter what were the engendering circumstances, could a voyageur be made, any more than another metal beside potassium thrown upon water would float and burn.

Originally the wild animals of America were hunted only for food and clothing sufficient to supply the moderate requirements of so thinly peopled a region. But with the advent of the all-devouring white men eastern forests were soon made tenantless, and the trader was obliged gradually to press west and north.

In a surprisingly short time the French Canadian would become half savage, and so attached to his wild life and associates that civilization with its stifling conventionalities and oppressive comforts became forever after distasteful. To the fur-trade the coureurs des bois were as the miners in gold-producing districts. It was they who risked the danger and performed the labor, while the prudent politic trader reaped the harvest. The coureurs des bois were forest pedlers rather than hunters; they seldom engaged in trapping, but confined themselves principally to trafficking with the natives; they were a go-between, assisting both the hunter and the merchant. To the early French trader they were a forest factotum, but with British domination their calling declined, and they became simply voyageurs, or boatmen. They were the first in Canada to link savagism to civilization, and in the conscienceless race that followed they were dragged to death with the sylvan society they loved.

Like the orthodox miner, they were always penniless. Success had little to do with permanent prosperity. Obtaining from the merchant credit for such articles as they required, knives, hatchets, guns, ammunition, tobacco, calico, blankets, beads, and other trinkets, they set out from the trading-post singly or in companies of two, three, or four, in canoes usually of birch bark, which they could easily carry round the many rapids they encountered, or even for some distance across the country. Sometimes they joined their stock and labors in an adventure of six or twelve months, and penetrating the more distant parts they either followed the natives in their hunting excursions, or meeting them on their return relieved them of their

precious burdens in exchange for such trifles as captivated the red man's childish eye.

Returning with rich cargoes, not unfrequently attended by a concourse of savage huntsmen with their wives and children, they were greeted with smiles among general rejoicings. Settling their account with the merchant, thus insuring fresh credit, they gave themselves up to pleasure, and quickly squandered all their gains. A few short days and nights sufficed to place their finances exactly where they were a year or ten years before—that is, at zero; and it is a question in which they most delighted, the free licentiousness of the forest or the drunkenness and debauchery of civilization.

Because the Frenchman was so unlike the Indian, so much more unlike him than was the Englishman, in the closer relationships he was less unendurable to the American aboriginal than any other foreigner. Like the Spaniard, the Indian was pompous, proud, superstitious, treacherous, and cruel; like the Englishman, he was cold, dignified, egotistical, crafty, and coercive. Now the Frenchman may have a purpose, but he never forgets that he is a Frenchman. Without the slightest hesitation he braves danger and embraces fatigue; without being one whit less courageous than the Spaniard or Englishman, possibly he may not be so enduring. In this respect he is not unlike the Indian; without a murmur he accepts suffering as his fate, bearing up under it with the utmost good-humor; but the apex of patience passed and he at once succumbs. There is no wailing over his fate; overcome by labor and misfortune, or lost or starved in the forest, he lays himself down to death with the same nonchalance with which he bore life's heavy burdens.

But it was his French suavity of manner, his mercurial light-heartedness and soft winsome ways that captivated the stern, staid North American, and made the savage love to have him near him. The English-

man was a being to be respected and feared, the Frenchman to be embraced and loved; hence, when from Montreal, soon after Cartier had found that place, the sons of sweet France, with hearts as light and buoyant as their little boats, paddled their way far up streams new to European eyes, and with the fearless playfulness of kittens spread their brilliant trinkets before eyes glittering with admiration, and coaxed and cajoled these dismal denizens of the forest, quickly falling into their ways, quickly perceiving all their weaknesses, quickly throwing off whatever remaining shreds of civilization might yet be hanging to themselves, and becoming as filthy and as free as the lordliest savage there, eating, drinking, and smoking with the men, laughing, chatting, and marrying with the women, filling the air with fragrant good cheer and merriment wherever they went—no wonder these hard-featured, hard-hearted, beastly, and bloody grown-up babes of the wood welcomed such companionship, and rejoiced in the coming of a French trader as in the arrival of a prismal ray from a new orb.

And so, coming and going between town and encampment, boating streams and lakes, and tramping forests and prairies, working, playing, buying, selling, laughing, singing, praying, swearing, but always either sweating for gain or revelling in a speedy riddance of their hard earnings, they easily adapted to change of circumstance and dress, change of heart, head, and nature.

They easily affected the weaknesses of their forest friends; adopted long hair, which if light and curled delighted dusky maids; arrayed themselves in gim-cracks, decorating their broad bonnets with eagle feathers, and their leathern hunting-coats with bear or horse-hair fringes; and if sufficiently renegade and vagrant they did not disdain to render their features more expressive by vermilion, grease, and ochre, to receive their boiled buffalo meat and lighted pipe from the hand of an affectionate and admiring

native nymph, or even to assist in the national scalp-takings.

Their beautiful language greatly deteriorated when brought into such familiar contact with the harsh guttural of the American aboriginal. In disposition and daily intercourse with each other they were affectionate and obliging, addressing each other as 'cousin' and 'brother,' with constant interchange of kind offices. Except when under engagement, at which times they worked fast and faithfully, they were as lazy as they were improvident. To their employers they were respectful and submissive. In all his long and perilous journeyings, Mackenzie mentions but one act of wilful disobedience, and that was a refusal to descend a fearful rapid in a crazy canoe, to which any free agent in his senses would have objected. And although a willing, competent, and faithful man, for this single act he was stigmatized by his commander and his comrades as poltroon and coward throughout the remainder of the journey.

No less prominent in the character of the French Canadian than his companionableness in aboriginal quarters is his contentedness in lowly estates. He seems to take to Scotch service as naturally as to savage domesticity. Although he loves to talk, and dance, and sing, he does not disdain work, particularly if administered spasmodically and in not too large doses.

This willingness always to remain the Scotchman's beast of burden may be traced likewise from his origin and American environment. His mother country and his ancestors were a mixture of feudalism and democracy, of popery and protestantism. The people were nothing, the government everything. Priests and princes divided between them the fruits of the peasant's labor. So in the early settlement of the St Lawrence feudal seigneurs brought their *droits d'aubaine* and *droits de moulinage*, which made a stockade the necessary beginning of every town. There the old system was continued; seigneurs were

born of seigneurs, and serfs of serfs. Government was not for the *bourgeoisie;* and the more haughtily the Britisher carried himself, the more obedient became the poor voyageur. The independent life which he lost with loss of country, the abolition of the license system and general change of customs, I will not say were not severely felt. It was a sad blow to the French Canadian when from his unrestrained condition he was obliged to descend and take service with his country's enemies; but being forced to it he yielded gracefully.

Religion, I must say, laid its fetters lightly upon the Gallic adventurer in the New World; for unlike the Spanish zealot or the English puritan, the mercurial mind of the Frenchman, who at home was something of a free-thinker, became emancipated from traditional thraldom almost immediately upon landing among the strange scenes of the western wilderness; so that while on the St Lawrence, Jesuit, Franciscan, and Calvinist fought for the promulgation of their own peculiar faith, the tough coureurs des bois, delighting in adventure, cared little for either.

As the blood of the Frenchman mixed more and more with that of the native American the occupation of voyageur fell into the hands of half-breeds, in whom was united to some small extent the intelligence of civilization with the instinctive cunning of savagism. From the former they inherit a social disposition, from the latter gregarious habits. Their home in winter is a fixed log-house, in summer a movable wigwam. Their lazy efforts at agriculture are usually crowned with ill success; though where the blood is properly brewed with suitable sun and soil they have produced fine farms.[2]

[2] See *Silliman's Journal*, January 1834, 311–29; *Raynal, Hist. Phil.*, viii. 97–9; *Simpson's Life*, 59–63; besides general history and travels; *Robinson's Great Fur Land*, 40–55; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Exped.*, iv. 407, 418–19; *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1870; *Domenech's Deserts*, i. 244–5; *Irving's Bonneville's Adv.*, 27–8, 32; *Anderson's Northwest Coast*, MS., 23–5.

Although the Anglo-American wood-rangers became demoralized enough in their intimacy with the natives, and although they were perhaps coarser, more brutal and bloody in their state of semi-savagism than the French, the trapper upon the United States frontier never became so a part of the Indian with whom he associated as did the Canadian; and for the very good reason that he could not.

Between the English colonists and the American aboriginals there was ever a deadly antagonism, which did not prevail in Canadian hunting-grounds, where the fur-trade was regarded as of greater importance than agricultural occupation. A fierce hatred of the intruding race, as the progressive people of the United States rapidly crowded their way westward, was returned by the intruders with merciless contempt and injustice.

Upon the broad shoulders of the usually tall, spare, tough frame of the trapper whose birthplace may be Kentucky, Missouri, New York, or Connecticut, a big-boned frame, interknit with sinews of steel, it is not uncommon to see a head holding at once the sagacity of the savage and the instinct of the wild beast, together with the stronger cunning of civilization, the whole faced by features of almost child-like openness and simplicity. Yet stir the inner pool with any injury, and straightway that so lately guileless countenance will blaze with hellish hate, while the muscles move convulsively and hot blood courses through swollen veins, and the eyes shoot forth forked revenge. Being himself the righter of his wrongs, he means to do the work of justice thoroughly. He never forgets a kindness or an injury; and unless maddened by drink or injustice, he is as harmless as a sleeping serpent. As surely as the unlettered aboriginal race fades before predominant civilization, so surely sinks the civilized man who ventures alone upon the sea of savagism.

If possible, the reckless extravagance of the fur-

hunter was more insane than that of the miner. Think of a life of danger and privation in the distant wilderness for one, three, or five years, with at least equal chance of never returning; think of the toil attending the slow accumulation of furs and of bringing them to market, then at last of arriving at a rendezvous, fort, or town; think of the whole catch being every dollar the poor fool is worth, except what he may carry on his back; think of the results of all this risk and labor being squandered in three days, in two days; or of the hunter after a single night's revelry going back to the forest as poor as when he first went there, again to gather and to squander. I say the fur-hunter is, if possible, more insane in his dissipations than the gold-hunter: for the former takes greater risks, and is sure of never securing a fortune, which the latter never forgets is within his range of possibilities.

Since the discovery of gold in fur-hunting districts the two pursuits have often been united. In British Columbia many mined during summer and trapped in winter. Nor were partners and proprietors free from this propensity to prodigality. Nowhere was ever seen more lavish hospitality during the earlier years of this century than in the homes of the Frobishers, the McGillivrays, and the McTavishes of Montreal, who vied with each other in luxurious ostentation and conviviality. When the fur king travelled, he was, like the representative Californian of 1850, a marked man. More particularly the jeweller knew him.

Once having fallen within the subtle influence of forest fascinations, few ever were content to return to the stifling atmosphere of straitlaced conventionalisms. Of all the thousands who left loving hearts and wended their way to the wilderness, not one in ten was ever heard of by his friends again. Some perished from hunger or fatigue; some were stung by venomous reptiles, or were torn in pieces by wild beasts; some fell from cliffs and others were swallowed

by treacherous waters; fever seized some and icy winter others; and finally there were those who were tortured to death by savages, and those who were shot from behind by their comrades for the pack which they carried, while some few died in their blankets in peace. And yet, while the bones of the ninety and nine lie bleaching in the wilderness, the one returning with horse or boat packed high with rich peltries alone is remembered. I am told by an old fur-trader, who has given me many facts of interest, that while stationed at various posts he was obliged to bring into the field annual recruits, amounting to one new man for every two sent out the previous year, and that in a term of three years, during which two hundred might have been employed, not more than forty would be known to be alive. The enticements of fur-hunting were much the same as those of gold-gathering. Both were alluring in their risks no less than in their rewards. While holding their victim firmly within their grasp, both encouraged him with the perpetual hope of some day returning to home and friends, even himself not knowing that he would not if he could.

It is the fate of progressive humanity always to be wanting something; nor do I see that it matters much whether it be empire, fame, or beaver-skins that urge men forward. As we are constituted, something within must prompt action, else were we already dead, though fortune flit us for years to come. Here in the wilderness we see comforts abandoned and life systematically risked for so poor a trifle that many would not reach out their hand to obtain it. Without a murmur we see hardships met before which brave men might quail without dishonor; met and held in cheerful embrace until violent death or premature old age cuts short their career. As matters of course, long, difficult, and dangerous journeys are undertaken month after month and year after year, in which patience and endurance are equally tried. Long excursions are sometimes made to far-off trading-grounds, involving

restless travel day and night in order to return before snows enclose them to their destruction, and this only to be caught for the winter in the wilderness without shelter, and dependent for food wholly on the precarious supply of wood or stream. Their daily life consisted of thrilling adventures and hair-breadth escapes, perils and sufferings unheard of, yet which when passed they deemed scarcely worth the mentioning.

There was a class on the United States frontier called free trappers, who were their own masters in everything, hunting only on their own account, either singly or in companies of two or four. They were much courted by traders, who by retaining them near at hand not only added to their strength and safety, but to their profits, as with their liquor and supplies it was seldom difficult to secure all the furs a hunter could gather, and keep him in debt beside.

In fur-hunting parlance the word voyage was applied to all terraqueous journeys, and *voyageurs* were simply boatmen, that is to say, French Canadian boatmen, though their duties were various, and as such they retained their peculiarities until their calling was extinguished by the spread of civilization. The *coureurs des bois,* or rangers of the woods, or bush-rangers as they are sometimes called, were those originally brought into yet closer contact with the natives, eating, sleeping, and hunting with them, and so degenerating into savagism, only the more quickly to disappear with their savage friends, while the boatmen, as individual traffic became less profitable, took service with the fur companies, and by pushing farther and farther into the wilderness, retained their individuality until their occupation was gone. The wood-runner of Canada was about on a par with the trapper of the United States, one who hunted either for himself or for an expedition or company, while the boatman proper almost necessarily took service either

for a longer or shorter period, especially in later years, with a fur-hunting company.

The French Canadians have been called the finest boatmen in the world. This statement, perhaps, is true if confined to white men. But there are many tribes of Indians and islanders more expert with their canoes—as for example the Alaskans and the Kanakas—than any European, however savagized by forest life.

The orthodox fur-hunting canoe was birch bark, sewed with spruce-root fibre, and the seams made tight with resin. They were from thirty to forty feet long, five or six wide, light and graceful, gaudily painted, and capable of carrying three passengers, with a crew of eight; and though readily floating four tons of freight, might be easily borne on the shoulders of two men. But the birch canoe was not the one usually employed in the Oregon waters. Here prevailed the bateau, thirty-two feet long and six and a half feet amidships, made of quarter-inch pine boards, both ends sharp, without keel, and propelled either with oars or paddles. Larger and smaller boats than these were made; also canoes consisting of a single log dug out. A boat was made at Okanagan specially for the trade and modelled after a whale-boat, only larger. They were clinker-built, with all the timbers flat, and so light as to be easily carried. In their construction pine gum was used instead of pitch.

Discharged from an engagement, the voyageurs were very much like sailors ashore. Some few carried their earnings to their wives, but most of them lavished their gains upon their sweethearts, bought for themselves new finery, and ate, drank, and played until nothing was left.

To make up a company of voyageurs for an expedition was like enrolling a crew of sailors for a voyage. They were usually engaged for a certain time, and received part of their pay in advance, as they were proverbially penniless, and needed an outfit, besides

having old scores to pay. Then there must be a general carouse with their friends before parting, at which they drink, fight, frolic, and dance until it is time for them to take their place in the boat.

It is a wild unfettered life, a buoyant, joyous, revelling, rollicking life, full of beauty, with ever fresh and recurring fascination. See them as they sit at night eating, smoking, and chatting round the ruddy camp-fire, with weary limbs and soiled clothes, after a day of many portages, or perhaps after a wreck in a rapid, or a beating storm, their dark luxuriant hair falling in tangled masses round their bronzed faces, and their uncouth figures casting weird shadows on the background foliage. See them as they rise from their hard though welcome bed, at the first faint streak of dawn on a frosty morning, to the guide's harsh leathern-voiced call of *"Lève! lève!"* joking good-humor gradually arising out of the wheezes, sneezes, grunts, and grumbles of their somnolence. See them now, merry and musical as larks, throwing themselves with their luggage into the boats, and shoving from the bank out upon the placid, polished water, striking up their morning song to the soft, low rhythmic dip of their paddles, which rise and fall in unison as if moved by one hand. The deepening flush upon the sky, as from some huge beacon-fire, hidden beyond the distant hills, marks the approach of all-awakening day; or if through the trees the sun is first seen flooding the landscape with a crackling light and setting ablaze the ice-covered foliage, it were enough to turn cold petrifaction into responsive being.

Landing about nine o'clock, breakfast is hastily cooked and eaten; then comes the long, strong, heavy pull of the day if it be up the stream, or the frequent death-dodging descent of rapids if it be downward; a five-minute pipe of tobacco every two hours, drams at stated intervals, usually three or four a day if

liquor be plentiful, and luncheon in the boat at noon; and thus the usual routine wears time away.

One other picture, and only one, may fittingly be hung beside that of hyperborean morning, and that is summer's golden sunset. Paint Jehovah, joy, and life with a handful of clay! Faintly, ah! how faintly to yearning consciousness nature's surpassing radiance is felt; but no tongue of man may name it. Nevertheless these poor ignorant French boatmen felt it, were thoroughly in sympathy with it, were indeed a part of it; and from their lips broke spontaneous song, half prayer, half praise, which brought them nearer heaven than might have done any cathedral choir. The play of beauty which the sun flings back in its diurnal departure is best reflected where the planet has been least mutilated by man. Nothing can be more impressive than nature's silent voice felt in the fragrant air, breathed over the placid lake by the gently waving forest, all glowing in glimmering twilight.

But it was when reaching the end of a long and perilous journey that the voyageur merged into his gayest mood. It was then the elaborate toilet was made: men and boats decorated, with ribbons, tassels, and gaudy feathers streaming from gaiters and cap; it was then, in their most brilliant bunting, the *chanson à l'aviron* was struck and the plaintive paddling melody, which the distant listener might almost fancy to be the very voice of mountain, wood, and stream united, swelled on nearer approach into a hymn of deep manly exultation, and with flourish of paddle keeping time to song and chorus they swept round bend or point, and landed with a whoop and wild halloo which caused the timid deer or eagle poised on cloud-tipped mountain to pause and listen, or which might almost bring to life the tree-top buried mummy of their red-faced friend. It was a most brilliant and inspiriting scene to stand upon the bank and witness the arrival of a brigade of light canoes, dashing up with arrow swift-

ness to the very edge of the little wharf before the fort, then, like a Mexican with his mustang, coming to a sudden stop, accomplished as if by miracle by backing water simultaneously, each with his utmost strength, then rolling their paddles all together on the gunwale, shake from their bright vermilion blades a shower of spray, from which the rowers lightly emerge as from a cloud.

At any of the forts along the route great was the joy upon the arrival of the annual express which brought letters from friends and intelligence from the outside world. The cry once raised, it rapidly passed from mouth to mouth: "The express!" "The express!" and before the boats had touched the bank a motley crowd had gathered there; and if such a sight has been frequent and exhilarating at all the posts during the past century what shall we say of the numerous fleets that enlivened the solitudes during the palmy days of the Northwest Company? Between Montreal and Fort William not less than ten brigades of twenty canoes each used to pass and repass every summer, carrying supplies to the country above and bringing down furs, all their traffic then passing over this route.

Upon a stranger the effect of these passing brigades was most thrilling; how then must it have been with him who through tedious summers and long dreary winters was for years buried in these western wilds? buried until coming back to city bustle was like returning to life, and who now found himself surrounded by forty or sixty of these fantastically painted and bright-paddled boats rushing through the water at reindeer speed under a cloud of flying spray toward their last landing, while in the breast of every tugging oarsman there were twenty caged hozannas which, rising faintly first, were poured in song upon the breeze from five hundred tremulous tongues, until finally, breaking all control, they would burst forth in one loud, long peal of triumphant joy.

Sometimes a fur brigade was a fleet of boats, some-

times a train of horses, and sometimes a train of dog-sledges. It was not uncommon in the mountains of British Columbia to see two hundred horses, laden each with two packages of furs, winding with the narrow trail round cliffs and through passes on their way from the bleak uplands to canoe navigation on some river.

Probably there is nothing more exciting in a fur-hunter's life, or in any life, unless it be where one is brought face to face with the probability of death in the form of an attacking foe, man or beast, than the running of rapids, which in the watercourses of hyperborean America are a feature.

Rapids were run under two conditions, unintentionally and intentionally. The explorer descending an unknown stream might find himself suddenly in the toils of waters. An ominous roar would first notify him of danger from which retreat was impossible, the only course being in directing the boat down the torrent. At such times thought and action must be simultaneous; for the boatman, knowing nothing of the current or what the next instant would bring forth, had only his eye to guide him, and should his frail craft strike upon a rock it was dashed in pieces. It is difficult to conceive of a place where coolness and quickness were more requisite, for besides the tumult in which he found himself engaged, he knew not the moment when he might come upon a perpendicular fall or other unknown passage to inevitable destruction.

Such cases, however, were not common. There was excitement enough in shooting a rapid where knowledge was united with skill and the venture was made deliberately.

Rapids were run with full or half-loaded boats; sometimes part of the men would step out to lighten the boat; or cargo and men, all save the boatmen, might be discharged, leaving the canoe empty.

As the rapid is approached the bowman and steers-

man rise erect and quickly exchange their oars for short paddles; then propping their knees against the gunwale, as much to steady the boat as themselves, they hold their paddles in the water edgewise with the canoe, while the middle-men put forth all their strength upon their oars that it may be the better guided.

Thus into the seething flood the frail bark downward plunges. Now it rushes, as if to inevitable destruction, toward a rock; but one strong simultaneous stroke of bowman and steersman, who always act in concert, sheers it fore and aft to one side, while onward it goes midst the hisses of fierce currents, rising, falling, beating and beaten against, whirled here by an eddy, thrown violently there against a bowlder which makes its ribs crack, escaping one danger only to find itself instantly upon another, until finally with long-drawn breath it reaches the quiet waters below, if indeed it be not wrecked in the perilous passage.

It is interesting to mark the carriage respectively of voyageur and Indian in such emergencies: one merrily chants his boat song, the other is stern as silent death. Yet as the Frenchman in many respects so readily became Indian, so the Indian in some few things beside drinking, smoking, swearing, and the like, became French. In due time the savage boatman so far forgot his taciturnity as to take up the custom of singing, which enabled him to paddle more steadily and keep better time. It is etiquette now among the natives of British Columbia for the steersman to lead with the song, the crew joining only in the chorus.

Between the canoemen there was quite a distinction. The foreman and steersman were those on whose skill and nerve the safety of life and cargo depended; hence their pay was often twice or thrice as much as the middle-men, who merely propelled the boat.

To make these merry boatmen, who in the face of fatigue, hunger, or danger would strike into a Canadian barcarolle as they lustily plied their paddles, material was necessary different from that brought from the Orkney Islands, which was well enough in its way, to be sure, staid steady Scotchmen, but slow, clumsy, without skill and without enthusiasm, and far from their border land of naturalness.

While boats, horses, and sometimes carts were employed in summer travel in many parts of British North America, only snow-shoes or sledges drawn by dogs could be used in winter, the streams being frozen over. A dog's sled, to which three or four intelligent brutes are hitched tandem, is usually about nine feet long by sixteen inches in width. It consists of two thin boards, of oak or birch, turned up in front and lashed together with deer-thongs, sometimes with sides, but often without. Sleds of double width are made, before which dogs, usually six in number, are harnessed two abreast. Four dogs will draw from two to four hundred pounds twenty-five or thirty-five miles a day.

Thus journeying as day departs and the crimson light from the western horizon flushes the cold white solitude, the traveller looks about him for a resting-place. Water and wood are usually the first considerations in selecting a site; sometimes feed for animals and protection from savages claim attention. Quick work is made of it when each of the party has his special duty and knows how to perform it. An Indian woman will have her lord's tent ready while yet his animals are scarcely unladen. Camping in the forest in winter, while one is felling trees for the fire another spreads branches for beds; others prepare food, brought in by the hunters, attend to cargoes and boats, or wagons and animals, as the case may be. A fur-trader's tent or lodge on the United States frontier consisted of eight, ten, or twelve poles, the lower ends of which were pointed and placed in the ground so as to

describe a circle eight or ten feet in diameter, the blunt tops being drawn together and fastened by thongs. This frame was then covered by dressed buffalo-skins sewed together, but left open in one place for entrance. Nothing was more cheering than a blazing log camp-fire in the wilderness at night, and nothing more picturesque than a band of hunters in their long hair and fanciful costume flitting before the ruddy glow which threw weird figures upon the surrounding foliage, or reposing at full length after supper, smoking, laughing, chatting, and story-telling.

Of the French and Scotch fur-hunter the ordinary dress was a striped or colored cotton shirt, open in front, leathern, woollen, or corduroy trousers, and a blue cloth or blanket capote, that is, an outside garment made from cloth or a blanket, having a hood, and serving the double purpose of cloak and hat. This was strapped closely to the body by a scarlet worsted vest. Capotes were sometimes made of leather, lined with flannel and edged with fur, which made them very warm. The corduroy pantaloons were frequently tied at the knee with bead gaiters. When the capote was not employed, head-dresses were as varied as they were fantastic. Some wore coarse cloth caps; over their long black glistening hair some wound a colored handkerchief into a turban; black beaver hats among the more foppish, and bonnets with gold and silver tinsel hat-cords were now and then seen, almost hidden, however, under feathers and tassels. Ornamental moccasins covered the feet; round their swarthy necks brilliant cotton handkerchiefs were tied sailor fashion, and from their scarlet belt were suspended knife and tobacco pouch. Leggings were frequently worn; and when the cold was intense, two or three suits would be put on at once. The voyageurs loved to decorate any part of their dress with plumes and bunches of divers colored ribbons with the ends gayly floating in the breeze.

Somewhat similar was the dress of the United States trapper, though greatly modified. The blanket coat, often without the hood, the moccasins, and the deerskin pantaloons were there, though in place of ribbons, feathers, and tassels leather fringes answered every purpose. As an outside garment a shirt of leather or flannel was worn belted round the waist. Kit Carson dyed with bright vermilion the long fringes of his soft pliable deerskin hunting shirt and trousers, not disdaining to ornament the latter with porcupine quills of various colors. A rich fur cap covered his head and embroidered moccasins his feet. On his left shoulder he carried his gun, while under his right arm hung his bullet-pouch and powder-horn. At his belt were fastened sheath-knife, tomahawk, and whetstone.

For food the fur-hunter took what he could get. As a rule his chief dependence was his rifle. His diet was principally meat, fresh or dried. Sometimes for months or even years he saw neither bread, salt, nor any vegetable. Meat alone, fish, flesh, or fowl, was all his larder contained, and well contented was he always to have it full, even of his sole sustenance. To a captive among the Indians living only on meat, bread becomes distasteful.

But usually each fort had its little garden-patch, and in some instances even grain was raised. The rations a voyageur received, however, were very different in the several parts of the fur-hunting region. Thus in New Caledonia there might be given him for his day's food a dried salmon or eight rabbits; at Athabasca it would be eight pounds of moose meat; on the Saskatchewan ten pounds of buffalo meat; at English River three white fish, while in the far north his fare would be half fish, half reindeer. Rations, however, were by no means regular; when food was plentiful, all fared sumptuously; when scarce, each contented himself with his portion, whatever that

might be. Every edible substance that came to hand was utilized. Roots were sometimes dug and berries dried. Geese and ducks were taken at Fort York in great quantities in summer and salted for winter use.

Complaints were frequent at the fur companies' posts by the servants as to the quantity and quality of their food. Wilkes testifies that the men's rations at Fort Vancouver were not what they should be. When a little forethought and application were sure to bring abundance there seems no excuse for a lack of plain healthy food. Men receiving seventeen pounds per annum, though board was included, could not sometimes with their wages thrown in obtain food and clothes enough to make them comfortable: and the fur-hunters' ideas of comfort were by no means extravagant. Much, however, was the fault of the men themselves; for land was allotted them, and time allowed in which to plant and gather; or if that were too much to expect, wives were furnished them of whom it was the fashion to make drudges.

In preserved food the great staple is pemican—that is, dried meat pounded. The flesh commonly used is that of the buffalo, deer, elk, or antelope, and for long keeping, as in Arctic voyages, it may be prepared with fat, spices, and raisins. For it, as for many of their forest conveniences and comforts, the fur-hunters are indebted to the Indians.

Pemican is prepared by cutting the lean flesh into thin slices, and partially cooking or curing them in the sun, by exposure to frost, or by placing them on a wooden grate over a slow fire. When dried they are pounded between two stones or with other implements. Often the sun-dried flesh-flakes are baled. But this is simply dried meat; it must be broken into small pieces before it is pemican. When thus pulverized it is put into a bag made of the animal's hide, with the hair outside; after being well mixed in about equal proportions with the melted fat of the animal,

the bag is sewed up, when it cools and hardens, and is ready for storage or transportation. In this state it will keep for years, but should it be massed in large quantities it is inclined to ferment in warm weather, in which case it must be opened and aired.

It is usually eaten uncooked, and without salt or other seasoning; when flour is at hand, some may advantageously be added, and the whole boiled in water, in which state in Hudson Bay countries it is known as *robbiboo.* Berries are sometimes added, when it is called sweet pemican. It is a healthy, nutritious food, and though not palatable at first, habit and hunger soon reconcile the palate to its use. Pemican is specially adapted to long journeys, being nutriment in a greatly condensed form; a hundred-pound bag, measuring three feet by ten inches, will comfortably sustain four men a month. It is made in all the great buffalo ranges, the chief depôts for its manufacture in British America being the Red River and Saskatchewan districts.

Of incalculable benefit, not only to the poor Indian but to his white extinguisher, has been the flesh of the buffalo, whether in the form of fresh or dried meat or pemican; indeed, without it long journeys in certain directions and at certain seasons could not be made. Dried buffalo meat, which is regarded as plainer food than pemican, so crusty as to break to pieces in one's fingers, with cold water has been the principal fare of uncomplaining thousands for years.

In wilderness travel it often becomes necessary to abandon articles which for some reason cannot be carried, or to store them for use on returning. A boat may be broken, animals or men may succumb under fatigue, or provisions may be required in a certain place at a future time. Contingencies thus arise in which it becomes necessary to secure property from molestation by savages or wild beasts.

This is done by hiding it either in the branches of

trees, or in hollow logs, but usually underground; and goods thus hidden are said to be cached, from *cacher*, to conceal.

The greatest skill and care are requisite to perform this feat, so that the prying eyes of man or nose of beast shall not discover the things hidden. The situation chosen should be as dry as possible; then form a circle two feet in diameter, remove the surface carefully and sink a hole perpendicularly eighteen or twenty inches, after which widen it as you go down, so as finally to have a subterranean pitcher-shaped cavity six or eight feet deep, large at the bottom and small at the top. The earth thus removed must be carefully taken away and thrown into a stream, or otherwise made to disappear. For a floor are laid sticks, on which dried grass or skins are spread, thus giving moisture an opportunity to settle at the bottom, without destruction to the property. Sticks are likewise placed against the sides to serve as protection against the damp earth. The goods are then stowed away, and over all a skin is laid; the top of the hole is filled with earth, which is covered with the original sod or surface so as to present as natural and undisturbed an appearance as possible.

All tracks are carefully obliterated, and if in the forest, the place is strewed with leaves and branches as in its original state.

Note is taken of the direction and distance from any prominent object, so that upon description a person not present at the caching can find the place. Of course holes of larger or smaller dimensions are made according to necessity.

In very cold latitudes meat is hidden and preserved in a river by cutting a hole in the ice and suspending it from a stick in a bag, and then pouring water over the aperture until the surface is smooth ice again. This method of concealment may have been taught explorers by the natives, who practised it long before white men set foot upon these shores, or even by their

own dogs, whose instinct directs them to cache their surplus food.[3]

[3] Those who desire fuller descriptions will find them in *Finlayson's Hist. Vancouver Island*, MS., 98; *Compton's Northwest Coast*, MS., 28; *Rocky Mountain Journal*, 1805–6, MS., 1–39; *Dunn's Or.*, 86, 234; *Townsend's Nar.*, 252; *Cox's Adv.*, 117; *Ballantyne's Hudson Bay*, 249; *Victor's River of the West*, 49–56, 57, 80, 82–3, 85, 87–8, 110–11, 142, 146; *Wislizenus, Ausflug*, 6–9, 57–65, 92; *Robinson's Great Fur Land*, 27–40 et seq.; *Harper's Mag.*, xii. 340–6; *Tod's New Caledonia*, MS., 3; and the several fort journals and correspondence of traders and factors.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## THE FUR-TRADE UNDER BRITISH AUSPICES.

### 1607–1843.

EARLY ENGLISH DISCOVERY—HENRY HUDSON—GROSSELIEZ AND RABISSON, ASSISTED BY PRINCE RUPERT, FORM THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—THE CHARTER—TERRITORIAL LIMITS OF THE COMPANY—THE FRENCH INVADE RUPERT LAND—THE PLANTING OF FORTS ROUND HUDSON BAY—BOUNDARIES—THE TREATY OF UTRECHT—CHARACTER AND POLICY OF THE CORPORATION—TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS—MATERIAL OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—INNER WORKINGS OF THE SYSTEM—STOCK—FURS—CURRENCY—TRADE—INTERCOURSE BETWEEN POSTS—PROFITS—PARLIAMENTARY SANCTION OF THE CROWN GRANT.

GREAT BRITAIN was not the nation all this while to look upon a lucrative traffic anywhere without having a finger in it. Least of all in America, where spoil was the just reward of the strongest, and whose ultimate partition should mark the relative importance of European powers, was glowing opportunity to be neglected. Yet of the three great names forever linked to the discovery of the far north-east two were foreigners and the other a penniless sailor. Beside the flag of England upon the coast of Labrador in 1496 Cabot planted the banner of the Venetian republic. The son Sebastian, unable to collect his pay from Henry VII., whose previous parsimony had lost him Columbus, took service under Ferdinand of Spain. Little was done during the following eighty years.

Alphonse de Xaintoigne, who had accompanied Roberval to Canada, followed Cabot's course, and John Davis reached the entrance to Baffin Bay. Elizabeth became somewhat excited over the spurious gold

brought back by Frobisher, and in 1577–8 gave him new fleets; but with the opening of the seventeenth century English cupidity awoke, and while the colonists were planting settlements under King James' patents, the more northern regions were not neglected.

On behalf of a company of London merchants Henry Hudson in 1607 sailed to the east coast of Greenland in an attempt to discover a north-west passage. The year following a similar attempt resulted in failure. The enthusiasm of the London merchants cooling, Hudson turned his steps toward Holland, where a small yacht, called the *Half Moon,* was furnished him by the Dutch East India Company, in which in 1609 he sailed northward, but baffled by icebergs he turned his prow west, touched at Newfoundland, whence coasting southward he entered New York harbor, and ascended the river which bears his name.

After this success for the Dutch, almost before Holland had independent national existence, the London merchants were ready for another venture. Sailing in the *Discovery* in 1610 Hudson followed Frobisher's track, and passing through Hudson Strait entered an inland sea virgin to European keels. This was indeed a long sought highway to India. But as he continued his course the astonished shores of Hudson Bay held him in wintry embrace, and when spring approached the patience of the crew was gone. Breaking into mutiny, they seized their commander and his son, and with seven faithful sailors cast them off in an open shallop among the icebergs. This was the last that was heard of them.

Exploration, English and French, by sea and land, slowly followed. Captain James wintered at Hudson or James Bay in 1632, and in 1656 Jean Bourbon sailed to the farther end of the bay in a vessel of thirty tons, trafficking with the natives. Little was thought of this far north inland icy sea, with its low

marshy shores; at this time it was scarcely deemed worth fighting for. Though fur-bearing animals were plentiful, there was no lack of them in less inhospitable climes. Hence, when in 1626 Louis XIII. gave the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France a charter of the district, little attention was paid to it.

Some time after, however, a Frenchman named Grosseliez[1] visiting that region became deeply impressed by its neglected wealth, and proposed to his government to utilize it, but without success. Title and ownership being questions of little moment, Grosseliez addressed himself to the court of England, where in Prince Rupert he found a patron. A vessel called the *Nonsuchketch*, Captain Zachary Gillam, was equipped, in which Grosseliez, with a renegade companion named Rabisson, sailed in 1668 for Hudson Bay, wintered on the east main near Rupert River, and built there the first fort, calling it Fort Charles.[2] Returning with the prestige of success, a charter was obtained from Charles II. in favor of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay, dated May 2, 1670, with Prince Rupert as first governor, assuring the dukes, earls, lords, knights, and gentlemen composing it, and their successors, of the sole trade to Hudson strait and bay, with permanent proprietorship over all the countries, coasts, and confines of lands, seas, lakes, and rivers not actually possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince, with all the animals, fish, and minerals therein contained, to be reckoned as one of the British plantations or colonies in America, under the name of Rupert Land. Over this territory and the natives thereof the company was to exercise forever supreme civil and criminal jurisdiction, with

[1] Known also as Desgrozeliers, the Huguenot. M. Garneau designates him as a French refugee, and evidently is not favorably impressed with him, as he complains bitterly of his treachery, as he calls it. See also Northwest Company's *Narrative of Occurrences*, 10. Forster, *Hist. Voy.*, 376–7, calls him De Grosseliers, or De Groselie, an enterprising burgher of Canada.

[2] The Fort Rupert of Hudson Bay stood 'near the mouth of the River Nemiscan, in the bottom of the bay,' and was built in 1677.

power to pass laws, grant lands, and make war and peace with any nations not christian. For exactly two hundred years, or until 1870, when the territory was brought under the dominion of Canada, the company thus enjoyed, under the crown, all the rights and powers of commercial sovereignty; in which gift there was but one flaw, which was that the land given did not belong to the giver.

It will be noticed that the territorial limits of the company are here vaguely defined; and many fierce disputes with the French nation and bloody affrays with rival fur companies arose in consequence. But before bounds could be of much importance, the principles of ownership must be several times fought out.

As the company planted posts at the entrance of streams round the shores of the bay, the jealousy of the French was newly aroused. By way of the Saguenay River in 1671 an expedition was sent from Quebec by Governor d'Avougour under St Simon and La Couture. Of the region of desolation which they found they took formal possession in the name of the king of France, burying upon the shore a brass plate graven with the royal armorials in token of ownership.

Fearful of the power he had invoked in England, Grosseliez returned to his old allegiance, craved pardon of France, was forgiven, and his services were accepted, though too late to be of any benefit. In 1681 an association was formed in Canada, called the Northern Company, for the purpose of establishing trade at Hudson Bay. With two vessels Grosseliez was sent thither to drive out the English, whom he had previously introduced to those parts, and to demolish their factories, which now numbered three, there being, beside Fort Rupert, one at the Monsonis River and one at the St Anne River. Instead of fighting the English, however, the French proceeded to the mouth of the River St Thérèse, and there built a fortress

which they called Fort Bourbon. Returning to Quebec, Grosseliez quarrelled with his company and proceeded to France for redress, which he failed to obtain. In a rage he sold Fort Bourbon, with its store of furs valued at four hundred thousand francs, through the British ambassador at Paris, to the English, who raised the establishment into a four-bastioned fort, with a water-ditch ten feet in width, manned it well, and stored it with munitions of war. The French court complained of this runaway proceeding to the English king, who promised that the fortress should be returned; but the king was unable to keep his word. The Northern Company was finally merged into the Company of Canada, which latter society, it will be remembered, had been formed by M. Piccaud, to whom the Oudiette peltry monopoly had been transferred by M. Roddes.

For some time prior to the close of the century the Anglo-Americans had been pursuing an aggressive policy in New France; but the French now determined to wrest Hudson Bay and Newfoundland from British domination; in pursuance of which plan M. de Troyes, D'Iberville, Ste Hélène, and Maricourt, with a body of Canadian regulars, proceeded overland in 1685 to dispossess the English on Hudson Bay.

First invested was the four-bastioned fort of Monsonis, mounting fourteen guns, which was carried by assault. Fort Rupert was next dismantled, and a British vessel at anchor in the bay captured, the Hudson's Bay Company's governor being one of the prisoners taken. St Anne, mounting forty-three cannon, then capitulated. It was the largest and most important factory at that time on the bay, having in its store peltries valued at fifty thousand crowns.

Returning to Quebec in the autumn of 1687 with the captured vessel laden with furs, D'Iberville, on whom the command now fell, renewed hostilities the following year, and again cleared Hudson Bay of the British. Rallying, the English were repulsed before

St Anne in 1689, but capturing the fortress the following year, it was wrested from them by the French, only again to fall into British hands two years later. In 1694 Fort Bourbon was reduced by D'Iberville, whose brother, M. de Châteauguay, was killed in the attack.[3]

Meanwhile the Hudson's Bay Company, nothing daunted, continued to plant forts and reap their annual harvest of rich peltries; and notwithstanding losses of over one hundred thousand pounds during these affrays, they were able to pay shareholders a dividend of fifty per cent.

Yet the French were at their heels. After directing attention eastward for a time, during which occurred the reduction of Pemaquid in 1697, and a successful attack on St John with a squadron of five ships brought for him from France for the final reduction of Hudson Bay domination by M. de Sérigny, D'Iberville sailed to Fort Nelson, where he arrived with one vessel, the *Pelican*, having parted company with the others on the way. There he found three British ships, the *Hampshire*, the *Dehring*, and the *Hudson's Bay;* after destroying them all he took the fort, the reduction of which placed him in possession of the whole territory.[4]

Europe, having spent its strength in most interesting and necessary human slaughters, proposed for a time general pacification, and a quadruple treaty was signed at Ryswick, by the terms of which the French

[3] 'The French were in possession of Fort Bourbon, which we call now York Fort, from the year 1697 to 1714.' *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, 18. During this time M. Jeremie was at first lieutenant and afterward governor there.

[4] French trappers cried down English goods, while on all occasions the English depreciated French articles. While the French held Michilmackinac the natives of Lake Winnipeg told Carver that if they could always be sure of a supply of goods at that place they would not carry their furs to the factories on Hudson Bay. At the same time they displayed some cloth of an inferior quality, which they said they had purchased from the English, and in which they were badly cheated. *Raynal, Hist. Phil.*, viii. 99; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 82; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, ii. 265; *Carver's Travels*, iii. Notwithstanding which, on the whole, English goods were superior to the French. The Indians became quick judges of the quality of goods, and few English manufactured articles then, as now, were surpassed by any in the world.

were to restore all they had taken from the English in America. At the same time Hudson Bay was recognized as belonging to France. Five years of *quasi* peace followed. New excuses, however, were found for new butcheries. In 1704 overland expeditions from Canada northward again set in; Albany and other forts were besieged with greater or less success, and former follies reënacted. Barlow was governor at Albany at the time, and played the hero with considerable success. Notified by an Indian of the approach of the French, Barlow kept the strictest guard. At night the enemy came and demanded admission. Barlow, who was looking out for them, replied that the governor was asleep, but if they would wait a moment he would get the key and open the gate to them. The French, thrown off their guard, crowded round the entrance. Instead of opening the gate, however, Barlow opened two loop-holes and discharged upon the expectant besiegers the contents of two six-pounders, which killed more than half of them, including their commander, a renegade Irishman. The remainder then went their way. It was only with the treaty of Utrecht, following the war of succession, that peace to the far-off dismal borders of Hudson Bay was fully assured. In the treaty signed at Utrecht the 30th of March 1713, French domination in America was much abridged, while English territory was largely extended, France ceding to England Newfoundland, the province of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory. It had been admitted by the treaty of Ryswick, signed in September 1697, that all the Hudson Bay territories belonged to France; by the treaty of Utrecht it was admitted that three fourths of the lands hitherto claimed by the company belonged to France; it was only by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, that title to all those territories was confirmed to Great Britain.

The treaty of Utrecht attempted to define the limits of the lands then ceded in the north, but with

ill success. Broadly speaking, the surfaces drained by streams emptying into Hudson strait and bay were given to England, while those drained by streams flowing in opposite directions belonged to France. This line, beginning at some point on the north-eastern coast of Labrador, is easily enough carried south-westerly round the sources of Rupert, Abbittibbe, Moose, and Albany rivers; but when the region of Lake Winnipeg is reached, difficulties are met; for if all the waters hence flowing into Hudson Bay were encircled, the Red River and Saskatchewan districts would be included, which obviously was never intended either by the charter or the treaty.[5] The truth is, at that time the geography of this western region was wholly unknown. When the company ascertained the connecting links of this water-chain they claimed as their southern bound the highlands diverging south-westerly from Lake Superior and winding round between the sources of Red River and the Mississippi, which would bring them within United States territory two degrees or more. British geographers, immediately after the conquest, drew the boundary line between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company's territory within three or four hundred miles of the bay on the south-western side.[6] During the second hundred years of its existence, however, the monster monopoly, playing *ruse contre ruse* in its century-games for domination, exceeded in territorial limits the wildest anticipations of its managers; spreading northward and westward until its area was nearly one third larger than all Europe; and while

[5] 'Reaching the banks of Nelson's River, the ridge ceases to divide streams at their heads, and is traversed by the outlet of Lake Winnipeg, which receives from the southward the waters of the Red River, and discharges itself through Play Green Lake and Nelson River, into Hudson's Bay. West of this river, the highlands resume their former characteristic, and rise at the sources of Burntwood, Churchill, and Beaver rivers.' *Bouchette's Brit. Dom.*, i. 29–30.

[6] Regarding the northern and western bounds, as no lines had been defined, the company laid claim to the northern and western oceans. See plans referred to in the Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company.

spanning the continent at its broadest part, and touching at once the three great oceans, it ruled supreme a hundred native nations held as slaves of its policy and laws.

But not without much management and many severe struggles was this mighty end achieved. During the first century of its existence the company did not penetrate with its operations more than four hundred miles inland. Its policy was that of a close corporation in an epoch of the closest commercial secrecy. Not knowing the extent of its resources or domain, it was determined no one else should know them. Discovery and settlement were discouraged. "For the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea" was one of the purposes for which they asked a charter, and yet, until forced to it by the pressure of progress, all their powers were exerted to prevent the opening of an interoceanic passage along their borders.[7] Not only did they systematically keep their servants and agents in ignorance respecting such parts of the business as did not come under their immediate observation, but they made frequent changes in their appointments, blinding them as to their movements, enjoining upon them the strictest secrecy, and forbidding the cultivation of the soil further than a

[7] They 'conceal all the advantages to be made in that country, and give out that the climate, and country, and passage thither are much worse and more dangerous than they really are, and therefore oblige their captains not to make any charts or journals that may discover those seas or coasts. They have been so base to their country as not only to neglect it themselves, but to prevent and discourage any attempt to find out so beneficial a passage.' *Dobbs' Hudson Bay*, 2, 57. Ellis, Robson, Dragge, and Umfreville bring similar accusations. These charges are denied by Hearne, who points to the attempts of Bean, Christopher, Johnston, and Duncan to find a north-west passage, and concluded that the 'air of mystery, and affectation of secrecy, perhaps, which formerly attended some of the Company's proceedings in the Bay, might give rise to those conjectures.' *Hearne's Journey*, xxi. 'Their total disregard of every object for which they obtained, and have now held, a royal charter for nearly one hundred and fifty years, entitles them to anything but praise.' *London Quarterly Review*, October 1816, 144. Umfreville, *Hudson Bay*, 71, charges the English adventurers with sleeping at the edge of the sea. In 1789 they had a few interior posts where a languid trade was carried on. They paid their men scarcely one quarter as much as did the Northwest Company, and were served accordingly. Winterbotham, *Hist. U. S.*, iv. 19, with twenty others, repeats the same charge.

garden patch for the immediate or temporary supply of vegetables. Even the springs that moved the vast machinery were pressed behind closed doors, and orders of weightiest import were breathed in whispers. When, finally, in 1769–72 Samuel Hearne was ordered by the company to journey northward and ascertain what manner of things were there, his journal was kept concealed for twenty years thereafter.

While the French counted their establishments by scores, during the first half century of the company's existence there were planted in Rupert Land, that is to say the country round Hudson Bay, scarcely over a half dozen posts; but during the latter part of the same century their establishments increased.[8] The sloop *Beaver* sailed from Albany River to Moose River to found a factory there the 7th of September 1729; thence westward and back from the shore the company extended their occupation, paying no more attention to chartered limits than did the rival traders who erected forts in regions surrounding.[9]

In all its relations to the country, then and subsequently, the company has stood in the position of a trading colony, being in direct antagonism to agricultural and mining interests; although mining colonies bring scarcely a denser population than trading colonies.[10]

Various efforts were made to break the monopoly, which was to these misty hyperborean regions what the East India Company was to the soft-aired Orient. Arthur Dobbs and Umfreville, among others, pub-

[8] Until the Northwest Company wakened them to life by daring opposition there was no great display of intelligence or enterprise on the part of the adventurers trading into Hudson Bay. *Gass' Journal*, 4.

[9] Seldom were the rights of fur companies, that is to say if any of them ever had any rights, to domain granted respected by rival companies. Entering a territory at a distance from any fort, the natives there found were always glad to save themselves a difficult and often dangerous journey through the domain of enemies by disposing of their peltries at home. *Carver's Travels*, 112.

[10] Trading colonies, says Heeren, 'consist at first of nothing more than factories and staples for the convenience of trade; but force or fraud soon enlarges them, and the colonists become conquerors, without, however, losing sight of the original object of their settlement.' *Hist. Researches*, 24.

lished books, one in 1744 and the other in 1790, opposing the continuance of the charter on the ground of forfeiture and injustice.[11] All great monopolies are unjust and injurious; men combine and monopolize for no other purpose than to exclude others having equal rights. Probably, however, these commercial adventurers did as well for England in that region as any others would have done. By the treaty of Utrecht the position of the company was materially improved, as they had no longer the French to trouble them.

The western part of Rupert Land, that is to say, the country immediately west of Hudson Bay, was once denominated New South Wales. Between this and the Stony Mountains were the Mackenzie River, Athabasca, and Saskatchewan districts; while between the great dividing ridge and the Pacific Ocean British or Anglo-American territory was first called, beginning at Mount St Elias, New Norfolk, New Cornwall, New Hanover, New Caledonia, and New Georgia. On some maps New Hanover comprised the coast north of Fraser River, and New Georgia the coast south of that point, while New Caledonia covered the great interior.[12] Others called it all Oregon west of the Rocky Mountains, between latitudes 54° 40′ and 42°.[13]

To facilitate business their territory was divided by the Hudson's Bay Company at various times in various ways. When the whole western English America was finally overspread by them, affairs were conducted under four departments, the northern, the southern, the Montreal, and the Columbia, the first belting the

[11] Umfreville, who was in the Hudson's Bay Company's service from 1771 to 1782, and who was thoroughly familar with their system, denounces many of their practices, and draws comparisons between them and the Canada companies not specially favorable to the former. The truth is, the Prince Rupert Association behaved very much as any men in their places would have done. They were a corporation composed of persons of high and low degree, undergoing privations for gain, and it was scarcely to be expected that they should be perfect in every respect.

[12] Vancouver called the coast between 45° and 50° New Georgia; between 50° and 54° New Hanover. Since about 1812 we hear of New Caledonia.

[13] *Bouchette's Brit. Dom.*, i. 33, 54; maps in *Twiss' Or. Quest.*, and *Dunn's Or.*

Frozen Ocean, the second extending from Rupert River to the Rocky Mountains, the third lying round Montreal and thence north-eastward, and the fourth comprising the British Columbia and Oregon countries. The Columbia department was afterward divided and called the Oregon and Western, the term Columbia being used thereafter as a district. All the departments were subdivided into thirty-four districts, containing at one time one hundred and fifty-four posts.[14]

[14] *House of Commons Report on Hudson's Bay Company*, 365–7. In this report, printed in 1857, the Northwest Coast is accredited with two departments, eight districts, and thirty posts, as follows:

| Post. | Locality. | Department. | District. | Number of Indians frequenting it. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fort Vancouver | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 200 |
| Umpqua | Oregon Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 800 |
| Cape Disappointment | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 100 |
| Chinook Point | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 100 |
| Caweeman | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 100 |
| Champoeg | Oregon Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 150 |
| Nisqually | Oregon Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 500 |
| Cowlitz | Oregon Ter. | Oregon | Columbia | 250 |
| Fort Colville | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Colville | 800 |
| Pend d'Oreille River | Indian Ter. | Oregon | Colville | 400 |
| Flatheads | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Colville | 500 |
| Kootenais | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Colville | 500 |
| Okanagan | Washington Ter. | Oregon | Colville | 300 |
| Walla Walla | Oregon Ter. | Oregon | Snake Country | 300 |
| Fort Hall | Oregon Ter. | Oregon | Snake Country | 200 |
| Fort Boisé | Oregon Ter. | Oregon | Snake Country | 200 |
| Fort Victoria | Vancouver Is. | Western | Vancouver Is. | 5,000 |
| Fort Rupert | Vancouver Is. | Western | Vancouver Is. | 4,000 |
| Nanaimo | Vancouver Is. | Western | Vancouver Is. | 3,000 |
| Fort Langley | Indian Ter. | Western | Fraser River | 4,000 |
| Fort Simpson | Indian Ter. | Western | N. W. Coast | 10,000 |
| | | | Northern Tribes | 35,000 |
| Kamloops | Indian Ter. | Western | Thompson River | 2,000 |
| Fort Hope | Indian Ter. | Western | | |
| Stuart Lake | Indian Ter. | Western | New Caledonia. | 12,000 |
| M'Leod Lake | Indian Ter. | Western | New Caledonia. | |
| Fraser Lake | Indian Ter. | Western | New Caledonia. | |
| Alexandria | Indian Ter. | Western | New Caledonia. | |
| Fort George | Indian Ter. | Western | New Caledonia. | |
| Babines | Indian Ter. | Western | New Caledonia. | |
| Connolly Lake | Indian Ter. | Western | New Caledonia. | |

Though official, this is by no means a complete list of the forts on the Pacific, but it may include all in active operation at that time. At Honolulu was a post, and some time previously there had been one at San Francisco. In New Caledonia north and east of Kamloops were Forts William, Garry, and Abercrombie, not mentioned in the list, not to mention Wrangell or Stikeen. Mr Stuart, one of the first to cross the mountains with a view to occupation, in his *Autograph Notes* given by Mr Anderson in his *Hist. Northwest Coast*, MS., 234–9, applies the term Western Caledonia to 'the whole

In the several fur companies there were various grades of office and service. In the Hudson's Bay Company, if we except the London governor and directors, there were nine; in the Northwest Company, seven. Of the former there were, first, a local governor, residing in America, having his head-quarters first at Prince of Wales Fort, afterward at York Factory, and later at Fort Garry, with jurisdiction over all the establishments of the company; second, chief factors, who might have charge of a department or of a factory, supplying the lesser forts of a district; third, chief traders, usually in charge of some single but important post; fourth, chief clerks, who are sent with a crew of voyageurs on frequent expeditions or placed in charge of minor posts; fifth, apprenticed clerks, a kind of forest midshipmen, raw lads fresh from home or school, full of fun, spiced with mischief, who write, keep store, and attend their seniors; sixth, postmasters, usually laborers promoted for good behavior to the rank of gentlemen, and often placed in charge of a small station or outpost; seventh, interpreters, generally laborers with a smattering of the native dialects of their vicinity; eighth, voyageurs, or boatmen; ninth, laborers, employed in various ways, as in chopping, carrying, mending, trapping, fishing,

of that tract westward of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, extending from the Columbia River until it intersects that ideal line that is supposed to divide the Pacific from the Frozen Ocean.' 'But surely you are not serious,' exclaimed Mr Anderson once in reply. 'Western Caledonia, properly speaking, is the tract of country occupied by the Tacully or Carrier tribe, and the district of New Caledonia, our commercial division of the country.' Again, the territory west of the Rocky Mountains has been denominated the western department. 'The whole trading territory,' writes Mr Finlayson in his *Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 88–9, 'was divided into four departments, namely, Montreal, the southern, the northern, and the western. There were four chief factors for each. These departments were constituted districts, each commanded by chief traders and clerks. There were sixteen chief factors and thirty-two chief traders in all. All districts west of the Rocky Mountains made up the western department, which was under the direction of one man, who again was subject to the governor of all the departments.' Evidently the terms district and department are here loosely used. Some called the territory traded in by each fort a district. Thus Mr Finlayson remarks, 'Nisqually extended from the Chehalis River to Whidbey Island; Langley from Whidbey Island to Millbank Sound; McLoughlin from the latter to Skeena River; Simpson from the Skeena to the Russian boundary of Alaska. These were the trading allotments.'

rough carpentering, blacksmithing, or boat-building. The laborer could not rise higher than postmaster, while the apprenticed clerk might become chief factor, or even governor. Five years of intelligent, faithful service entitled the apprentice to a clerkship, and after from ten to twenty years' further service he became chief trader, who was a half shareholder, and in a few years thereafter chief factor or shareholder. Speaking generally, the chief factor directed the affairs of the company, and the chief trader, acting under the chief factor, managed traffic with the natives.

The systems of the Northwest, Pacific, and other large companies were essentially the same, except the highest office, which instead of being that of governor was vested in a board of partners, or proprietors. The commander of a fort or district was often called governor, while the term partner took the place of both chief factor and chief trader. Likewise some of the inferior places, such as apprenticed clerk, postmaster, and interpreter, were not formally recognized. The compensation of the higher officers was partly salary and partly commissions. Clerks and all lesser servants received only their wages, without any participation in the profits. Wages greatly varied with time and place. Laborers received from ten to thirty pounds a year, seventeen pounds being the usual rate. Apprenticed clerks began usually with twenty pounds; apprenticeship ended, their salary was raised to one hundred or one hundred and fifty pounds and board. The returns of a chief trader were from four hundred to eight hundred pounds, while the chief factor usually realized from eight hundred to fifteen hundred pounds per annum. Umfreville complains of the petty tyranny often exercised by the governor of a fort. Such a governor was appointed for three or five years at a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds, with a percentage on the amount of business done. In his day, 1790, servants were treated scarcely as men, receiving but six pounds a year, and this pit-

tance was often withheld on account of bad behavior. A tailor in those days was paid eight pounds per annum. Apprenticed clerks then began on ten pounds, and were advanced at long intervals to fifteen, twenty-five, and forty pounds per annum. It was in the enlistment and treatment of servants that the perfect absolutism of the system was manifest. During all the long journey from apprenticeship to chief-tradership the employés were called the company's servants; common laborers might seldom aspire to that honor.

Of the servants of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies full three fourths were Scotch highlanders and Orkney men. There were a few Irishmen, and fewer English. Voyageurs and laborers were composed largely of French Canadians and half-breeds. In 1835 there were but two chief factors west of the Rocky Mountains, John McLoughlin and Duncan Finlayson, above whom in the organization stood alone the local governor in Canada and the governor and board of directors in London.

Chief factors were *ex officio* members of the council, seven of whom with the governor formed a quorum. Norway House was their place of meeting during the first half of the present century, and their deliberations were strictly private. In 1857 there was one seat of council for the northern departments at Norway House, and another for the southern at Moose Factory. The chief factors failing in their attendance, chief traders were admitted to council to make up a quorum.

At all the principal stations of all the great companies a local council sat every year to appoint masters of posts and apportion the various duties; but none of less rank than bourgeois, partner, or shareholder were admitted except by special invitation. Then trembled all outside the doors. It was the policy of the company to change the places of their servants frequently, thus breaking up any irregular practices which they might easily have fallen into in

their isolation, and during these solemn deliberations the unpopular or shiftless were sure to have given them some distant or disagreeable business. The council had power to reprimand, mulct by penalties, or suspend any subordinate. Offenders were sometimes tried before a fort governor, chief traders or clerks appearing on either side as counsel.

A deed poll executed by the Hudson's Bay Company the 6th of June 1834, following that of the 26th of March 1821, more particularly prescribed the duties of chief factors and chief traders, and regulated the inner workings of the material composing the organization. All traffic for personal profit was strictly prohibited. Umfreville says in his day, 1780–90, any one taking service must before embarking send his box to the Hudson Bay House, there to be examined, lest it should contain articles used in private trade; and should the subordinate happen to have a few more shirts or socks than were deemed necessary, the surplus was taken from him. So on his discharge, not only his effects but his person was carefully examined, lest he should purloin a scrap of fur.

A factor or trader after wintering three years in the country might retire with his full share of profits for one year, and half profits for four years. Three factors and two traders might have leave of absence for one year. Wintering five years in the field entitled the factor or trader to half profits for six years. Three factors, or two factors and two traders, might annually retire in rotation. The legal representative of a deceased officer was entitled to the same profits as would have accrued to such person if living.

Obedience was the main duty of the subordinate; after that intelligence and energy were profitable. Enlistment was for three or five years, during which term every hour of the day and night belonged to the company. All must stand ready to do soldier's duty at any moment, and the servant was always to defend

the company's officers and property with his life. For the traffic west of the Rocky Mountains a class of servants were articled in Canada who were to be returned to the place of enlistment on the expiration of a term which was equivalent, after deduction for going and returning, to two and a half years' actual service in a three years' engagement.

With provisions, the company kindly furnished its servants with wives who, with their children, in return for what they ate must perform certain light labor in the field or garden, if such existed, or elsewhere, as prescribed. Should a servant desire a year's absence before the expiration of his term, he must give a year's notice, and afterward make good his lost time at his original wages. While undergoing soldier's duty he was entitled to a new uniform every two years. Should he desire to remain in the country after the expiration of his term of engagement, he might do so provided his past behavior had been good and the company offered no objection; in which case fifty acres of land were set apart, for the use of which he must render annually twenty-eight days' service for seven years, the company reserving the right to expatriate him at any moment before or afterward. For disobedience, desertion, or neglect of duty, forfeiture of wages was the usual penalty. With such a pittance of pay the servant was almost always in debt for advances; this, together with family attachments which by no means increased his capital, and the arbitrary conditions of his enlistment, left him little better than the chattel of the company.

Laborers in peace, soldiers in times of danger, they were subject to their masters without protection or appeal. Not that they were badly treated; they were simply bound.

There was never any hope of independence for them or for their children; there was no such thing as establishing themselves in business in that region after their term of servitude should have expired.

No feudal system ever bound more absolutely serf to baron.[15]

It was an admirable system, in its way, that of the Hudson's Bay Company during its later years, and admirably executed: very different from that of the chivalrous and mettlesome Northwest Company, as we shall presently see, but calm, correct, dignified, methodical, and, though composed chiefly of Scotchmen, like its great rival, more English than the Canada Company in its adherence to traditional business forms and ethics. So complete was its machinery that every transaction, no matter how insignificant, passed in

[15] The term 'governor in the Hudson's Bay Company service was merely an honorary title conferred by virtue of being the senior chief factor. Then there was a board of governors that met at the Hudson's Bay Company's house at Lachine, to whom all these American posts reported; and then there was a board of governors in London that ranked there, and to whom the entire business was submitted.' *Evans*, in *Olympia Club Conversations*, MS., 20. The governor and council had no legislative power; they could regulate their own affairs only, but they took good care that there should be no affairs but theirs in the territory. All factors considered themselves under their commissions as magistrates. *Sir George Simpson*, in *House of Commons Rept. H. B. Co.*, 61–7. E. Ellice, *id.*, 329, states that the governors and council watched carefully the morals of the young men in their charge, who were carefully selected from good families at home. If by morals he means not appropriating the company's time, furs, or liquors, then were these governors patterns of moral instruction. If by chicanery or debasement the company's interests could be best served, as in taking to themselves native women or selling to the natives rum, then the governors did not hesitate boldly to proclaim immorality to the young men as the best morality. Both Sir James Douglas, *Private Papers*, MS., 1st series, 80–2, and Tolmie, *Hist. Puget Sound*, MS., 56–7, give interesting details respecting the Hudson's Bay Company's material and management. Says Mr Finlayson, *Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 35–7, 90: 'The system of the H. B. Co., after the coalition, was to hire young men as clerks. They got £20 for the first year, £25 for the second, £30 for the third, £40 for the fourth, £50 for the fifth. If they behaved satisfactorily then £75 per annum was given for a term of three years. This again was increased to £100 per year. The clerk was after this supposed to be a head or finished clerk, capable of taking charge of a post, to be head accountant, etc. And on merit he was made a chief trader or a chief factor. The profits of the company were composed of 100 shares, after all payments had been made; 85 shares of this 100 were appropriated to the traders on the coast, the balance was appropriated to a pension fund for the disabled. A chief factor got two eighty-fifths of the profits, and a chief trader got one eighty-fifth. The accounts were closed on the 1st of June every year. We got a retired interest for six years and one year's furlough, or my representative would get it, The whole of the profits were divided into tenths; four-tenths went to pay the partners here, and six-tenths to pay the partners in England, the London stockholders. These four-tenths were divided into 100 shares. Generally speaking two clerks were kept at each post of trading; this was in case of sickness or for defensive purposes.' See also *Evans*, *Hist. Or.*, MS., 163–7; *Raynal, Hist. Phil.*, xii. 564; *Umfreville's Hudson's Bay*, 113–23.

regular course from grade to grade, from its origin in the wilderness to its result in a shareholder's pocket.

The original stock of the Hudson's Bay Company was £10,500. Notwithstanding losses by the French amounting to £118,014 in 1684 and in 1688, there were dividends of fifty per cent., and in 1689 a dividend of twenty-five per cent. In 1690 the stock was trebled, and a dividend of twenty-five per cent. declared on the new stock. From 1692 to 1697 there was further loss by the French of £97,500, but in 1720 they had so far recovered as, with a call of ten per cent., to again treble their capital stock, making it now £94,500. After this for many years their dividends averaged nine per cent.; and during a period of one hundred and ten years, that is to say from 1690 to 1800, there was a profit on the original stock subscribed of between sixty and seventy per cent. per annum. Then it was voted to add three times as much by subscription; each subscriber actually paying £100 to receive stock valued at £300, making the nominal stock £378,000, the money paid on the last watering of £283,500 being £3150. In 1821, crippled in its wars with the Northwest Company, £100 on each share was called, making the stock £200,000. Between 1800 and 1821 profits were small, sometimes four per cent., sometimes nothing. The Northwest Company estimated theirs at the same figures, so that the stock of the combined companies was £400,000. A sinking fund of ten per cent. on £200,000 had been set aside by the Hudson's Bay Company to oppose the Northwest Company in their operations west of the Rocky Mountains.

But this was only the beginning of great things. After a breathing spell of quiet monopoly for a quarter century we find in 1847 dividends on stock valued at £400,000 ranging from ten to twenty per cent., while the market value of the shares was from two hundred to two hundred and twenty-five per cent. premium.

Another inflation, as laid before the select committee of the House of Commons in 1856, raises the stock to £1,265,067 19s. 4d. Two thirds of those who were then proprietors had paid for their stock from two hundred and twenty to two hundred and forty per cent.

The colonization scheme in 1863 of the International Financial Society Limited, which announced itself ready to receive subscriptions for the issue at par of capital stock in the Hudson's Bay Company, afforded an opportunity to raise the stock of the corporation to £2,000,000, to float which £1,930,000 of it was offered in twenty-pound shares, value being based on 1,400,000 square miles or 896,000,000 acres of land belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which modest pretension brings a return in ten years of £81,000, being more than four per cent. on the £2,000,000.

In 1789 there were in the employ of the company, if we include seventy-five seamen who navigated the two ships and one sloop annually each way, which then constituted the ocean service, three hundred and fifteen men.[16] In 1846 there were five hundred and thirteen articled men and fifty-five officers, which with a net-work of trading routes between posts extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific gave them not only extraordinary influence with the natives, and the trade monopoly of the north-west, but the actual domination of those regions, religious, political, and social. In 1856 the affairs of one hundred and fifty-two establishments were managed by a governor, sixteen chief factors, and twenty-nine chief traders, assisted by five surgeons, eighty-seven clerks, sixty-seven postmasters, five hundred voyageurs, and twelve hundred permanent servants, besides sailors on sea-going vessels and persons temporarily employed—about three thousand men in all. At the time of the final expiration

[16] With characteristic freedom of expression, Raynal, *Hist. Phil.*, xii. 564, reduced the number in 1812 to 146: 'Mais on n'y comptait en 1812 qu'environ cent quarante-six personnes, toutes attachées au service de cette compagnie.'

of its rights there were two hundred and thirty-nine proprietors, representing a capital of £400,000, affairs being administered by directors in London elected by a general assembly. In 1839 a regular court of justice for the territory was established at Red River; and later on Vancouver Island a special court administered justice. Parliamentary stipulations required the arrest of murderers, who with the testimony were to be sent to Canada. All minor offences officers might punish, and practically there was no appeal.[17]

The terms fur and peltry are often employed synonymously, although, strictly speaking, furs are the dressed and peltries the undressed skins. Narrowed yet further in definition, peltry includes only skins covered with short hair, such as buffalo, deer, and elk, but the original technical signification is now well nigh lost in the popular one. Color, thickness, fineness, and length of hair all exercise an influence in determining values. Supply also affects price; for example, one

[17] The *Westminster Review*, July 1867, gives a concise history of the Hudson's Bay Company, under the title *The Last Great Monopoly*. On pages 465–76, *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, are given: 1. Extracts from the royal charter to the Hudson's Bay Company. 2. An act for extending the jurisdiction of courts in Canada. 3. An act for regulating the fur-trade. 4 and 5. Crown grants of exclusive trade to the Hudson's Bay Company after its amalgamation with the Northwest Company. For copy of royal charter of 1670 and crown grant of 1837 see *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 408–16, and *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 151–65. A large part of Fitzgerald's *Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Co.* is devoted to arguments against the corporation. Likewise in *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 386–7, in the testimony of Mr MacDonell, may be found opinions regarding claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and their rights under charter, showing that the charter 'cannot confer upon the Hudson's Bay Company those powers and privileges which they assume to exercise under it.' On pages 417–19, *id.*, is a copy of a letter from Mr Pelly, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to Lord Glenelg, applying for a renewal of the grant. See also *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 161–3; *Umfreville's Hudson's Bay*, 1–6; *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 55–7; *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, 1–122; *Mayne's British Col.*, 116–17; *Richardson's Polar Regions*, 112–13; *A Few Words on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 3; *Horetzky's Canada on the Pacific*, 81–2; *Parker's Ex. Tour*, 187–8; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 33, 43–5, 89–90; *British North Am.*, 255–6; *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 9; *Ross' Red River Settlement*, 2–7; *Waddington's Fraser River*, 29–35; *Victor's River of the West*, 27; *Hines' Life*, 384; *Irving's Astoria*, 511; *Dunn's Or.*, vii. xv.; *Cox's Adv.*, ix.–xx.; *Farnham's Travels*, 454; *Tache's Sketch*, 62. According to a statement of the Northwest Company, *Narrative of Occurrences*, 3, just prior to the beginning of the Red River settlement in 1811 Hudson Bay stock 'had fallen from 250 per cent. to between 50 and 60 in consequence of misfortune or mismanagement of their affairs.'

of the most difficult animals to trap is the silver fox, and the skin is correspondingly high, being worth from fifty to seventy-five dollars. I have seen it stated that thirty guineas are often paid for the skin of the black fox, the price of which diminishes with the presence of white hairs. The ermine is a costly fur; and after it the sable, sea-otter, beaver, and seal. These last mentioned were all caught in steel or wooden traps, while deer and buffaloes were shot or snared by the natives.[18]

Notwithstanding the immense business transacted, the constant buying of furs, and the selling of various commodities from different parts of the world, in the dealings of the fur companies with their servants as well as with the aborigines, no gold, silver, notes, or other circulating medium known as money was employed.[19]

[18] American ermine and sable were less esteemed than some others. Russian sable was regarded the best, and next to it that of the European marten, while the American, which is obtained from the dark brown and olive colored marten, ranks third. The ermine of the eastern continent is represented by the inferior fur of the American stoat. Otter have been nearly exterminated, except in British North America; such is the case with the beaver, the *pontic* of the Romans. Seals have also suffered much from the merciless raids of all-devouring man. The present total yield is only about 150,000, about two thirds of which come from Alaska, where the United States government has very properly placed restrictions upon the catch. The monopoly of the fishery there is held by the Alaska Commercial Company, which has twenty trading-posts on the continent and islands.

[19] Usually a beaver-skin was made the standard, and all other values, European merchandise, as well as other skins, were measured by it. Thus at Albany Fort, Moose River, and East Main in 1733 with the skin of one full-grown beaver a native could buy half a pound of beads, or one pound of Brazil tobacco, or half a pound of thread. A gallon of brandy cost four beaver-skins; broadcloth, two beaver-skins a yard; blankets, six beaver-skins each; handkerchiefs, one and a half beaver-skins each; powder, one and a half pounds, and of shot five pounds for a beaver-skin; and so on through a long list, the quantity of goods given for a beaver-skin greatly varying according to remoteness and competition. Also at the time and place last mentioned, three martens were counted as one beaver; likewise one fox, one moose, two deer, one wolf, ten pounds of feathers, one black bear, were each equivalent to one beaver. At this time beaver-skins were selling in London at five or six shillings a pound; marten, eight shillings each; otter, six shillings; bear, sixteen shillings; fox, from six to ten shillings; elk, seven shillings; deer, two shillings; wolf, fifteen shillings; and wolverene, eight shillings each. A hundred years later at Fort Macpherson we find a blanket worth ten beaver-skins; a gun, twenty; a worsted belt, two; eighteen bullets, one beaver-skin. The gun cost twenty-two shillings, and the twenty beaver-skins were then worth in London £32 10s. A gill of powder costing one and a half pence, or a scalping knife costing fourpence, or a dozen brass buttons, were exchanged for one

The trading license of 1838 extended the absolute power of the Hudson's Bay Company over the whole of the region west of the Rocky Mountains covered by these volumes, and known as the Northwest Coast. Within this domain were twenty-one of the company's establishments, twelve of which were in the Oregon Territory as prescribed by treaty of June 15, 1846, at which time the company employed one thousand men on the Pacific slope alone.

To supply the coast with goods and carry away furs, fish, and other returns, one or two well laden ships arrived annually from England at Fort Vancouver or later at Victoria.[20] The cargoes when placed in store were at once divided into three classes, and prices established. The first class comprised knives, tobacco, and other articles intended for gratuities to natives, for it had been ascertained that a present

beaver-skin worth £1 12s. 6d. An axe now sold for three skins, a file for two, and a pair of pantaloons costing four dollars for nine skins worth seventy dollars. Blankets were sometimes employed as a standard of value, as also was tobacco. Russell, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 263, speaking of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade in 1788, says that 'Ten beaver skins are usually given for a common musket; two for a pound of powder; one for four pounds of shot; one for a hatchet; one for six knives; two for a pound of glass-beads; six for a cloth coat; five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, brandy, and all other articles are in proportion; and as beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation, as unjust as the former, two otter skins and three martins, are required instead of one beaver; whereas each of these, when fine, are more than equal to a beaver.' According to J. Rae, in his evidence before the House of Commons committee, *Rept. Hudson's Bay Co. 1857*, 33–4, 'A blanket was four beavers, but if you got the value of it in musk-rats you would not have above a shilling or two profit, which would not cover the expense. Ten rats go for a beaver. Ten rats, a few years ago, would sell in the London market for about 3*s*; they are higher now.' 'The tariff is formed in a peculiar way,' *id.*, 27, 'and necessarily so. The sums given for furs do not coincide with the value of the furs traded for with them, because the musk-rat or the less valuable furs are paid for at a higher rate. Were the Company to pay for the finer furs at the same rate, the Indians would hunt up the finer furs and destroy them off, as has been done all along the frontier, and we should then require to reduce the price for the musk-rat and the inferior furs, and the Indians would not hunt them at all.'

[20] Mrs Harvey in her *Life of Doctor McLoughlin*, MS., 3, says that after the spring of 1826, the first year of her father's residence in the country, a ship from London came into the Columbia every year. Mr Finlayson, *Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 37, states that in 1837 three barks performed the service between England and the Columbia, one outward-bound, one homeward-bound, and one in reserve in the Columbia. The homeward-bound vessel usually left on the 1st of November, and the outward-bound left London at the beginning of summer.

would often buy more than the same article with a fixed price. At all events, no matter what the dealings might be, the savage desired a present, desired to feel, if but for a moment, that he had obtained something for nothing; hence the matter of gifts was an important one. The second class consisted of blankets, cloth, arms and ammunition, and other articles employed exclusively in barter. The third class was called Indian goods, and consisted of small articles, beads, paints, shirts, and handkerchiefs, used chiefly to purchase fish and game, or to obtain some slight service from the natives. The dedication of the several articles to the prescribed purpose was by no means strictly adhered to, particularly at the less important posts; but such was the general plan of the traffic.

The price placed upon goods at Fort Vancouver was never changed, except on the arrival of a ship from Boston; nor did the rate at which furs were received vary. In the absence of opposition no necessity existed for chaffering. Through an aperture like that of a post-office delivery, the Indian having furs for sale passed them to a clerk within, who in like manner returned their value in the merchandise desired. When settlers began to arrive, those of them who desired to purchase goods must do so through the superintendent or commander, who gave him an order for the articles required.

At the interior posts there was less dignified formality, and more freedom of manner. First of all, the Indian would have rum if he could get it. If this was furnished, a debauch was always preliminary to business. Frequently the shrewd savage before this indulgence would set aside a portion of his furs for a gun, another for blankets, or ammunition, or tobacco, or knives, or cloth, or whatever might be his absolute needs, reckoned when sober, and spend the remainder with a clear conscience for the comfort and fascination of intoxication. The natives understood thoroughly the nature and value to them of competitive traffic.

Of course the company did all in its power to prevent the coming of United States traders, and their system of advances materially aided them, as it made their own the catch of the trapper while yet the wild beasts ran at large.

Should an officer or servant of the company desire a skin for his own use, he was obliged to pay for it ten per cent above the London price; and in no case was he allowed to purchase here for a friend at home. Though as a rule the natives did the hunting, yet servants were sometimes permitted to trap on Saturday or Sunday, in which case they must take their catch to the office and receive what an Indian would get.[21]

Trade, though in general uniform in its method, was not without minor local differences. The remote districts north of the 60th parallel were the best fields. Competition there was less, game could be better protected, and fur-bearing animals be increased rather than exterminated.[22] Hunting was done principally in winter, the fur being then better; moreover, in summer the animal rears its young. From the various forts and outposts the Hudson Bay people brought every spring by means of boats the furs collected during winter to the three principal depôts, namely, Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, York Factory on Hudson Bay, and Moose Factory on James Bay, whence they were shipped in the company's vessels to London; hence on all the lakes and streams that interlace the broad domain held by this association, brigades of boats were passing and repassing, and as compared to the frozen silence of winter all was life

[21] 'White men only were used as trappers in connection with the southern express. The retired servants of the Company received the same price for their furs as any others and a servant or employee was allowed to hunt at any time.' *Finlayson's Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 99. See also *Wilkes' Nar. U. S. Ex. Exped.*, iv. 320; *Sir John Richardson*, in *House Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 159.

[22] 'I do not believe,' says E. Ellice in the *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 327, 'that any part of the fur trade carried on by the Company in their southern posts, in the immediate vicinity of the American frontier, is in the least profitable.'

and animation. Later, Fort Garry on Red River became the centre of operations east of the dividing ridge.

From most of the principal forts trapping and trading expeditions were sent out every autumn, which returned with their catch the following spring or summer. These parties consisted of from five to thirty natives with their families, or were composed wholly or in part of half-breeds or white men, sometimes under the guidance of a servant or officer of the company, but as often alone, and that after having procured their outfit on credit. Two of these parties, much larger than those from minor posts, being from fifty to seventy-five men each, set out from Fort Vancouver every year, one proceeding southward as far as San Francisco Bay, the other eastward to the region round the headwaters of the Columbia and the Colorado.[23]

In conveying goods up the Columbia, and in bringing furs down that stream, barges, each of five or six tons burden, were sometimes employed. The boats were manned by six Canadians or Iroquois, and steered by a paddle. Both boats and goods were carried over the portages. For two leaves of tobacco each, twenty-five natives would readily transfer the boats, large as they were, from one landing to the other.[24]

The upper and interior posts were supplied from Fort Vancouver, whence were two annual departures, one coastwise, for which service the company employed first the steamer *Beaver* and afterward a larger

[23] 'There was a chief factor for New Caledonia, with head-quarters at Fort James; there was one also for the coast district. He was usually employed in cruising between the stations in the steamer *Beaver*. The southern expeditions were accompanied by a chief factor, as a rule; Mr. Ogden used to go with them very often.' *Finlayson's Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 90. Farnham, *Travels*, 453–4, copied almost literally from *Wilkes' Nar. U. S. Ex. Exped.*, iv. 356, says they left Fort Vancouver in October and returned in May or June; that they were permitted to take their wives and children, and that they usually trapped on shares. Where there are so many ways of doing business, naturally there is some difference in the remarks of observers.

[24] Finlayson, *Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 80, says that the company built these barges, four of them, in London.

steamer, the *Labouchere*, together with five well armed sailing vessels of from one hundred to three hundred tons each, and one for Fort James, on Stuart Lake, by way of Okanagan, Colville, and Thompson River.

The great event of the year was the arrival of the overland express, called the Montreal or York Factory Brigade. There were several regular brigades departing and arriving at Fort Vancouver, such as the Southern brigade, the New Caledonia brigade, etc. The annual overland express, carrying letters and despatches, left Fort Vancouver for York Factory and Norway House, where the great council met every summer, about the middle of March, in charge of a confidential officer.[25] From the southern and coast stations accounts had been received and balances struck at Fort Vancouver. The brigade called at Walla Walla, Okanagan, and Colville on its way up the river, thus saving those ports the trouble of sending their accounts to Fort Vancouver. Colville, being the last important station before reaching the mountains, became a sort of rendezvous for accountants. Thither the minor surrounding forts sent their annual statements, and there the commander of the overland express could strike his final balances.[26] Several hundred miles above Fort Colville, at the head of canoe navigation, was a place called Boat Encampment. There the boats were taken from the water, and, with superfluous provisions and baggage, cached. Crossing the mountains on snow-shoes, the party took boats again at Jasper House, on the Athabasca River, leaving them at Fort Assiniboine to cross the dividing ridge to Fort Edmonson, on the Saskatchewan, whence boats finally carried them to York Factory, on Hudson Bay. After a short stay the party returned by the same

[25] James Douglas conducted this service for several years; A. C. Anderson performed the journey in 1842.

[26] Colville was where the whole accounts were made up; they were finally closed there for York. The southern expeditions and northern expeditions used to meet at Colville with the accounts. *Finlayson's Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 37–8.

route, reaching Fort Vancouver usually toward the latter part of October.[27]

The New Caledonia brigade plied between forts Vancouver and Alexandria. Leaving Fort Vancouver in April, supplies were carried up the river in boats to Fort Colville, and thence transported to Fort Alexandria in ninety-pound bales on horses, one horse carrying but two bales, while a Canadian voyageur would sometimes carry three. A large number of horses were kept at Alexandria for the purpose of bringing in furs from the surrounding posts, transporting them to Colville or Okanagan, whence they returned with supplies, which were in like manner distributed to the several posts.[28] Dog-sledges were sometimes employed in this service in winter.

The method of account keeping at the Vancouver depôt will further illustrate the Hudson's Bay Company's system. From London each year the company's ship brought the outfit for the third year thereafter, thus keeping regularly on hand, as a guard against accidents, two years' supply.

All shipments from London to the Pacific coast were charged to Fort Vancouver, where full accounts were kept both with the London house and with all the subordinate posts. At Fort Vancouver the outfit year began the 1st of June. Then was credited to

[27] Anderson, *Hist. Northwest Coast*, MS., 8–91, gives the best account of the overland express. See also *Tolmie's Hist. Puget Sound*, MS., 10–14; *Finlayson's Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 37; *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., 4. Mr Finlayson states that a brigade for the east sometimes left Fort Vancouver in the autumn, which met the western-bound express at Boat Encampment. The connections of boats and horses, and all routine connected with the going and returning brigade, he asserts 'were made with the regularity of a machine.' Tolmie says the yearly accounts of goods received, furs purchased, as well as all other receipts and expenditures at all posts west of the Rocky Mountains, were sent to Fort Vancouver, where the general account was made up and despatched by the spring expedition. Theoretically this was the case. If the accountant in charge, to save the upper posts the trouble of sending their accounts down the Columbia some hundreds of miles, made up his final statement at Colville, it amounted to the same as if he had done so at Fort Vancouver.

[28] 'This was previous to 1849, when the country was looked upon as British territory. The furs were deposited at Okanagan; boats then came from Fort Vancouver to receive the furs, and the horse brigades returned to Alexandria.' *Finlayson's Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 67–8.

each post or district goods on hand the 31st of May, together with returns in furs or other articles, which were estimated enough below London prices to cover expenses of shipment and sale. This closed the business of the outfit year. At the same time were charged the goods on hand from the previous year, together with fresh stock sent, after adding to it thirty-three and a third per cent to cover transportation expenses; also were entered against the posts clerks' and servants' wages. The profit or loss would then appear. The details of goods sent from head-quarters were entered in transfer books A; the details of returns, as well as of accounts between posts, in transfer books B.

Of the cost of fort-building no separate account was kept, as this labor was performed by the company's hired servants. An account was kept at the Vancouver depôt called General Charges, in which were entered presents made and provisions consumed by visitors, and their value, together with all goods disposed of and not otherwise put down. Every blanket and every bead scattered throughout this wilderness must be accounted for to the hard-headed methodical managers in London, and woe to the underling derelict in any of these duties.

The trans-Atlantic shipments of the Hudson's Bay Company were all directed to London, the chief market of the world, and the furs were there sold, at semi-annual sales held in March and September, at auction by the candle, the bidding for each lot continuing till a lighted candle had burned to a certain mark, causing a pin placed at that point to drop. Foreign purchases were chiefly for the Leipsic fair, whence they were distributed to various parts of Europe and Asia.[29]

[29] In the year 1733 12,000 beaver, 2000 marten, and 1000 cat were the principal items. In 1740 26,000 beaver sold at from 5s. to 6s. per pound, 16,000 marten at 7s. 10d. a skin, 560 otter at 6s. 3d. each, 300 foxes at 8s. 4d., 600 wolverenes at 8s., 330 black bear at 17s. 6d., 730 wolves at 15s., and other small lots. Twenty-six thousand beaver of the several kinds and qualities were disposed of at the sale of November 1743; also 14,000 marten, 590 otter, 1580 wolf, and others. The Northwest Company's business for 1798 counted

The great companies dealt in other articles besides furs. During the latter part of the eighteenth century sloops were annually sent from Prince of Wales Fort northward to trade with the Eskimos for oil and whale fins. Feathers, tallow, and horns were likewise articles of merchandise. Quantities of dried and salted fish were put up and shipped, both from eastern and western posts.

Enormous profits were realized. But time was required to turn capital; expenses were likewise heavy, labor severe, and risks by no means small. Usually the trapper required credit, and his ability to pay depended on his success, which risk the company was obliged to take. Indians were readily trusted by the companies, the original cost of the articles credited being so small in proportion to expected returns that the sellers could well afford to make the venture.

A dollar's worth of English or Dutch trinkets used on the Northwest Coast in the purchase of furs,

106,000 beaver, 2100 bear, 5500 fox, 4600 otter, 17,000 musquash, 32 marten, 1800 mink, 600 lynx, 600 wolverene, 1650 fisher, 100 raccoon, 3800 wolf, 700 elk, 1950 deer, and 500 buffalo. These same figures Raynal, *Hist. Phil.*, xiii. 557, gives as the total yield of Canada for the year 1800. Tod, *Hist. New Caledonia*, MS., 63, quotes tariff in his locality in 1830 as follows: A gun cost 20 skins; a coat, 6 skins; a foot of twist tobacco, a gallon kettle, or a small axe, each one skin; a large axe, two skins; two gills powder, one skin; one pound of shot, one skin. The worth of skins measuring these values was from 18 to 20 shillings. The Oregon country prior to 1844 yielded about $140,000 worth of furs annually, paid for in goods which cost some $20,000, to which must be added the services of five hundred men, and shipping and other expenses. Between the prices paid by different companies there was often a wide difference; thus in 1845 we find quoted, *House Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Co. 1857*, 283, the following comparitive tariff: While for otter the American Fur Company paid $3.50 each, the Hudson's Bay Company paid but 6s.; fisher, marten, mink, and lynx were respectively $2, $1.75, 40 cents, and $2 at the posts of the former company, while the latter sold them at 2s., 2s., 10d., and 2s. Silver fox were $15 by one and 10s. by the other; beaver, $3.25, as against 6s., and so on. Following the printed list of the Fenchurch-street sale of March 1848, we have 121,000 marten, 24,000 mink, 3102 bear, 19,000 fox, 5780 otter, 30,100 lynx, and 4580 fisher. In August of that year were sold 21,349 beaver, 808 otter, 345 sea-otter and seals, 2884 deer, 2090 raccoon, 228 wolverene, 1494 wolf, 632 cat, 1015 lynx, 1551 swan, 18,553 musquash, 14,103 mink, 29,785 marten, 744 fisher, 1344 fox, and 2997 bear. Between the 13th of June and the 21st of November 1833, furs to the value of £1700 were procured at Fort Vancouver. 'Twenty thousand beaver were shipped from Vancouver by September, the greatest number yet made from the Columbia.' *Tolmie's Journal*, MS., 88.

which were sold in China, the proceeds being invested in teas, silks, rice, or other Asiatic goods shipped to London or New York, would sometimes bring a return of twenty dollars. Often three or four hundred dollars' worth of goods would be sent from the distributing depôt to the trapper's camp, where they would be exchanged for three or four thousand dollars' worth of furs.

Bright-colored calico and black broadcloth; blankets and hats; arms, axes, knives, and kettles; paints, mirrors, beads, bells, and brass ornaments would be exchanged at the rate of one dollar for two or twenty, according to distance from market or other cause. The tobacco sold by the Hudson's Bay Company came mostly from Brazil. It was twisted into a rope one inch in diameter, and coiled; it was sold by the inch.

The returns from the various forts were obviously not uniform. In ordinary times and localities, from one thousand to five thousand pounds were annually realized from each establishment.[30] A few Indian

[30] Mr Mayne, *Brit. Col.*, 183–4, estimates the profits at Fort Rupert, on Vancouver Island, in 1859 as follows: For wages, commanding officer, a clerk being then in charge, £100, or had it been a chief trader, £500 or £600; foreman, £40, and seven laborers at £20 each; provisions, £200; sundries, £100, or say £600 expenses; cost of fort, the labor of the seven men one month, or £140. Fourteen thousand six hundred and forty-two skins were purchased at a total cost of £660 4s., worth in England £5405, chief among which were 250 bear-skins, worth from £1 to £3, and costing one blanket each; 2000 marten, six for a blanket, worth from 10s. to £2; 5000 mink, 30 for a blanket, worth from 2s. to 7s. 6d.; one blanket each was paid for 250 land-otter, worth from 7s. 6d. to £1 10s., and 12 blankets each were given for 50 sea-otter, worth from £5 to £25. Two beavers were given for a blanket, and a leaf of tobacco for a rabbit-skin; of the former there were 600 bought, and of the latter 5000. Lynx, fox, raccoon, wolf, etc., comprised the remainder. Leaving out the cost of the fort, and adding cost of goods to expenses, we have on the debit side £1260 against £5405, showing a profit for this year of £4145. But this post has often netted the company £6000, and it by no means ranks among the most important. R. G. Smith, secretary of the company, reports ten years profits, from 1847 to 1856, which is no extraordinary showing, though they are put down at from ten to twenty per cent. a year; yet whenever the declared dividend was more than ten per cent. the surplus was added to the stock. Notwithstanding which, to the price of this stock there was no permanent increase, as at both the beginning and end of the term it stood at £200 a share, having in the mean time experienced slight fluctuations. Umfreville, *Hudson's Bay*, 79–91, gives the Hudson's Bay Company's reports of trading goods expenses and returns for the ten years 1739–48 inclusive. From the sale of furs was realized £273,542 18s. 8d., out of which were paid for goods £52,463 9s., and for salaries, shipping, and other expenses,

tribes became weathy, according to their estimate of wealth, by their trade in furs, but their prosperity was always of short duration and of no real benefit.

At some of the stations were used sticks, called casters, with which to count. For example, the Indian deposits his bundle of furs in the trading-room, where they are assorted and valued. Perhaps the package amounts to sixty casters, of between one and two shillings each; with the sixty bits of wood given him the hunter pays for such articles as he selects from the company's store. Besides his spring visit the hunter usually comes to the fort in October to obtain necessaries for the winter hunt, which are furnished him on credit, whether Indian or white man, if he has not wherewith to pay.

The Northwest Company once established a currency called the Northwest currency, which, as might have been expected, soon depreciated and in time went out of use. At the Red River settlement the Hudson's Bay Company adopted a currency which was used in conjunction with silver. Beaver, so long the staple, with the invention of the silk hat received its death-blow. In 1837 the price fell so low that values had to be readjusted.[31]

£209,896 3s. 4d., leaving a clear profit for each proprietor of only £63 12s. 11d. per annum. Morgan, in his *American Beaver*, 245, states that in 1743, 150,000 beaver-skins were received at Rochelle and London, most of which came from Rupert Land and Canada. He gives the sales of beaver in London for the years 1854, 1855, and 1856 as 509,240, 62,352, and 56,033 respectively. Says Dr Tolmie, in his *Journal*, MS., written at Fort Vancouver: 'From the 17th November 1834 to the 9th January 1835 180 beavers were traded here, besides land-otters and martens, in all amounting to £259 19s. 6d.; beaver charged at 24s. per pound. The following items go to the debit side of the account: Goods expended in procuring furs, £66 18s. 7d.; servants' wages for seven and a half weeks, £76 13s. 7d.; expense of food for twelve men, £3 18s. 9d.; expense of men, £1 19s. 4d. Balance in favor of the Company, £110 9s. 2d.'

[31] Between the years 1839 and 1846 there was quite a difference in the price of furs, it being much lower at the later date. In 1839 the price of a beaver-skin in London was 27s. 6d.; in 1846, 3s. 5d. In 1839 55,486 skins sold for £76,312; in 1846 45,389 skins sold for £7856. For trade matters in general see further *U. S. Gov. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., House Rept. No. 101*, 17–22; *Robinson's Great Fur Land*, 329; *Hayes' Col. Agric.*, 26–8; *Hunt's Mer. Mag.*, iii. 185–204; *Foster's Hist. Voy.*, 380–3; *North American Review*, xv. 372–3, 393–4; *Newhouse's Trapper's Guide*, 9–12; *Work's Journal*, MS., 205–6; *Anderson's N. Coast*, MS., 86–7; *Prospectus Canada Railway Co.*

King Charles' grant to his cousin Rupert in 1670 failed to receive parliamentary sanction, and was thereby pronounced unconstitutional. To prevent constantly increasing encroachments, the company in 1690 petitioned parliament to confirm the charter, which, upon certain conditions which were never carried out, was granted for a term of seven years, and no longer.

Fearful lest parliament would not renew it, or unwilling to call public attention to their affairs, or, yet more probably, indifferent as to the legal status of affairs so long as they were left unmolested, at the expiration of the seven years' term the company made no effort for a second or renewed confirmation of their charter. From this time until the cession of Canada to Great Britain in 1763 the Hudson's Bay Company continued in possession of their territories undisturbed; but British subjects then took the field formerly occupied by foreigners trading under French charters, and shortly after, in 1783, the leading merchants of Canada associated under the name of the Northwest Company, and entering upon vigorous opposition spread themselves over the interior as far as the Arctic and Pacific oceans, and even planted their forts upon the very shores of Hudson Bay.

When the coalition of the rival companies was effected in 1821 by their united influence, a license of exclusive trade in such Indian territory as was not included in the original charter was granted them by government for a term of twenty-one years. In 1842 the license was renewed for a further term of twenty-one years, and again for seven years, but with reservations by the crown of the right to revoke it at any time.[32] Tacitly, however, the British government

[32] 'The extent of territory thus granted under the licence of 1842, is about 2,500,000 square miles, that claimed under the Charter very little less, comprising together the whole of British America, with the exception of the Canadas.' *A Few Words on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 3; *Fitzgerald's Vancouver Island*, 21–104; *British N. Am.*, 245–6; *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, 57, 66, 158. The *Westminster Review*, July 1867, gives a concise history of the Hudson's Bay Company under the title of *The Last Great Monopoly*. *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 400 et seq.; *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 58–9.

has always recognized the corporate rights of this association, for in the treaty of 1794, which permits the freest intercourse between the citizens of the United States and the people of Canada, exception is made to the Hudson's Bay territories.

And now having grown old gracefully, having reaped the reward of its cunning and laid to rest thousands of its faithful servants, the question arose how to die, not awkwardly and without loss. With Sir Edmund Head, formerly governor-general of Canada, as governor, the company felt prepared to negotiate with Canada for a transfer to the Dominion of all its territorial rights save a small tract round each fort. This arrangement was effected the 19th of November 1869, the consideration of the company being three hundred thousand pounds. The United States also respected certain claims in the Columbia River country for infringements of its rights by settlers, the matter being arranged by a commission in 1870, which awarded the company six hundred thousand dollars.

### His Majesty's Royal Charter to the Governor and Company of Hudson's Bay.

Charles the II., by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas our dear entirely beloved cousin, Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria and Cumberland, etc., George, Duke of Albemarle, William, Earl of Craven, Henry, Lord Arlington, Anthony, Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, and Sir Robert Vyner, knights and baronets, Sir Peter Colleton, baronet, Sir Edward Hungerford, Knight of the Bath, Sir Paul Neele, Sir John Griffith, Sir Philip Carteret, and Sir James Hayes, knights, John Kirke, Francis Millington, William Prettyman, John Fenn, esquires, and John Portman, citizen and goldsmith of London, have, at their own great cost and charges, undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay, in the north-west parts of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities, and by such, their undertaking, have already made such discoveries as do encourage them to proceed farther in pursuance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise great advantage to us and our kingdoms.

*And whereas*, The said undertakers, for their farther encouragement in the said design, have humbly besought us to incorporate them, and grant unto them, and their successors, the whole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories, upon the coasts and confines of the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state.

*Now know ye*, That we, being desirous to promote all endeavors that may tend to the public good of our people, and to encourage the said undertaking, have, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given, granted, ratified, and confirmed, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do give, grant, ratify, and confirm, unto our said cousin Prince Rupert, George, Duke of Albemarle, William, Earl of Craven, Henry, Lord Arlington, Anthony, Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Paul Neele, Sir John Griffith, Sir Philip Carteret, and Sir James Hayes, John Kirke, Francis Millington, William Prettyman, John Fenn, and John Portman, that they, and such others as shall be admitted into the said society as is hereafter expressed, shall be one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, by the name of the governor and company of adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, and them by the name of the governor and company of adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, really and fully forever, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do make, ordain, constitute, establish, confirm, and declare, by these presents, and that by the same name of governor and company of adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, they shall have perpetual succession, and that they and their successors, by the name of governor and company of adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, be, and at all times hereafter shall be, personable and capable in law to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, and retain, lands, rents, privileges, liberties, jurisdiction, franchises, and hereditaments, of what kind, nature, or quality soever they be, to them and their successors; and also to give, grant, alien, assign, and dispose lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and to do, execute all and singular other things by the same name that to them shall or may appertain to do. And that they, and their successors, by the name of the governor and company of adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, may plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and be defended, in whatsoever courts and places, before whatsoever judges and justices, and other persons and officers, in all or singular actions, pleas, suits, quarrels, and demands, whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature, or sort, in such manner and form as any other our liege people of this our realm of England, being persons able and capable in law, may, or can have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, dispose, plead, defend, and to be defended, do, permit, and execute. And that the said governor and company of adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, and their successors, may have a common seal to serve for all the causes and businesses of them and

their successors, and that it shall and may be lawful to the said governor and company, and their successors, the same seal, from time to time, at their will and pleasure, to break, change, and to make anew, or alter, as to them shall seem expedient.

*And farthermore*, We will, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, we do ordain that there shall be from henceforth one of the same company to be elected and appointed in such form as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which shall be called the governor of the said company.

*And* that the said governor and company shall and may elect seven of their number in such form as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which shall be called the committee of the said company; which committee of seven, or any three of them, together with the governor or deputy governor of the said company for the time being, shall have the direction of the voyages of and for the said company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandises thereunto belonging, and also the sale of all merchandises, goods, and other things returned in all or any the voyages or ships of or for the said company, and the managing and handling of all other business affairs and things belonging to the said company. And we will ordain and grant by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, unto the said governor and company, and their successors, that they the said governor and company and their successors shall from henceforth forever be ruled, ordered, and governed according to such manner and form as is hereafter in these presents expressed, and not otherwise; and that they shall have, hold, retain, and enjoy the grants, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, and immunities, only hereafter in these presents granted and expressed, and no other. And for the better execution of our will and grant in this behalf, we have assigned, nominated, constituted, and appointed by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, and we do assign, nominate, constitute, and make our said cousin, Prince Rupert, to be the first and present governor of the said company, and to continue in the said office from the date of these presents until the 10th of November then next following, if he, the said Prince Rupert, shall so long live, and so until a new governor be chosen by the said company in form hereafter expressed. And also we have assigned, nominated, and appointed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do assign, nominate, and constitute, the said Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, Sir James Hayes, John Kirke, Francis Millington, and John Portman to be the seven first and present committees of the said company, from the date of these presents until the said 10th of November then also next following, and so until new committees shall be chosen in form hereafter expressed.

*And farther*, We will and grant by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said governor and their successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and company for the time being, or the greater part of them present at any public assembly commonly called the court general, to be holden for the said company, the governor of the said company being always one, from time to time to elect, nominate, and appoint one of the said company to be deputy to the said governor; which deputy shall take a corporal oath before the governor and three more of the

committee of the said company for the time being, well, truly, and faithfully to execute his said office of deputy to the governor of the said company, and after his oath so taken shall and may from time to time in the absence of the said governor exercise and execute the office of governor of the said company in such sort as the said governor ought to do.

*And farther*, We will and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, unto the said governor and company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and their successors, that they, or the greater part of them, whereof the governor for the time being, or his deputy, to be one, from time to time and at all times hereafter, shall and may have authority and power, yearly and every year between the first and last day of November, to assemble and meet together in some convenient place, to be appointed from time to time by the governor, or in his absence by the deputy of the said governor, and the said company for the time being and the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the governor of the said company, or his deputy, for the time being, to be one, to elect and nominate one of the said company which shall be governor of the said company for one whole year, then next following, which person being so elected and nominated to be governor of the said company, as is aforesaid, before he be admitted to the execution of said office shall take a corporal oath before the last governor, being his predecessor or his deputy, and any three or more of the committee of the said company for the time being, that he shall from time to time well and truly execute the office of governor of the said company in all things concerning the same; and that immediately after the same oath so taken he shall and may execute and use the said office of governor of the said company for one whole year from thence next following.

*And in like sort*, We will and grant that as well every one of the above named to be of the said company or fellowship as all others hereafter to be admitted or free of the said company, shall take a corporal oath before the governor of the said company or his deputy for the time being, to such effect as by the said governor and company, or the greater part of them, in any public court to be held for the said company, shall be in reasonable and legal manner set down and devised, before they shall be allowed or admitted to trade or traffic as a freeman of the said company. *And farther*, We will and grant by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said governor and company, and their successors, that the said governor or deputy governor and the rest of the said company and their successors for the time being, or the greater part of them, whereof the governor or deputy governor, from time to time, to be one, shall and may from time to time and at all times hereafter have power and authority yearly and every year between the first and last day of November, to assemble and meet together in some convenient place from time to time to be appointed by the said governor, or in his absence by his deputy. And that they, being so assembled, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and his deputy, and the company for the time being, or the greater part of them, which then shall happen to be present, whereof the governor of the said company, or his deputy for the time being, to be one, to elect and nominate seven of the said company, which shall be a committee of the said company as aforesaid, before they be admitted to the

execution of their office, shall take a corporal oath before the governor or his deputy and any three or more of the said committee of the said company, being the last predecessors, that they and every of them shall well and faithfully perform their said office of committees in all things concerning the same, and that immediately after the said oath so taken, they shall and may execute and use their said office of committees of the said company for one whole year from thence next following.

*And moreover*, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said governor and company, and their successors, that when and as often as it shall happen, the governor or deputy governor of the said company for the time being, at any time within one year after that he shall be nominated, elected, and sworn to the office of the governor of the said company as is aforesaid, to die or to be removed from said office, which governor or deputy governor not demeaning himself well in his said office, we will to be removable at the pleasure of the rest of the said company, or the greater part of them, which shall be present at their public assemblies, commonly called their general courts holden for the said company; that then it shall and so often may be lawful to and for the residue of the said company, for the time being, or the greater part of them within a convenient time after the death or removing of any such governor or deputy governor, to assemble themselves in such convenient place as they shall think fit, for the election of the governor or deputy governor of said company; and that the said company, or the greater part of them, being then and there present, shall and may then and there, before their departure from the said place, elect and nominate one other of the said company to be governor or deputy governor for the said company in the place or stead of him that so died or was removed; which person being so elected and nominated to the office of governor or deputy governor of the said company shall have and exercise the said office for and during the residue of the said year, taking first a corporal oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time so often as the case shall so require.

*And also*, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, we do grant unto the said governor and company, that when and as often as it shall happen, any person or persons of the committee of the said company for the time being, at any time within one year next after that they or any of them shall be nominated, elected, and sworn to the office of committee of the said company as is aforesaid, to die or to be removed from the said office, which committee not demeaning themselves well in their said office, we will to be removable at the pleasure of the said governor and company, or the greater part of them, whereof the governor of the said company for the time being, or his deputy, to be one; that then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and the rest of the company for the time being, or the greater part of them, whereof the governor for the time being, or his deputy, to be one, within convenient time after the death or removing of any of the said committees, to assemble themselves in such convenient place as is or shall be usual and accustomed for the election of the governor of the said company, or where else the governor of the said company for the time being or his deputy shall appoint. And that the said governor

and company, or the greater part of them, whereof the governor for the time being, or his deputy, to be one, being then and there present, shall and may then and there, before their departure from the said place, elect and nominate one or more of the said company in the place or stead of him or them that so died, or was or were so removed. Which person or persons so nominated and elected to the office of committee of the said company, shall have and exercise the said office for and during the residue of the said year, taking first a corporal oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time so often as the case shall require.

*And* to the end the said governor and company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay may be encouraged to undertake and effectually to prosecute the said design of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give, grant, and confirm unto the said governor and company and their successors, the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fishes, in the seas, bays, inlets, and rivers within the premises, and the fish therein taken, together with the royalty of the sea upon the coasts within the limits aforesaid, and all mines royal as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gems, and precious stones, to be found or discovered within the territories, limits, and places aforesaid, and that the land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America called Rupert's Land.

*And further*, We do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, and constitute the said governor and company for the time being, and their successors, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territories, limits, and places aforesaid; and of all other the premises, saving always the faith, allegiance, and sovereign dominion to us, our heirs and successors, for the same to have, hold, possess, and enjoy the said territories, limits, and places, and all and singular other the premises hereby granted as aforesaid, with their and every of their rights, members, jurisdictions, prerogatives, royalties, and appurtenances whatsoever, to them the said governor and company and their successors forever, to be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, as of our manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not *in capite* or by knight's service; yielding and paying yearly to us, our heirs and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers, whensoever and as often as we, our heirs and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, territories, and regions hereby granted.

*And further*, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said governor and company, and to their successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and company and their successors from time to time, to assemble them-

selves for or about any the matters, causes, affairs, or businesses of the said trade, in any place or places for the same convenient, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to hold court for the said company and the affairs thereof; and that also it shall and may be lawful to and for them, or the greater part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present in any such place or places, whereof the governor or his deputy for the time being to be one, to make, ordain, and constitute such and so many reasonable laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there present, shall seem necessary and convenient for the good government of the said company and of all governors of colonies, forts, and plantations, factors, masters, mariners, and other officers employed or to be employed in any the territories and lands aforesaid, and in any of their voyages; and for the better advancement and continuance of said trade or traffic and plantations, and the same laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances so made, to be put in use and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to revoke and alter the same or any of them as the occasion shall require. And that the said governor and company, so often as they shall make, ordain, or establish any such laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, in such form as aforesaid, shall and may lawfully impose, ordain, limit, and provide such penalties and punishments upon all offenders contrary to such laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, or any of them, as to the said governor and company for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being present, the said governor or his deputy being always one, shall seem necessary or convenient for the observation of the same laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances; and the same fines and amerciaments shall and may by their officers and servants, from time to time to be appointed for that purpose, levy, take, and have, to the use of the said governor and company and their successors, without the officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, and without any account thereof to us, our heirs and successors, to be made. All and singular which laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances so as aforesaid to be made, we will to be duly observed and kept under the pains and penalties therein to be contained; so always as the said laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, fines and amerciaments, be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws, statutes, or customs of this our realm.

*And farthermore*, of our ample and abundant grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we have granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said governor and company and their successors, that they and their successors, and their factors, servants, and agents, for them and on their behalf, and not otherwise, shall forever hereafter have, use, and enjoy not only the whole, entire, and only liberty of trade and traffic, and the whole, entire, and only liberty, use, and privilege of trading and traffic to and from the territories, limits, and places aforesaid; but also the whole and entire trade and traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes, and seas, into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or land out of the territories, limits, and places aforesaid; and to and with all the natives and people, inhabitants or which shall inhabit within the territories, limits, and places aforesaid; and to and with all other nations inhab-

iting any the coasts adjacent to the said territories, limits, and places aforesaid, which are not already possessed as aforesaid, or whereof the sole liberty or privilege of trade and traffic is not granted to any other of our subjects.

*And* of our farther royal favor, and of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said governor and company and to their successors, that neither the said territories, limits, and places hereby granted as aforesaid, nor any part thereof, nor the islands, havens, ports, cities, towns, and places thereof, or therein contained, shall be visited, frequented, or haunted by any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, and by virtue of our prerogatives royal, which we will not have in that behalf argued or brought into question; we straightly charge, command, and prohibit for us, our heirs and successors, all the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, of what degree or quality soever they be, that none of them directly do visit, haunt, frequent, or trade, traffic, or adventure, by way of merchandise, into or from any the said territories, limits, or places hereby granted, or any or either of them other than the said governor and company, and such particular persons as now be or hereafter shall be of that company, their agents, factors, and assigns, unless it be by the license and agreement of the said governor and company in writing first had and obtained under their common seal, to be granted upon pain that every such person or persons that shall trade and traffic into or from any of the countries, territories, or limits aforesaid, other than the said governor and company and their successors, shall incur our indignation, and the forfeiture and the loss of the said goods, merchandises, and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this realm of England or any the dominions of the same, contrary to our said prohibition or the purport or true meaning of these presents, or which the said governor and company shall find, take, and seize, in other places out of our dominions, where the said company, their agents, factors, or assigns shall trade, traffic, or inhabit by virtue of these our letters patent, as also the ship and ships, with the furniture thereof, wherein such goods, merchandises, and other things shall be brought or found, the one half of all the said forfeiture to be to us, our heirs and successors, and the other half thereof by these presents clearly and wholly for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said governor and company and their successors. And farther, all and every the said offenders, for their said contempt, to suffer such punishment as to us, our heirs and successors, shall seem meet or convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered until they and every of them shall become bound unto the said governor for the time being in the sum of one thousand pounds at the least, at no time then after to trade and traffic into any of the said places, seas, bays, straits, ports, havens, or territories aforesaid, contrary to our express commandment in that behalf set down and published.

*And farther*, of our more especial grace we have condescended and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said governor and company, and their successors, that we, our heirs and successors, will not grant liberty, license, or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patent, to trade, traffic, or inhabit

unto or upon any of the territories, limits, or places afore specified, contrary to the meaning of these presents, without the consent of the said governor and company or the most part of them.

*And*, of our more abundant grace and favor to the said governor and company, we do hereby declare our will and pleasure to be, that if it shall so happen that any of the persons free or to be free of the said company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, who shall, before the going forth of any ship or ships appointed for a voyage or otherwise, promise or agree, by writing under his or their hands, to adventure any sum or sums of money towards the furnishing any provision or maintenance of any voyage or voyages, set forth or to be set forth, or intended or meant to be set forth, by the said governor and company, or the more part of them, present at any public assembly commonly called the general court, shall not within the space of twenty days next after warning given to him or them by the said governor and company, or their known officer or minister, bring in and deliver to the treasurer or treasurers appointed for the company, such sums of money as shall have been expressed and set down in writing, by the said person or persons subscribed with the name of said adventurer or adventurers, that then and at all times after it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and company, or the more part of them present, whereof the said governor or his deputy to be one, at any of their general courts or general assemblies, to remove and disfranchise him or them, and every such person or persons, at their wills and pleasures; and he or they so removed and disfranchised, not to be permitted to trade into the countries, territories, or limits aforesaid, or any part thereof; nor to have any adventure or stock going or remaining with or among the said company, without special license of the said governor and company, or the more part of them present at any general court, first had and obtained in that behalf, anything before in these presents to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

*And* our will and pleasure is, and hereby we do also ordain, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and company, or the greater part of them, whereof the governor for the time being, or his deputy, to be one, to admit into and be of the said company, all such servants or factors of or for the said company, and all such others as to them or the most part of them present at any court held for the said company, the governor or his deputy being one, shall be thought fit and agreeable with the orders and ordinances made and to be made for the government of the said company.

*And farther*, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said governor and company, and to their successors, that it shall and may be lawful in all elections and by-laws to be made by the general court of the adventurers of the said company, that every person shall have a number of votes according to his stock, that is to say, for every hundred pounds by him subscribed or brought into the present stock, one vote, and that any of those that have subscribed less than one hundred pounds may join their respective sums to make one hundred pounds, and to have one vote jointly for the same, and not otherwise.

*And further*, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do for us, our heirs and successors, grant to and with the said governor

and company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, that all lands, territories, plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies, where the said companies, factories, or trade are or shall be, within any the ports or places afore limited, shall be immediately and from henceforth under the power and command of the said governor and company, their successors and assigns; saving the faith and allegiance due and to be performed to us, our heirs and successors, as aforesaid; and that the said governor and company shall have liberty, full power, and authority to appoint and establish governors and all other officers to govern them; and that the governor and his council of the several and respective places where the said company shall have plantations, forts, factories, colonies, or places of trade within any the countries, lands, or territories hereby granted, may have power to judge all persons belonging to the said governor and company, or that shall live under them in all causes, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of this kingdom, and to execute justice accordingly.

*And*, in case any crime or misdemeanor shall be committed in any of the said company's plantations, forts, factories, or places of trade within the limits aforesaid, where judicature cannot be executed for want of a governor and council there, then in such case it shall and may be lawful for the chief factor of that place and his council to transmit the party, together with the offence, to such other plantations, factory, or fort, where there shall be a governor and council, where justice may be executed, or into the kingdom of England, as shall be thought most convenient, there to inflict such punishment as the nature of the offence will deserve.

*And moreover*, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do give and grant unto the said governor and company and their successors free liberty and license in case they conceive it necessary to send either ships of war, men, or ammunition, into any their plantations, forts, factories, or places of trade aforesaid, for the security and defence of the same, and to choose commanders and officers over them, and to give them power and authority by commissions under their common seal, or otherwise, to continue or make peace or war with any prince or people whatsoever, that are not Christians, in any places where the said company shall have any plantations, forts, or factories, or adjacent thereunto, as shall be most for the advantage and benefit of said governor and company, and of their trade; and also to right and recompense themselves upon the goods, estate, or people of those parts, by whom the said governor and company shall sustain any injury, loss, or damage, or upon any other people whatsoever, that shall any way, contrary to the intent of these presents, interrupt, wrong, or injure them in their said trade, within the said places, territories, or limits granted by this charter. And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and company and their successors, from time to time and at all times henceforth, to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies or plantations, towns or villages, in any parts or places within the limits and bounds granted before in these presents, unto the said governor and company, and their successors, from time to time; and at all times from henceforth to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies or plantations, towns or villages, in any parts or places within the

limits and bounds granted before in these presents unto the said governor and company, as they in their discretion shall think fit and requisite; and for the supply of such as shall be needful and convenient, to keep and be in the same, to send out of this kingdom, to the said castles, forts, fortifications, garrisons, colonies, plantations, towns, or villages, all kinds of clothing, provision of victuals, ammunition, and implements necessary for such purpose, paying the duties and custom for the same, as also to transport and carry over such number of men being willing thereunto or not prohibited, as they shall think fit, and also to govern them in such legal and reasonable manner as the said governor and company shall think best, and to inflict punishment for misdemeanors, or impose such fines upon them for breach of their orders, as in these presents are formerly expressed.

*And farther*, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said governor and company and their successors, full power and lawful authority to seize upon the persons of all such English or any other subjects which shall sail into Hudson's Bay, or inhabit in any of the countries, islands, or territories hereby granted to the said governor and company, without their leave and license in that behalf first had and obtained, or that shall contemn or disobey their orders, and send them to England; and that all and every person or persons, being our subjects, any ways employed by the said governor and company, within any the parts, places, or limits aforesaid, shall be liable unto and suffer such punishments for any offences by them committed in the parts aforesaid as the president and council for the said governor and company there shall think fit and the merit of the offence shall require as aforesaid; and in case any person or persons being convicted and sentenced by the president and council of the said governor and company, in the countries, lands, or limits aforesaid, their factors or agents there, for any offence by them done, shall appeal from the same; and then and in such case, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said president and council, factors or agents, to seize upon him or them, and to carry him or them home prisoners into England, to the said governor and company, there to receive such condign punishment as his cause shall require, and the law of this nation allow of; and for the better discovery of abuses and injuries to be done unto the said governor and company, or their successors, by any servant, by them to be employed in the said voyages and plantations, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governor and company, and their respective presidents, chief agent, or governor in the parts aforesaid, to examine upon oath all factors, masters, pursers, supercargoes, commanders of castles, forts, fortifications, plantations, or colonies, or other persons, touching or concerning any matter or thing, in which by law or usage an oath may be administered, so as the said oath and the matter therein contained be not repugnant but agreeable to the laws of this realm.

*And*, We do hereby straightly charge and command all and singular, our admirals, vice-admirals, justices, mayors, sheriffs, constables, bailiffs, and all and singular other our officers, ministers, liege men, and subjects whatsoever to be aiding, favoring, helping, and assisting to the said governor and company, and to their successors, and to their deputies, officers, factors, servants, assignees, and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the

premises, as well on land as at sea from time to time, when any of you shall thereunto be required; any statute, act, ordinance, proviso, proclamation, or restraint heretofore made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents; witness ourself at Westminster, the second day of May, in the two and twentieth year of our reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal, Signed, PIGOTT.

# CHAPTER XV.

## FORTS AND FORT LIFE.

Application of the Term—The Erection of a Fort a Special Favor, and Occasion of Rejoicing—A Depôt or Factory—Architecture and Construction—Examples of Several Forts—York Factory—Fort Garry—Fort William—Fort Edmonton—Fort Franklin—Fort Vancouver—Fort Walla Walla—Fort Rupert—Wyeth's Establishment on Wapato Island—Fort Hall—Fort Yukon—Fort Victoria—Ground Plan of Fort Simpson—Rendezvous—Life at the Forts.

The term Fort was applied indiscriminately to all fur-trading establishments having any pretensions to permanency, whether a bastioned fortress of stone or wood, or a square stockade, palisade, or picketed enclosure, consisting of sharpened poles or slabs, a block house of squared logs with apertures, or a house of round unhewn logs without loop-holes, a factory where stores were kept for general distribution and furs were prepared for shipping, and which were presided over with no small show of dignity and state by titled officers, or the little cabin thrown up in the heart of a far distant wilderness by the aid of sharpened steel, as if by magic before the eyes of wondering savages, and stocked only with the articles necessary for temporary traffic—these were the fort, fortress, factory, post, house, establishment, or head-quarters of those who domineered these savage realms.

To the natives the building of a fort among them was made to appear a special favor. In thus bringing to their door the white man's goods and friendship tiresome journeys were saved, and more time left them

to hunt for the furs which were to procure them greater comforts. The standing threat, and the one most generally feared, was that if they did not behave well the trader would leave them. So little ground was required for fort purposes, and so quiet the demeanor of the fur-dealer, that no jealousy was excited, or fear of usurpation. In the eyes of the northern savages the Englishmen were gods bringing them good gifts as from the skies. Once having abandoned their aboriginal weapons, and learned the use of iron, foreign implements became necessities.

Hence it was made an occasion of rejoicing among the natives when fire-arms, whiskey, and religion were thus brought to their very door, and the fort-builders took especial pains to interest the natives in their doings, and make them feel a pride in the fort, which they were assured was erected solely for their benefit.

To York Factory prior to 1740 the natives came one thousand miles to trade. The Knisteneaux trading at Fort Churchill found the distance so great that they gladly welcomed the Northwest Company, who established nearer and more intimate commercial and social relations with them. By despatching on their journey early in the spring active young men and women, and allowing them only a day or two at the fort for drunkenness, they were enabled to return before the streams were frozen. Comforting drink, however, was brought away for home convivialities, which was sacred to the purpose, and on no account to be touched while *en route*.[1]

In selecting a site for a fort, water and wood were first considered, then hunting or fishing.[2] Often some of the chiefs were appointed to maintain order, to curb the unruly of their tribe, and to protect the in-

[1] These people complained no less of the quality of the goods furnished them than of their long journey, which subjected them to three months of summer sun. And even then they could not carry one third of their beaver to market. *Carver's Travels*, 112.

[2] Very little foreign or manufactured food was supplied the fort-dwellers. They must for the most part obtain their own provisions or starve; hence to be near a supply was very essential.

terests of the fort-builders by every means in their power. This was a high distinction and seldom abused.

The depôt was the head-quarters or point of distribution of a department. Thus York Factory was the depôt of the Northern Department, Moose Factory of the Southern, Lachine of the Montreal Department, and Fort Vancouver, later Fort Victoria, of the Columbia Department. When the Oregon country as far north as the strait of Fuca was declared a part of the United States, and the company's head-quarters on the Pacific removed to Victoria, that became the depôt. In its government, in its attitude toward the aborigines, each fort was an *imperium in imperio*.

Among the more imposing establishments was Prince of Wales Fort, which stood upon a commanding elevation on the left bank of Churchill River, near the mouth. In 1744 it was the company's chief factory. Its high irregular walls, twenty-seven feet in thickness, were of hewn stone and lime, and it mounted forty guns. All this was precautionary against a white enemy rather than a red one. Richard Norton was governor there in 1737, and after him Ferdinand Jacobs; then in 1769 ruled Moses Norton, a half-breed son of Richard, educated in England; in 1775 Samuel Hearne was placed in command. The governor appeared in cocked hat, tights, and regimentals; the dress of their Indian wives was half Queen Anne and half Spanish, a head-kerchief, mantilla, long open skirt, and short embroidered petticoat. This fort was demolished by the French in 1799, but was rebuilt soon afterward.[3]

[3] 'About the fort,' according to a letter given in *Cox's Adv.*, ii. 397–8, in 1829, 'are now to be seen decayed carriages without guns, rust-eaten guns without carriages, groups of unappropriated balls of various calibre, broken down walls, and dilapidated stores. See *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, 8, 18, and *Hearne's Journey*, 1, where a fine engraving is given. Ballantyne, writing in 1841, says, *Hudson's Bay*, 30, 'The only two in the country that are real, *bonâ fide* forts, are Fort Garry and the Stone Fort in the colony of Red River, which are surrounded by stone walls with bastions at the corners. The others are merely defended by wooden pickets or stockades; and a few, where the Indians are quiet and harmless, are entirely destitute of defence of any kind.'

York Factory, once Fort Bourbon, on the marshy left bank of Hayes River, five miles above its mouth, which subsequently became the general entrepôt for all Rupert Land, was on Hudson Bay, and consisted of two-story wooden buildings, roofed with lead, placed in the form of a square, and surrounded by a stockade twenty feet high. In the buildings composing the square the stores were kept and the officers lived; between the square and the palisade were servants' quarters and workshops. This was the chief post for the vessels of the company, and there the chief factors formerly met in annual council.[4]

The principal building of a distributing depôt was the general store where the outfit for the department was kept. At York Factory a two years' supply was stored, while at Fort Vancouver, being so far from home, lest there should be accident or delay, a two years' supply was always intended to be on hand. At York Factory, and in most of the principal forts, was a room called the bachelors' hall, devoted specially to the company's clerks, but where strangers were always welcome to smoke or spread their blankets. The larger stations had hospitals for the use of natives as well as servants of the company. Settlers on the frontier often called the solid log-house that protected them from the savages their fort.

With a few exceptions the fur-posts of the Pacific were much alike. If permanent, they were palisaded in size and form about one hundred yards square. The pickets consisted of poles or logs ten or fifteen inches in diameter sunk into the ground and rising fifteen or twenty feet above it. Split slabs were sometimes used instead of round poles. At two corners diagonally opposite, and raised above the tops of the pickets, two wooden bastions were so placed as to command a view of the country. In each of these bastions were mounted from two to six guns, four, six, or twelve pounders, each with its aperture like the port-hole

[4] *Franklin's Nar.*, i. 37–8; *Ballantyne's Hudson's Bay*, 23, 137–9.

of a ship. The ground floor beneath served as a magazine. Within the pickets were erected houses according to necessity, store and dwelling being most conspicuous.

I will elucidate further by describing briefly a few individual establishments in various localities.

Later, Fort Garry, on the Assiniboine, was built, and became the Hudson's Bay Company's head-quarters in British America. There high stone walls, with round towers pierced for cannon at the corners, enclosed a square wherein were substantial wooden buildings, among which were storehouses, dwellings, the governor's residence, and the jail. Stone Fort, some distance below on Red River, enclosed about four acres, with numerous buildings.[5]

When Pontiac attempted to surprise Detroit, the place consisted of a stockade of round piles, with a lining of palisades, and bastions mounting a few small cannon. Here in 1767 were about one hundred houses, and the garrison in time of peace consisted of some two hundred men. Michilimackinac, when Pontiac's warriors drove their ball over the stockade as an excuse to rush in after it and so seize the fort, was similarly constructed and defended.[6]

Fort William, on Lake Superior, the famous emporium and interior head-quarters of the Northwest Company, might almost be called a palisaded village. A stockade fifteen feet high, with a tower overlooking, surrounded a spacious square in which was a great variety of buildings. First, standing five feet from the ground, in the middle of the square, was the council-house and caravansary, a large wooden building, called elegant in those days, containing a dining-hall sixty by thirty feet, on the wall of which were hung the portraits of partners and other paintings, with the apartments of the principal agents and stew-

[5] Cornwallis, *New El Dorado*, 62, quotes literally from Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay*, 101; see also *Hinds' Nar.*, i. 124–32; *Milton and Cheadle's North West Passage*, 36 et seq.; *Palliser's Papers*, and *Further Papers*, passim.

[6] *Carver's Travels*, 19; *Parkman's Pontiac*, i. 322.

ard at one end, and basement for kitchen and servants, rooms. Across the entire front was a piazza, surmounted by a balcony. Two buildings, of equal base but less in height, stood one on either side of the company's great house, containing bedrooms divided by a corridor running their entire length, one building being for the use of the wintering partners and the other for apprenticed clerks. In other parts of the square, all conveniently arranged, and with due deference to place and dignity, were lodging-houses for the men, warehouses, a counting-house, doctor's office, powder magazine, and jail. Besides these, on one side of the enclosure was a range of buildings, serving as stores and workshops, where dry goods, groceries, and liquors were sold at retail, where men were equipped and boats mended. Outside the fort was a ship-yard, kitchen garden, corn and potato fields, and pastures and pens for cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry.[7]

Fort Edmonton, the chief establishment of the Saskatchewan district, and the residence of the chief factor, was in form hexagonal, with pickets, battlemented gateways, and bastions. There were the usual buildings, including carpenter shop, blacksmith's forge, and windmill. Here were made and repaired boats, carts, sleighs, harness, and other articles and appliances for the annual voyage to York Factory, and for traffic between posts. There was likewise here a large and successful farm, where wheat, barley, and vegetables were raised in abundance.[8]

Fort Franklin, on the shore of Great Bear Lake, was a rough pine log-hut, containing a single apartment eighteen by twenty feet. It was roofed with sticks and moss, and the interstices between the logs were filled with mud.[9]

No fortress of stone or brick was ever erected by a fur company on the Pacific coast, but some of those

[7] *Franchere's Nar.*, 339–40; *Cox's Col. River*, ii. 290–1.

[8] *Grant's Ocean to Ocean*, 170–2; *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 18; *Milton and Cheadle's North West Passage*, 184.

[9] *Hooper's Tuski*, 305–6.

of wood here built were exceedingly substantial. The first, that of Astoria, was not one of the best. Clearing the dense forest from the spot selected, the logs were hewn and erected into two parallel rows of houses, covered and roofed with cedar bark, and consisting of stores, shops, and dwellings, one hundred and twenty feet long, and ninety feet apart. Across the front and rear were placed picketed slabs, and the doors of the houses all opened into the enclosure thus made.

Fort Vancouver, the metropolitan establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific between the years 1825 when it was begun, and 1847 when the head-quarters of the company were removed to Victoria, stood on the north side of the Columbia River, six miles above the eastern mouth of the Willamette. It was at first located on the fir-skirted brow of a gently sloping prairie, about one mile from the river, but this distance proving an obstacle to transport and communication, it was moved a few years afterward to within one quarter of a mile of the stream.

The plan presented the usual parallelogram, though much larger than common, of about seven hundred and fifty feet in length and five hundred in breadth, enclosed by an upright picket wall of large and closely fitted beams, over twenty feet in height, secured by buttresses on the inside.[10]

The interior was divided into two courts with about forty buildings, all of wood except the powder magazine, which was constructed of brick and stone. In the centre, facing the main entrance, stood the governor's residence, with the dining-room, smoking-room, and public sitting-room, or bachelors' hall, the latter serving also for a museum of Indian relics and other curiosities. Single men, clerks, and others made

[10] In *Wilkes' Nar. of the U. S. Ex. Exped.* it is stated that no bastions, galleries, or loop-holes existed, but Dunn gives the fort four bastions, each with two twelve-pounders, while Evans and Victor mention two and one bastions respectively.

the bachelors' hall their place of resort. Strangers were sent there; it was the rendezvous for pastime and gossip. To these rooms artisans and servants were not admitted. The residence was the only two-story house in the fort, and before its door frowned two old mounted eighteen-pounders. The quarters of the chief factor were provided in like manner with two swivel-guns. A prominent position was also occupied by the Roman Catholic chapel, to which the majority of the occupants resorted, while the smaller congregation of Episcopalians made use of the dining-room for religious gatherings. The other buildings consisted of dwellings for officers and men, school, warehouses, retail stores, and artisans' shops of all descriptions. The interior of the dwellings exhibited as a rule an unpainted pine-board panel, with bunks for bedsteads, and a few other simple pieces of furniture.

A short distance from the fort, on the bank of the river, lay a village of about sixty neat and well built houses, for the married mechanics and servants, built in rows so as to form streets. There were also the hospital, boat house and salmon house, and near by were barns, threshing mills, granaries, and dairy buildings.

The plain round the fort, and along the river to Calapooya Creek for about nine square miles, was occupied by a well managed farm, fenced into grain-fields, pastures, and gardens, the latter quite renowned for their large variety and fine specimens of plants. Fully fifteen hundred acres were under cultivation, while the live-stock numbered, at the time of Wilkes' visit, about three thousand head of cattle, twenty-five hundred sheep, and three hundred brood mares. On the dairy farm were upward of one hundred cows, and a still greater number supplied the dairy on Wapato Island, the produce being chiefly absorbed by the Russian colonies in the north. About six miles up the Columbia lay a grist-mill and a saw-mill

driven by water power, from which the Sandwich Islands received considerable supplies.[11]

A post of somewhat different construction from the rest on the Pacific coast, and built with a particular view to strength, was Fort Walla Walla, originally called Fort Nez Percé, which owed its establishment to the attack of Indians at this place on Ogden's party of fur-traders in about 1818. The attack was repelled, but the necessity of a post for retreat became apparent in case of future hostilities. Timber was accordingly brought to the spot over a great distance, and a picket enclosure two hundred feet square erected on the east bank of the Columbia River, on a promontory about three quarters of a mile north of the Walla Walla. The wall was formed of sawed timber twenty feet long, two feet and a half wide, and six inches thick, presenting a smooth face surmounted by a balustrade four feet in height, with ramparts and loop-holes, and provided all round the inside with a gallery five feet in width. At each angle was a reservoir with a capacity of two hundred gallons of water, for protection against incendiarism. Within the wall were stores, and dwellings for servants, and in the centre another enclosure twelve feet in height, with port-holes and slip-doors, a fort within a fort. Besides the outer gate, moved by a pulley, the entrance was guarded by double doors, and for further security the natives were not admitted within the picket, but carried on their trade through a small opening in the wall, which was protected by an iron door. The war material consisted of four pieces of ordnance of from one to three pounds, ten swivel-guns, and a supply of muskets, pikes, and hand-grenades.

[11] *Wilkes' Nar. of the U. S. Ex. Exped.*, iv. 349–60; v. 128–9; *Dunn's Or. Ter.*, 141–8; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 185–6; *Victor's River of the West*, 25; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, 148, 168–70, 184–6; *Townsend's Nar.*, 170; *Tolmie's Journal*, MS., *Finlayson's Vancouver Island and Northwest Coast*, MS., 31. Parrish, *Ind. Anecdotes*, MS., says there were eight or ten extra rooms; that at one time there were half a dozen missionary families at the fort, and each had a room to itself. There was also a ladies' parlor.

Despite the precautions taken fire obtained the mastery, and at the rebuilding adobe took the place of timber.

The later Fort Walla Walla was a military establishment, erected in 1857, one mile and a half west of the town of Walla Walla.[12]

Fort Rupert, on the north-east coast of Vancouver Island, was quite an affair. For a stockade pine trees were sunk into the ground and tied together on the inside with beams. Round the interior ran a gallery, and at two opposite corners were flanking bastions mounting four nine-pounders. Within were the usual shops and buildings, while smaller stockades protected the garden and out-houses.[13]

Nathaniel Wyeth's log-house, placed upon Wapato, now Sauvé Island, in 1834–5, was dignified by the name of Fort William. Fort Hall, which he had built on his way out, though hastily erected and with few tools, was a singularly good stockade. The buildings and stockade of some establishments were constructed of drift-wood, with usually two bastions, and round the inside a gallery. Fort Yukon, the most remote post of the Hudson's Bay Company, and beyond the Alaskan line, seemed to the traveller to contrast favorably with the less pretentious and more filthy Russian establishments. Smooth floors, open fireplaces, glazed windows, and plastered walls, belonging to commodious dwellings of officers and men, with ice and meat wells, fur room, and fur press, were not often encountered in those parts.[14]

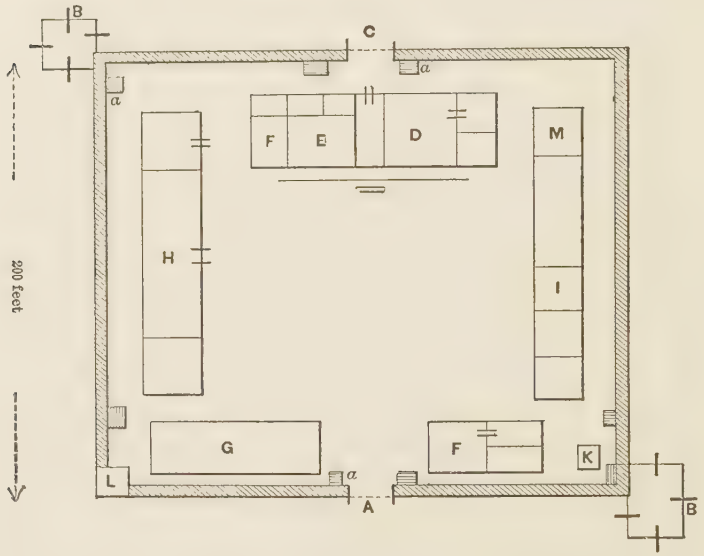
Fort Victoria enclosed one hundred yards square in cedar pickets twenty feet high. At the north-east and south-west corners were octagonal bastions mounted with six six-pounders. It was founded in June 1843 as a trading-post and depôt for whalers, but after the treaty of 1846, by which the United States obtained

[12] *Ross' Fur Hunters*, i. 172–84, 214–17; *Wilkes' Nar. of the U. S. Ex. Exped.*, iv. 417–18; *Kane's Wanderings*, 271–2; *Owens' Directory*, 125–6.

[13] *Barrett-Lennard's Trav.*, 67–8.

[14] *Whymper's Alaska*, 253.

possession of the Oregon Territory, the head-quarters of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific coast were transferred from Fort Vancouver to this post. By this time it had more than three hundred acres under cultivation and possessed a large dairy farm, from which the Russian colonies in Alaska received supplies. The site was chosen by Governor Douglas




GROUND PLAN OF FORT SIMPSON, BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1859–66; AFTER A SKETCH BY P. N. COMPTON, VICTORIA, 1878.

A, Front Entrance.
B, B, Bastions, 4 guns.
C, Back Entrance.
D, Commanding Officer's Quarters.
E, Mess Room.
F, F, Officers' Quarters.
G, Trade Shop.
H, Warehouse.
I, Men's Houses.
K, Blacksmith Shop.
L, Carpenter Shop.
M, Kitchen.

a, a, a, a, Gallery along the inside of the picket wall, reached by staircases, affording separate entrance to upper story of bastions.

on the east shore of Victoria Harbor, one mile from its entrance, and the men and material were obtained from the lately abandoned forts McLoughlin and Simpson. The original name was Fort Camosun, an Indian term for the inlet, which was changed in 1845 to Fort Albert, by order from England, and in the

following year to Fort Victoria. It consisted of cedar pickets eighteen feet above ground, enclosing a space one hundred and fifty feet square. At the angles were two block-houses on bastions, and within the enclosure the usual wooden buildings.

As the several posts upon the Pacific slope will be fully mentioned in the order of their establishment I pass on without further comment here.[15]

There was a custom prevalent among the fur companies of the United States of appointing a rendezvous at places central and convenient where traders every year might meet the trappers of the respective districts without the trouble of building forts and keeping up expensive establishments through the year. Rendezvous were appointed for different places and seasons, according to the variations of traffic. The most noted summer rendezvous was in what is now the north-east corner of Utah, on Green River, sometimes on Ham Branch, where Bonneville, Kit Carson, and others famous in fur-hunting annals met Nez Percés, Bannocks, Shoshones, French Canadians, and half-breeds, and traded and caroused. What a commingling of heaven, earth, and bedlam was there! On the soft, sun-tinctured, mountain air rang in hellish harmony the united sound of whooping savages, baying wolf-dogs, howling half-breeds, cracking rifles and carbines, with the *sacré* and *fichtre* of Frenchmen, and the deeper and yet more awful blasphemy of English-speaking border men. These dying down at intervals, there was the milder but not more exalted refrain of hiccoughing traders and licentious love-makers. The rendezvous to the United States trappers and traders was what Fort William was to the Northwest Company, only in the former instance obstreperous mirth was not placed in circumscription and confine as under rigid corporation rule. All were free to eat, drink, and

[15] *Finlayson's Vancouver Island*, MS., 21–6, 32; *Seeman's Voy. Herald*, i. 101–6; *Kane's Wanderings*, 208–9; *Vavasour's Report*, in *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 34.

kill *ad libitum*, each guarding his own head. Free trappers and Indians there brought their furs and exchanged them for such articles as they required; hired trappers brought in their catch and received their year's pay. Employers and employed, agents and rovers there met, and as it was usually during the months of July and August, when the fur of the beaver was of least value; and as many of them since the last meeting had not beheld the face or heard the voice of a white man, and as they had endured many hardships and had gone long without the assistance of exhilarating drink, they met determined by way of compensation to unite with business as much pleasure as possible. Nor were they wanting in any of the three great gratifiers of sensual man's three great passions, intoxicating drink, woman, and tobacco. The first and the last the traders took care to provide, selling the vilest quality at exorbitant prices, four dollars a pint for well watered strychnine whiskey being a common price, and tobacco five dollars a pound; for the other, there was no lack of forest beauties, who came without bidding, and who were not backward in becoming the wives of the lordly, long-haired trappers, forever or for a day. Thus there was no end of trafficking, gambling, horse-racing, dancing, courting, and fighting.

And this to nine tenths of them was their whole earthly compensation, for but few of them ever returned to home or friends. If not bound by debt to some trader or company, the free trapper was bound by iron chains to his own infinitely worse than brutal passions. What a beautiful example our civilization, with its proud progression, its high and holy religion, its arts and soaring intellect, here set before these men of nature!

There were favorite wintering-grounds in the bend of the Yellowstone, and on other affluents of the Missouri, the spot usually selected being one where the climate was comparatively mild, and where grass and game abounded.

Fort life, although in the heart of a wilderness and surrounded by savages and wild beasts, was usually a tame affair. There was a vast difference, however, in different posts in this regard. The discipline and pomp at Fort Vancouver, with its frequent visitors, its comfortable beds, and well loaded tables, was in marked contrast to the primitive simplicity displayed at the little log cabin at Shushwaps with its solitary occupant. Unhappy the clerk condemned for the winter to distant exile! But change was frequent, so that one was not kept wholly away from companionable friends long at a time.

The larger establishments were models of convenience and good order. Bells were rung at dawn for the workmen to begin their labors, at eight or nine for breakfast, at one for dinner, and at six for supper, when work closed. The officers and laborers had separate tables, the latter at some establishments drawing rations from the steward, as in the army. Business was the sole object of all, and all were busy. Sometimes a distant post-keeper would be caught with nothing to do for the winter, which made time hang heavily enough.

An important arrival, such as a squadron of richly laden canoes from a distance with chiefs, warriors, wives, and slaves, called for corresponding state on the part of the governor of the fort; otherwise the august savage would deem himself slighted. On such occasions audience would sometimes be held under an awning spread outside the fort or on mats laid under the trees, when, after silent conference and grave smoking, speeches were made and presents exchanged, after which trade was opened, and an encounter of savage and civilized wit followed.

For ordinary business each fort had its trading-room or store where goods were kept and dispensed. Usually but few Indians were admitted within the walls of the fort at a time. The factory gates were always to be kept shut, and it was the business of one

person to scrutinize every one who entered or went out, as well as to guard against surprise or illicit traffic. When duties were not pressing, holidays were frequent. Besides Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays were sometimes set apart as days of leisure, but this was not often the case. Sunday was commonly respected at all the forts, no work but that of necessity being done on that day. Religious services were held at the chief stations, the Church of England ritual predominating; or if Catholics were present, as there were many among the French Canadians, their faith was respected; and if a priest was present, mass would be celebrated. It was customary among the western forts to give as a half-holiday Saturday afternoons, when shooting and games were indulged in.

In camp, fort, or rendezvous, story-telling was greatly in vogue. Sailors never yet spun such yarns. Everything tended to promote these wonderful revelations. The long intervals which elapsed between meetings, the dangers by which they were surrounded, and which they were continually escaping, the impossibility of practically testing the veracity of the narrator, the craving of the company for accounts of the marvellous, all stimulated to exaggeration; and by a natural reflex law nothing so stimulated the trapper to reckless deeds as his recital of real or imaginary exploits, and the accompanying eulogy of his companions. For praise or fame the trapper would dare anything.

In his graphic pictures of border life and adventure, Irving seems to accept the wildest freaks of fancy and to retail them as sober reality. And not only this, but their unwritten tales he garnishes to the full power of his imagination. In his hands their soap and water become brilliant bubbles, which the authors themselves would scarcely recognize as their own. Many of the stories told in *Astoria* and *Bonneville's Adventures* I have seen in narrations printed before Irving's works were written. Often the same exciting

tale is related as original, with himself as the hero, by two or three different persons at as many different times. This was a common trick of the day.

One would relate of himself a daring adventure, which two listeners going each his way would make his own at the next camp-fire. And thus a small stock was made to accomplish grand results.

A standard tale is that of a lone hunter who, returning with his game, is chased by three mounted pursuers. Rapidly they gain on him, although he casts aside every burden but his weapons. Escape is impossible. Desperation seizes him. Finally drawing from his belt a long glittering knife, he plunges it into his horse's neck. The noble steed drops dead, while the hunter, making a breastwork of the carcass, drops with his rifle one of his pursuers, and with his pistol another. The third takes warning and vanishes. Catching the two riderless horses and securing them, the triumphant hunter reaches camp in safety with his trophies. Amusements were not frequent; and yet it would be extremely difficult to deprive a Frenchman or an Englishman of them wholly. There were state and church days to be kept, besides incidental periods of merrymaking, such as marriage in high life, a distinguished arrival or departure, and the like. Strange to say, feasting where there was often little to eat, and dancing where there were no ladies, were the chief pastimes. The most substantial joy obtainable was a night of drunkenness, so deep as to leave next day the nerves shaking and the head throbbing by way of remembrance. All this was expected on Christmas and New Year. Then the best was brought out, and eaten and drank, and dancing was kept up by the men until a late hour. On every important occasion, such as the arrival or departure of a governor, or an expedition, or even for lesser causes, a feast was expected.

Intercourse between master and servant, or officer and subordinate, was characterized by the strictest

formality and often sternness. Partners sometimes struck a clerk, but not often; occasionally a clerk would chastise a boatman; a partner or proprietor might beat a common servant to his heart's content without thereby demeaning himself in the eyes of his associates. Like the English or Scotch laborer, the Canadian *habitant* must always remain an inferior. Fort rule was despotic. Every man there was either master or servant absolute. Something below a clerk, but yet not wholly servant, was called, if he found favor, a 'decent young man.' A *bourgeois* was sometimes postmaster and sometimes of lesser consequence.[16]

[16] My authorities for this chapter, in addition to those already cited, are: *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, 8, 25, 39, 43, 47, 53, 56, 66–8, 193–202; *Umfreville's Hudson's Bay*, 6, 65, 81–4, 203; *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 51–3; *Mackenzie's Voy.*, xxv. cxxi.; *Hearne's Journey*, chap. x.; *Hooper's Tuski*, 272, 396–7; *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 333; *Silliman's Journal*, April 1834; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 160–2, 411–13; *A Few Words on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 20; *Victor's River of the West*, 25–8; *Hines' Life*, 189–90, 384–6; *Irving's Astoria*, 511–14, and *Bonneville's Adv.*, 84–6; *Abbott's Kit Carson*, 18, 49; *Townsend's Nar.*, 71–6, 112; *Parker's Tour*, 79–80, 187; *Parkman's Old Régime*, 5, note, 121–2, 303–10, 323–5; *Cox's Adv.*, ii. 55, 271–81; *Carver's Travels*, 112; *Mayne's Brit. Col.*, 116, 124, 184–5, 297–300; *Ballantyne's Hudson's Bay*, 249, 261, 280; *Butler's Wild North Land*, 61, 164, 192, 199, 206, 282, 331; *British North America*, 246, 256–7; *Hines' Ex. Or.*, chaps. vii. xx.; *Dunn's Or.*, chaps. vii. xv.; *Franchere's Nar.*, 320–5; *Kingston's Snow Shoes*, 77, 225; *Horetzy's Canada on the Pacific*, 8; *Dunraven's Great Divide*, 25; *Simpson's Life*, 69; *Dodge's Plains of the Great West; Peters' Kit Carson*, 76; *Hobbs' Wild Life; Hayden's Fur Bearing Animals; Hinds' Ex.*, ii. 89; *Lewis and Clarke's Travels*, 188; *Macfie's Brit. Col.*, 49; *MacDonald's Brit. Col.*, chap. vii; *Kane's Wanderings*, 78; *Milton and Cheadle's North West Passage*, 54–5; *Finlayson's Vancouver Island and North West Coast*, MS., 93–4, 98; *Tache's Sketches*, 143; *Swan's Col. Scraps*, 235; *Gray's Or.*, chap. xv.; *Robinson's Great Fur Land*, 88–105.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## THE UNITED STATES FUR-TRADE.

1605–1855.

Shore of New England—Hollanders on the Hudson—The New Netherlands Company—The Swedish West India Company on the Delaware—Henry Fleet on the Potomac—Comparisons between the Fur Business of Canada and the United States—Percolations through the Alleghanies—The Fur-trade of Natchez—The Ohio Company—Laclède, Maxan, and Company—Auguste and Pierre Chouteau—Inroads from Michilimackinac—St Louis in 1803—Trappers on the Missouri—The Missouri Fur Company—Astor's Projects—The American Fur Company—The Pacific Fur Company—The Southwest Company—The Columbia Fur Company—The North American Fur Company—The Rocky Mountain Fur Company—Sublette, Bridger, Fitzpatrick, and Pierre Chouteau the Younger—James Pursley and the Opening of the Santa Fé Trade—B. Pratte and Company—Bent and St Vrain—Gaunt, Dripps, Blackwell, and Fontenelle—Kit Carson, Pilcher, Bonneville, Walker, and Wyeth—The Rendezvous—The Colorado Basin and California—The China Trade—The California Fur-trade—Jedediah Smith—Pattie.

To Maine and up the Kennebec, where in 1605 George Weymouth was driving fine bargains, and where John Smith during three months of the year 1614 made fifteen hundred pounds profit, we must look for the beginning of the fur-trade in what is now called the United States. For the next hundred years the history of the fur-trade is the history of discovery within this territory. While there were here no all-absorbing and permanent companies such as were found in the north, there were not lacking the usual early monopolies. For a long time thereafter

every one dabbled in furs, and by 1623 from the shores of New England to the metropolis of old England fifty ships a year carried timber, fish, and furs.

Meanwhile the *Half Moon* in 1609 had not been many days at Amsterdam, returned from her strange stumbling into the Hudson, before certain shrewd old Hollanders prevailed upon a portion of the crew to conduct another vessel to this beautiful River of the Mountains, where furs so costly might be had for trinkets so trifling. The venture was eminently successful. Other equally wise and good Amsterdam Dutchmen sent vessels thither, so that in 1614 the placid water was well sprinkled with little high-pooped round-prowed vessels, surrounded by canoes filled with eager fur-sellers. From this time Manhattan Island became the chief depôt on the Atlantic where furs were collected for shipment to Europe. Although adventure was slower in ascending the streams of New England for peltries than in accepting the broader and more fascinating invitation of the St Lawrence, yet following attempted colonization at Newfoundland, which turned upon its cod-fishery, competition finally drove traffic farther and farther into the interior.

The Dutch embraced within the limits of their fur-trading territory not only the Hudson River region, but the coast of New Jersey and southward to Delaware Bay. Adriaen Block, Hendrick Christaensen, and Cornelis Jacobsen May were the great captains of that traffic. Block, having in 1613–14 lost by fire his ship *Tiger*, built on Manhattan Island the yacht *Onrust*, and sailing eastward through Long Island Sound, discovered the Connecticut River, and thence proceeded to Cape Cod. Christaensen built a fort near Albany. May gave his name to a cape in southern New Jersey. Finally, for three years from the 1st of January 1615, a monopoly of trade was given to the New Netherlands Company.

Probably more than at any other time or place

within the territory of the United States, trade, under the monopoly of the New Netherlands Company, whose scouts penetrated far to the westward of Albany, assumed the character of commercial occupation rather than colonization. The Holland Company no more coveted settlement than the Hudson's Bay or the Northwest Company. Their object was to obtain as many furs within the allotted three years as possible. Christaensen, one of the monopolists, was killed, but not until after he had found the Delaware River, which offered the most flattering prospects for traffic in seal-skins, and secured the success of the company.

At the expiration of the term, the New Netherlands Company begged in vain for a renewal of its charter. Although not above commercial colonization, Holland had greater ideas respecting her rich new domain. Commerce must assume state robes and take on nationality. For a few years trade in New Netherlands was free to all. Then in 1621 came the West India Company with a patent for exclusive trade for twenty-two years, during which time its power was as absolute throughout all Dutch America as ever was that of the Hundred Associates in New France. It could garrison forts, make treaties, appoint governors, and dispense justice. Fifty armed vessels awaited its requirements. Five chambers of directors sent nineteen delegates to a central board which regulated affairs. Unfortunately for permanent traffic, it had been stipulated that this powerful corporation should colonize as well as trade, so that game and Indians gradually disappeared.[1]

The Puritans at Plymouth were too busily engaged in other matters to give much attention to fur-trading. They had souls to save, stomachs to fill, and a nation to make; nevertheless they did not altogether disdain the comfortable covering of beasts. In the Boston state-house the cod has been elevated as a symbol of

[1] From 46,000 guilders in 1626 the traffic of the Dutch West India Company increased in a few years to three or four times that sum.

Massachusetts' prosperity. Yet the beaver in truth did for the early settlers better service, though little honor has been officially done this industrious animal. After no small display of ill-tempered piety the Puritans gave some attention to fishing and fur-hunting.

And now with his Swedish West India Company comes Gustavus Adolphus, having cast a covetous eye on the American traffic of his Holland neighbors, and sends to the Delaware under the guidance of Minuit, a renegade director of the New Amsterdam Company, his fur-gatherers, who in 1638 built Fort Christina near the present site of Wilmington. Though warned in loud terms against intrusion, the Swedes, after strongly fortifying themselves, load ships with furs and send them home. So New Sweden prospers and the Dutch fur-trade is gradually lessened.

The Virginian colonists meanwhile devoted themselves chiefly to the cultivation of tobacco; this, and a burning desire to exterminate the natives who in 1622 had broken out in retaliating massacres, dissipated all thoughts of trading for furs. Likewise Lord Baltimore and Cecil Calvert, in their colonization of Maryland, were far more intent on permanent settlement than temporary traffic. Yet throughout all this region individual fur-traders and small companies were abroad. In 1634 Calvert ascended the Potomac and found there Henry Fleet, who had for some time past been engaged in profitable peltry-trading, and who dealt in corn as well as in beaver. William Clayborne built a trading-post on Kent Island, and even set up a claim to independent proprietorship. Religion and politics occupied the people of Massachusetts Bay. Penn played, smoked, and chatted with the Indians, buying their lands, and sometimes trafficking with them; yet commerce was not uppermost in his mind. Only in New Netherlands was the spirit of colonization subordinated to that of traffic with the natives.

Between the coast settlers and the neighboring Indians inland arose a series of wars known as the Pequot, King Philip's, the French and Indian war, and others, which kept the country in a ferment unfavorable to traffic; and as emigration pushed westward, European and Indian intercourse was but a repetition of outrages and retaliations. Interwoven in the history of all the middle and so-called western states of the Union, their subjugation and settlement, is more or less traffic with the natives for furs; but nowhere did this trade assume proportions which render its special narration here a matter of interest or profit.

Left to the savages for some twenty years longer by the assassination of La Salle in 1687, the Mississippi Valley was finally placed in communication with New France, and a considerable peltry-trade followed. With the rise of George Law, the advent of the Western Company, the pouring-in of population, white and black, numbering several thousands, and the expenditure in three years by the India Company in Louisiana of twenty-five millions of francs, only tended to hasten the removal of the fur-hunting frontier westward, so that in 1719 we find fur-hunting establishments opening trade on the Red, Arkansas, Platte, and Missouri rivers.

Unlike hyperborean North America, no King Charles ever sold the United States to a commercial company. From the first this territory was consecrated to a higher destiny than the breeding of wild beasts for their skins. The land was for quick colonization; animals, aborigines, forests, everything primeval, must stand aside for that artful beldame civilization. Hence it was that the fur-trade never made so much of a showing south as north of the forty-ninth parallel.[2]

[2] In 1835, while British America sent 4829 bear-skins to England, the United States sent 10,184. But to 2316 beaver sent by the latter, the former shipped 85,933. Colonists were obliged to kill bears out of self-protection; as a commercial speculation trapping beaver was safer and more profitable

Dating from the beginning, whether we consider the colonists of Virginia and New England or the adventurers to Hudson Bay, we are forced to acknowledge that the earlier efforts of the English and Scotch fur-hunters in America compare unfavorably with those of their French rivals. A century or so must elapse before the slow and calculating Anglo-Saxon could securely clutch so large a portion of the planet or achieve what the more mercurial Gaul by his *suaviter in modo* might accomplish in a few years.

Though the powerful Iroquois regarded the English with favor, and introduced them to the traffic of the Algonquin tribes inhabiting the shores of the great lakes, yet when McGregory in 1687 appeared on Lake Huron with a cargo of articles for traffic, his goods were seized and he was imprisoned; and few cared to venture a like experiment. Not until a fort on Lake Ontario was built by order of the New York governor, Burnet, in 1725, and the Pennsylvanians crossed the Alleghanies and opened trade with the natives of Ohio, and others found their way to the wigwams of the Cherokees, did the fur-traffic of the English colonists assume much importance; and even then their results were small as compared with those of the great Scotch and English combinations. Nevertheless there was some fur-traffic within the borders of United States territory during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The most flourishing trading establishment on the Mississippi River in 1721 was that of Natchez. The fur-trade was then the most important business enterprise in that region, but as elsewhere Indian troubles and rapid settlement soon ruined it, or rather drove it westward. Following the revolt of the Natchez in

than fighting bears; hence the difference. This same year British America sent England 71,068 marten, 25,297 mink, 1,147,725 musquash, 17,989 otter, and 322,186 seal, while the United States sent 47,253, 82,950, 23,232, 143, and 2081 respectively. At this time, however, the United States consumed more furs and sent more to China than British America used or sent directly to Asia.

1729, in which two hundred Frenchmen were killed, the Western or India Company surrendered its privileges and became extinct. Bienville's two failures in 1736 and 1740 to punish the Natchez, and the French and Choctaw victories over the English in 1750, tended in no wise to mend matters.

Then at the same time, that is in 1749, came the conflict between French and English frontiersmen in the Ohio Valley, where the Virginians appeared under the name of the Ohio Company and disputed the encroachments of the French fur-gatherers. Christopher Gist, sent from Virginia on an exploring tour down the Ohio by the Ohio Company, returned through Kentucky in 1751. The campaigns of Washington and Braddock followed, all which tended to blot out the possibility of a systematic or permanent fur-trade before its beginning.

Laclède, Maxan, and Company were among the first at New Orleans to associate for the prosecution of a purely fur-hunting business. Their commission, issuing from the director-general of Louisiana, was dated 1762.

The names of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau will ever stand conspicuous in the history of this epoch. In a tour of the Mississippi, made during the winter of 1763–4, with a considerable party they established a trading-post upon the spot where now stands the city of St Louis. The fur business at this point during the following half-century averaged about three hundred thousand dollars per annum.

It was not until several years after the English had obtained possession of Canada that the Montreal fur-trade found regular channels. But about 1767 individual merchants and small companies were again in the field, with Michilimackinac as their western rendezvous. Of late, under the French monopoly and license systems, the sale of intoxicating liquors had been discontinued; but now, under new and yet more

jealous rivalry, this baneful practice was revived, and drunkenness and debauchery grew rank in native villages, while bloody encounters in distant depths of silent wilderness too often stained the commerce of rival traders.

The great interior mart of the Northwest Company was Fort William, as before their day Michilimackinac had been that of the merchants, who there met the wood-rangers with their cargoes from the westward. Later the Mackinaw Company established themselves at the old emporium of Michilimackinac, and there held lordly rule, the country to the south and west claiming their special attention, while the Northwest Company, with still more sovereign sway, from Fort William pushed enterprise to the remotest regions north and west.

The young republic of the United States, in the flush of her late achievement, did not look with favor on an association of British, such as the Mackinaw Company, tampering with her savages and trading within her borders. In 1795, by treaty with Great Britain, colonial restrictions were removed, and direct trade opened between the United States and Canada, but in 1796 the government established posts along the frontier for the protection of her fur-hunters.

There were yet others of race kindred to those who managed the great fur associations of the north ready to stake capital, energy, and life on flattering venture. Up to this time, if we except the early efforts on the Atlantic seaboard, there had been no regularly organized fur-trade in the United States, like that in Canada. Beyond the frontier were scattered white trappers, who with the natives sold such furs as they could gather to the nearest country store-keeper; but the genius of Yankee enterprise had not yet penetrated the forest. There had been much to do at home since the London and Plymouth colonists had assumed nationality—fighting, and after that praying, constitution-making, and farming. It was permanent settle-

ment and progress the new confederation wanted instead of sudden wealth; hence they remained at home, where land was yet plentiful and cheap, built school-houses and meeting-houses, and worked early and late. Further than this, they had been poor, and unable to embark in speculative enterprise requiring great capital; and their credit was none of the best abroad. But with a portion of his earnings the coming American appeared, ready to gamble a little.

Upon the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 St Louis became to the fur-trade of the United States what Michilimackinac, the Grand Portage, and Fort William during their several respective epochs were to that of Canada, the frontier emporium, entrepôt, or post of supply, whither goods were shipped from seaports, and whence expeditions were fitted for the interior.[3]

Like any gold or fur hunting metropolis, St Louis at this time was the centre of rude bustle and business activity. With the original creole population, the descendants of the French colonists, and stray reminders of Spanish domination, were mixed keen, trafficking New Englanders; brawny backwoodsmen of the western frontier; tall, big-boned specimens of the unwashed and untaught corn-bread-and-bacon-fed of Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri; with voyageurs from Canada; half-breeds from the prairies; following their several bents, trading, gambling, fighting, loafing, strutting, swaggering, drinking, swearing, working and playing, laughing and sighing, like other filthy, foul-mouthed, ignorant, and blasphemous assemblages of God's motley mortals.

These men differed from those of the fur-hunting centres where the French and Scotch element prevailed, though like them they possessed a population with habits, dress, and jargon peculiarly its own. The

[3] During the last decade of the eighteenth century the annual fur receipts at St Louis exceeded $200,000 in value, and consisted of about 40,000 pounds of beaver, 8000 otter, 5000 bear, 150,000 deer, and a few hundred buffalo-robes.

fur-trade here being less lucrative and more divided than in Canada after the Montreal amalgamation, there was little of that audacious dash about it found at the north. It was not only motley but mongrel in its character, lacking almost entirely those feudal elements which, however opposed to settlement, gave to fur-hunting fraternities at once better servants and better masters.

The fact is, fur-trading was not long the chief occupation in St Louis, and since 1820 it was every year becoming less prominent. The Mississippi boatmen, those lavish, loud-joking, royal American pedlers, were then beginning to practise their pistolings, knife exercises, and card-waxing for the forty years of commercial throat-cutting, highway blackguardism, and unique boat-racing and boiler-bursting which were to follow, and were fast throwing into shade the soiled finery of the still gay and happy voyageur. Bustling shopkeepers, speculators, and sober mechanics so jostled the awkward blanketed native and the leathern-frocked frontiersman that they longed for air and elbow-room, and hastened back to their forests and prairies, making visits less frequent, until they ceased altogether. Even the architecture of the place showed the transition it was undergoing, the open shops and pretentious buildings of brick and stone overshadowing the low dingy dwellings of the Latin race.

After St Louis, the chief point of departure for fur-hunting expeditions was Independence, Missouri, while St Joseph became yet more famous in the overland emigration days of Oregon occupation and California gold.

In fur-trading times, say 1834, Independence consisted of about fifty low-roofed log and adobe houses, thrown up helter-skelter without much regard to streets. The town stood on a height, in a rocky, well timbered country, and about three miles from the landing. Dotting the river bank, or scattered over the plain beyond where emigrant trains often made

their rendezvous, were the grouped tents of those about to take the western plunge. Though somewhat sombre by day, the scene was gay enough at night, when the canvas glowing from the light within illuminated the black air like the radiance of hope behind bronzed and careworn features, making brilliant the foreshadowing of luckless adventure; or if moonlight, then it was the silvered hope of inexperience. If we now approach the place, we shall find that what when softened by distance was but a buzzing strain now assumes more distinct parts, with here a quiet yarn, and there a psalm, and yonder bacchanalian notes interlarded with coarse jests. Look within, and we shall see stores of pork, ham, eggs, corn-bread, butter, tea, coffee, milk, potatoes—soon after starting to be supplanted by deer, prairie-hens, plover, turkeys, buffalo, geese, ducks, and squirrels. The occupants are busy finishing supper, or preparing beds, or mending, or packing, meanwhile keeping up loud laughing conversation. Yet often is seen here beside the trapper or ox-driver the scientist, the preacher, the gambler, at night sleeping perhaps under the same blanket and dreaming of the law of chance. Young men and boys are plentiful and of all grades of intelligence, from him just above the pig he feeds on to that pale, intellectual youth yonder, fresh from mother's blessing and sister's embrace, and whose ears are now drinking in swift damnation as it falls in tender tones from the smooth lips of cunning cutthroat and thief, whose black glistening eyes charm him like those of a serpent.[4]

All along the Missouri in 1804 Lewis and Clarke found Frenchmen and Spaniards living with the natives, having in many respects descended to their level, either for pleasure or profit. There were also then in that vicinity scattered servants of the North-

[4] *Silliman's Journal*, April 1834; *Parkman's Or. and Cal. Trail*, 9–11; *Franchere's Nar.*, 364; *Townsend's Nar.*, 22; *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1867; *Irving's Astoria*, 133; *Monette's Valley Miss.*, ii. 1 et seq.

west Company: Mr McCracken was one, carrying the furs of the Mandans to the company's factory on the Assiniboine River, one hundred and fifty miles distant. Likewise the Hudson Bay people were there. Hence we see besieging in cunning concert these poor unlettered wild men for the skins of their wild beasts, Frenchmen, British, and Spaniards, the loyal Canadian, and the independence men of the Atlantic seaboard—a noble occupation, truly, for the professedly wise, honorable, and high-minded of a superior race and intelligence, squabbling for spoils before these simple-minded savages, emulous only in cheating them of their valuable commodities with tinsel trifles and poisonous drink.

Up to 1814 the British fur-traders of Canada were permitted by the United States to trade with the nations of the Missouri. Particularly the Northwest Company, who had within two years formed an association with the fur-traders of New York, and had opened a British agency at that place, as well as one at New Orleans, and another under the direction of Jacob Mires at St Louis, were rapidly securing the good-will of the natives of the west to the disadvantage of others.[5]

Among the earlier individuals and firms engaged in the fur-trade at St Louis were Spaniards and Frenchmen, each of whom supported his retinue of followers and assistants. Indeed these were first, and at times alone in the business, that is to say, while the country was under the domination of their respective governments. But after our most worshipful uncle had stepped across the Mississippi with measuring line, some of the late resident subjects of European sovereigns, charmed alike by the profits of their busi-

[5] 'As the Missouri forms only one of four large branches of the commerce of this united, or as it is still called, the Northwest Company, they will have it in their power, not only to break down all single adventurers on the Missouri, but in the course of a few years to effect the same thing with a company of merchants of the United States, who might enter into a competition with them in this single branch of their trade.' *Lewis' Observations*, in *Lewis and Clarke's Travels*, ii. app. 446.

ness and the new beneficent rule, remained and continued their traffic, sometimes forming associations with such Anglo-Americans as now came in for the lion's share of the trade; for gradually the moneyed men of Boston and New York began to turn their attention to peltries as a business, and drawing from the northern companies some of their experienced servants, had entered into competition with the old traders. Some fortunes were thus made which led to bolder endeavor.

Thus originated the Missouri Fur Company of St Louis. Manuel Lisa, a wealthy and enterprising Spaniard, no less energetic and bold than gentlemanly and honorable, experienced in the trade while yet the country was Spanish, with eleven others, men of his stamp, among whom were some from the eastern states without experience, and with little but their money to recommend them, formed a copartnership under the name last mentioned, with a capital of forty thousand dollars. It was the expectation of the partners thus associating to monopolize the St Louis fur-trade. Their special domain was only along the Missouri and Nebraska to their several sources, or any westward United States territory within their reach. Their forts were chiefly among the Sioux, the Ricaras, the Mandans, and the Blackfoot, though they often encountered the Shoshones of the Rocky Mountains. They employed about two hundred and fifty men, of French, English, Spanish, United States, Canadian, and aboriginal half-breeds.

After establishing trading-posts at all important points on the streams flowing from the north-westward into the Missouri, the Missouri Company penetrated the Rocky Mountains; and one of the partners, Mr Henry, in 1808 crossed the dividing ridge and next year built a fort on a branch of the Lewis River. Owing to the hostility of the natives and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, Mr Henry was obliged to abandon this post in 1810. The Missouri Com-

pany was dissolved in 1812, was continued by a portion of the former partners, and reorganized in 1821, after which it lived but a few years.[6]

Meanwhile John Jacob Astor of New York had been dealing in furs, and had accumulated what was then deemed a little fortune by buying peltries in Canada and the United States, and shipping them to London and Canton. Feeling himself sufficiently powerful, with the money and influence he commanded in New York and St Louis, to enter the field against the Mackinaw Company, which foraged within the territory of the United States, he in 1809 obtained a charter from the New York legislature for the American Fur Company, which he incorporated with a capital of a million of dollars.[7]

But Mr Astor was not so strong as he had supposed. The St Louis merchants preferred managing their own affairs, where so much more depended on experience and skill than on theory and capital, and on the same principle the Mackinaw Company, with their posts already established and their business under perfect control, found no difficulty in defeating Astor's effort at every turn.

Pregnant with purposes of wealth and power, Astor's mind now labored with a great conception. Why not have in the United States a Hudson's Bay Company, a Northwest Company, or a Mackinaw Company? Why not have the whole combined, with a cordon or two, linking the Atlantic and the Pacific; and whom would it so please to constitute such a company as Mr Astor? On the almost unoccupied western slope he need not confine himself within parallels of latitude, but swell in whatsoever direction the absence of pressure permitted.

[6] *Allen*, in *De Bow's Indust. Res.*, iii. 516–17; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 291–2; *Twiss' Or. Question*, 16; *Irving's Astoria*, 133–4; *Coyner's Lost Trappers*, 234.

[7] Schoolcraft, *Per. Mem.*, 485, affirms that the American Company was founded in 1815, into which error he falls, probably, from the fact that the organization was incorporated by the legislature of New York the year following.

To this end in 1810 he instituted the Pacific Fur Company, with its emporium, Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River. With liberal use of money, and the assistance of the disaffected of the Canadian companies, Mr Astor hoped to establish a line of posts across the Rocky Mountains, within United States territory, and so become the great fur monopolist of that section, and as great a man as any Frobisher, McGillivray, or Fraser.

This scheme he attempted. Nor was this enough. Unable to drive out the Mackinaw Company, in 1811 he bought them off and merged that interest with his American Company into a new association, which he called, in imitation of the Montreal merchants, the Southwest Company. By the war of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States this organization was broken up. After the war British fur-traders were prohibited by congress from carrying on their business within the territory of the United States, so that Mr Astor found himself with no more advantages than others; yet he continued the American Company.

At last in 1816 congress boldly declared that neither British traders nor British capital would be tolerated in United States territory. To no British subject would be given license to trade, and for the proper conduct of their subordinates the American traders would be held responsible.[8]

No sooner was this piece of legislative strategy accomplished than Astor, ever on the alert, went immediately to Montreal, and bought almost at his own price for his American Company all British posts within the limits of the United States. To supply the places of such officers and servants of the British companies as refused to enlist under him, he

[8] 'This law seemed to bear particularly on this section of country south of Lake Superior, and is generally understood to have been passed to throw the old Northwest Company, and other British traders, trading on their own account, out of this hitherto very lucrative branch of trade.' *Schoolcraft's Per. Mem.*, 116.

sent to Vermont and elsewhere and engaged young men, in whose names he took out licenses to trade.

By the union of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies in 1821 many of the servants of both associations were thrown out of employment, some of whom directed their attention toward the United States. Of these was formed the Columbia Fur Company, which extended its operations eastward to the Missouri, Yellowstone, and Mississippi, and which in 1826 transferred its interests to the North American Fur Company, a new organization of the American Company made in 1823 by Astor in connection with W. H. Ashley.

This same year of 1826 Messrs Smith, Jackson, and Sublette formed at St Louis the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, having bought Ashley's establishments and interests. They carried on a successful trade with the Columbia countries, explored the whole region from St Louis to Santa Fé, and on to San Francisco, thence along the ocean to the Columbia, and back into the Blackfoot and Sioux territories, making the first expedition with wagons to the Rocky Mountains in 1829. It was a grand sweep of continent that they encircled, more than they could by any means occupy.

In 1830 the company was transferred to a new partnership, composed of Milton Sublette, James Bridger, Fitzpatrick, and others, with whom W. Sublette maintained business relations and exerted a certain control. Jedediah Smith, on the other hand, turned his attention to the Santa Fé trade, and was killed on the Cimarron River in the following year. Immediately after the transfer the firm increased their force to nearly four hundred men, with a view to carry out the vast plans of their predecessors, and in this they appear to have fairly succeeded. In order to avoid injurious rivalry with the North American Company, they agreed to confine themselves to certain districts in the Missouri region. This agreement existed for

two years, after which they reunited under the management of Pierre Chouteau junior, who had succeeded to the business of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, and had in 1834 purchased the western interests of Astor. In 1839 this vast concern merged into the firm of P. Chouteau junior, which controlled nearly all the United States fur business east of the Rocky Mountains, as well as the Santa Fé trade.[9]

The opening of the Santa Fé route is connected with the name of James Pursley, who leaving St Louis in 1802 on a hunting expedition found his way to New Mexico. A regular trade sprang up soon after, and within three decades it afforded an outlet for half a million dollars' worth of United States effects. The return was chiefly in coin, but a part consisted of furs, which were brought to the frontier or into Santa Fé from surrounding districts, including Arizona and the Arkansas waters. Trapping within the Mexican territory was permitted only to settlers under license, but these were often bought by Americans, who carried on the business with more enterprise and skill, and resorted besides to smuggling. Taos as well as Santa Fé became the rendezvous of trappers from Arkansas and the Colorado region.[10]

Among the minor fur-traders who had appeared in the field were B. Pratte and Company, under which firm the individual traders of St Louis united in 1825, but only for a few years; Bent and Company, who afterward under the firm of Bent and St Vrain became the chief competitors of P. Chouteau junior; Captain Gaunt, who trapped between New Park and Laramie Plains about 1831; Bridger, called the Blanket Chief, who raised a monument to his name in Fort Bridger; Dripps, Blackwell, and Fontenelle

[9] *Hines' Ex. Or.*, 408–10; *Gray's Or.*, 38; *De Bow's Indust. Res.*, iii. 516–17; *Ebbetts' Trapper's Life*, MS., 2; *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 2; *Victor's River of the West*, 34–39; *Matthieu's Refugee*, MS., 3–5; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 342–3; *Peters' Kit Carson*, 116–31.

[10] About 1827 a large capture of otter-skins was made under circumstances which resulted in the loss of several lives. *Escudero*, in *Pino, N. Mex.*, 70; *Barreiro, Ojeada*, 18–19; *Gregg's Com. Prairies*, i. 17–18, 307.

who committed suicide in 1837, were all well known names among the Rocky Mountain trappers.

Other leaders of note were Robert Campbell, Trapp, Jervais, and Van Dusen. But the ideal trapper and mountaineer is perhaps best represented by Kit Carson, renowned not only as a trapper and Indian-fighter, but for his services to the government in New Mexico and California, particularly as guide to Frémont, the Pathfinder, and to other transcontinental leaders. Another like him was Jo Meek, who afterward figured in the legislature of Oregon, and was honored by that country in 1847 with a commission to the government at Washington. James P. Beckwourth again attained, in the midst of his trapping career, to distinctions of a different order, to the chieftainship of the Crow nation, whose admiration had been won by his mulatto hue, his keen mind, and his undoubted bravery. He settled afterward in California.[11]

Bill Williams, on the other hand, distinguished himself as an explorer of the Colorado basin, and left there a record of his services in the river which bears his name. Of the special trading expeditions directed to the Pacific slope was that of Major Pilcher, which in 1827 penetrated to the Colorado, trapped thence northward as far as Fort Colville, and after an absence of two years returned to the United States by way of the Athabasca, after suffering severely from famine and hostile Indians. A more notable venture was made in 1832 by Captain Bonneville, who led a force of one hundred and ten men into Utah, Nevada, and Oregon, sending also a division under Walker to California. Full accounts of the expeditions into the territories of the Northwest will be given hereafter. Want of experience made him commit many errors, which, added to the strong rivalry encountered from

[11] The deeds of these three men have been regarded as so extraordinary and interesting as to deserve special biographic volumes, as *Bonner's Life of Beckwourth*, *Peters' Kit Carson*, and *Victor's River of the West*, the last founded on Meek's adventures.

the thoroughly established Hudson's Bay Company and the well organized American companies, could not fail to entail discouraging results. Recognizing the futility of the struggle, he retired in 1834 to the east side of the Rocky Mountains and established a post on Powder River, where he courted fortune for a while longer. Equally unsuccessful were the attempts made at the same time under Captain Wyeth to establish an opposition to the old companies. After losing three fourths of his large forces, he was obliged to sell his fort on Snake River to the Hudson's Bay Company and to seek other fields for his enterprise.[12]

These expeditions, although failures financially, were of great value in spreading a knowledge of the country and calling the attention of the old states to the value of its resources. Ignorance of the western region, and want of time and patience in acquiring a knowledge of the trapping business, were as powerful obstructions to success as the rivalry of the older companies with their large means. The reliance on raw recruits was to a certain extent compulsory, for the experienced trappers were too jealous of intruders to readily tender them their services. Yet disengaged trappers were numerous enough in the mountains, kept there by a reckless extravagance which deprived them of the means to seek other fields, or by the charm of the rough and independent mountain life, which had, besides, unfitted them for settled pursuits. They were always to be found in force at the annual rendezvous appointed by the larger companies. This was usually near the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, as the most central point of reunion for parties from both slopes of the continent, and sometimes on Wind River, but usually at the junction of

[12] *Townsend's Nar.*, passim; *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, passim; *Victor's River of the West*, passim; *Silliman's Journal*, January 1834; *Hines' Voy.*, 411-12; *Id., Or.*, 10–11; *Anderson's Hist. Northwest Coast*, MS., 121–2; *American State Papers*, xi.; *Hunt's Mer. Mag.*, iii. 197 204; *Twiss' Or. Quest.*, 274–5; *Gray's Or.*, 38; *Peters' Kit Carson*, 52; *Perkins' An. West*, 807; *Parker's Ex. Tour*, 187; *Boller's Among the Indians*, 18–19.

Horse Creek with Green River. The gathering was as motley in character as it was numerous, rising at times into the thousands, and embracing every class and race. The Indian was represented in all stages, from the degraded, root-eating, naked Bannock, with humble yet cunning mien, to the chivalrous Nez Percé in gaudy trappings, dashing to and fro on caparisoned steed amidst wild yells and apparently insane gesticulations. The half-breed was there, the connecting link between Indian and white man, despised by the one for his blood, admired by the other for his superior intelligence and appearance. His purer confrère, the Mexican, flitted about in broad-brimmed hat and pantaloneras, and with imposing manner that hardly conformed to the position of drudge usually assigned him at the camp and fort. Superior to these was the half-effeminate, half-hardy voyageur of French extraction, whose worth required the discipline of servitude to become developed, and who, together with the ordinary hired trapper, formed the rank and file of the trading parties. The most prominent man, however, was the free trapper, independent of all save his horse and rifle, delighting alike in braving the elements and in thwarting the redskin, whom he surpassed both as warrior, hunter, and horseman, yet whose appearance and habits he often took a pride in affecting.

The life of these men, happy as it has been painted, seems to have been a perpetual warfare with one foe or another, yet, perhaps for that very reason, all the more attractive. Between the years 1825 and 1830 two fifths of the fur-hunters were killed by Indians, famine, cold, wild beasts, and accidents, and Captain Wyeth is said to have brought back less than a fourth of the two hundred men whom he took westward. Their relaxations were few. They would squat by the camp-fire at night and join in a round of yarns, wherein mishaps, toil, and danger served only to create amusement, for squeamish sympathy was banished,

and admiration accorded purely to successful exploits. These gatherings were usually reserved for the winter, which was spent in some spot endowed with abundant grass, wood, and game. A favorite wintering-ground was in the bend of the Yellowstone River, which enjoyed a milder climate than any accessible district to the south. With a life so devoid of recognized enjoyments, it may be readily understood that the novelty of a rendezvous must prove exceedingly attractive to the hunters. It was their Olympia, with Dionysius enthroned; it was the fair of the wilderness, with tents instead of booths; it was the tournament of the prairies, with naked Indians and rude frontiersmen in lieu of knights and ladies. Noise and confusion reigned, drunkenness and rioting, yelling and swearing, baying of dogs and tramping of horses, whizzing of arrows and cracking of rifles. Employés and employers, traders and hangers-on, found it both a pleasure and a necessity to attend; to which the Indian brought his squaw and pappoose, the hunter his half-breed family. Accounts had to be settled, and furred capital exchanged for gaudy fabrics and subtile luxuries. Extravagant and depraved habits were pandered to; also vain emulation. With whiskey at three dollars a pint, and gunpowder at six, with tobacco at five dollars a pound, and fancy articles at fancy prices, it is not surprising that capital was soon exhausted and even prospective earnings absorbed, while one more link was welded in the chain of bondage.

The respite from toil was not long, for the fur companies vied with one another to first gain the rendezvous, with a view to secure the best chances for sale, and to contract for the trappers' services or fur yield, and also to be the first to secure the richest fur district. If the expedition was to be directed to the country of the Blackfoot, a larger force than ordinary was required to intimidate the blood-thirsty savages; elsewhere a small party sufficed, for instance on southern and Snake expeditions, the former embrac-

ing the Colorado basin and California, and the latter Idaho. Once in the field, the companies strained every effort to discover the value of hunting-grounds in the possession of rivals, and to profit thereby. This led to stealthy pursuits on the one side and to clever baffling on the other, resulting in loss of time to both.[13]

After Captain Wyeth's withdrawal, expeditions to the Pacific slope became less frequent among American trappers, for the immediate region, particularly south of the Oregon line, was no longer rich enough to tempt enterprise. California was distant, and the country to the north had a jealous guardian in the Hudson's Bay Company. The eastern slope, however, still enjoyed their favor, and the main stream and tributaries of the Missouri were lined with the forts of Astor's successor. Their steamer, which ascended to Fort Union as early as 1832, made annual trips with supplies, and shortened the cordelle to the Blackfoot station to seven hundred miles. In 1859 a small stern-wheel boat approached to within a few miles of the great falls of the river, and it was not till 1864 that any other than the fur company's steamers were seen on the upper Missouri. Opposition was not wanting, but in 1860 the company made a final effort to once again secure the monopoly by purchasing the rival forts. A part of the trade was obtained from the Red River settlers, who since 1849 becoming more independent of the Hudson's Bay Company, boldly smuggled skins across the frontier if their demands were not granted.

The furs found their way, for all that, to the great emporium of England, for Astor's schemes resulted only in making New York the centre of the United States trade, and with the exception of a few ship-

[13] Jo Meek relates that the American Fur Company so exasperated the Rocky Mountain Company by their steady pursuit that the latter planned expeditions for the mere purpose of leading their rivals into the midst of the cruel Blackfoot. The result was that the American Company lost their leader and one or two men. *Victor's River of the West*, 130–2. So intense was the rivalry at this period that it was a matter of death for the trapper to sell furs to any other company than the one he had contracted with.

ments to neighboring states, Mexico, Hamburg, and Canton, her surplus stock had to be sent to London. A large part of this consisted of buffalo-robes, the yield of which had during the fourth decade of the century reached the number of ninety thousand per annum. The few consignments from abroad were merely for domestic use; South America sending seal, nutria, vicuña, and deer skins, and Europe the dressed furs of the squirrel, genet, fitch, and other animals.

In the earlier stages of the fur-trade in the United States, her merchants had been obliged to go to London for Canada furs, because England's colonies could send their products only to England. This at that time had well nigh prevented extensive operations in the United States, for all large supplies of furs must come from Canada, and before they could be shipped to China, then the best market in the world for fine furs, they had to be sent to England. But when some ten years after the organization of the Northwest Company these restrictions were removed, and by the treaty of 1795 with Great Britain direct dealings were opened between Canada and the United States, the merchants of New York and Boston found themselves possessed of decided advantages, as they might then ship direct to China, and save the voyage to England.

Seventeen thousand dollars was considered sufficient for the outfit of a Boston vessel, and the cargo consisted principally of tin and iron, hollow-ware, brass kettles, wire, beads, lead, knives, nails, small looking-glasses, bar iron, hatchets, guns, powder, flints, rum, and molasses. Prior to 1830 New Englanders traded few blankets or guns for beaver.[14]

In all the early history of the Northwest Coast

[14] *Boston in the Northwest*, MS., 77; *Tolmie's Journal*, MS.; *Anderson's Northwest Coast*, MS., 91–101; *Hunt's Mer. Mag.*, xii. 50; *Stebbins' Eighty Years' View*, 343; *Raynal, Hist. Phil.*, xii. 557–8.

there is no phase or epoch equal in importance to that of the China fur-trade. The whale-fisheries did little in comparison toward bringing this region into notice. Before the adventurers trading into Hudson Bay had ventured far inland from their swampy shores, or the Montreal merchants had formed the Northwest Company partnership, the Russians, impelled by the growing scarcity of furs in Siberia, had extended their operations to Alaska.

The Russians had enjoyed the benefits of the lucrative China trade some time before it became known to Europe. With a semicircular cordon, the middle linking the Aleutian Archipelago, and one end extending down Alaska and the other Kamchatka, they were not exposed to the dangers and uncertainties of transient voyages, but the whole sweep of icy ocean was theirs to deal out to the Asiatics of lower latitudes as occasion might offer.

The doings of the Russians will be fully treated in another volume. Suffice it to say here that to facilitate their operations a company was incorporated under patronage of the crown with a capital of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. The Russians did a large business with northern China which did not touch Canton, and it was in the northern part of the empire that the consumption was greatest. Canton was in truth but the entrepôt, where furs were received for distribution throughout the empire. Now if by shorter, quicker, and less expensive routes the same results might be accomplished, the advantages were obvious.

Still there was a tempting demand at Canton; and later the Russians were found laboring under a cloud in that quarter. However this might have been, we know that about 1780, a quantity of sea-otter skins sent to China yielded so well, that a stimulus was at once imparted to the traffic of the northern coasts, which afterward concentrated on the seal.

It was not, however, until the return of Captain

James King from the expedition so fatal to Captain Cook, that the high prices at which sea-otter skins were ruling in Canton became generally known in Europe and America. Then it was like finding a new gold-coast. British and American merchants both entered the field, but the latter being less hampered by government protection, grants, and monopolies, possessed greater advantages, and after 1795 outstripped all competitors.

In 1792 there were on the coast engaged in this traffic not less than twenty-five vessels, most of them from Boston. Their method of business was wholly different from that of later periods. It was a kind of ocean peddling. Traders then only touched at different points along the coast, and trafficked with the natives without attempting to penetrate the interior. There were no forts, no resident agents, no wood-rangers or collectors of any kind. The savages knowing where vessels were accustomed to touch, carried thither their furs, and putting out in their canoes to the ship, found temptingly spread upon the deck the things that most delighted their hearts. Many of the natives living on the coast traded the articles thus obtained from the ships with the adjacent inland tribes, and these with those beyond, so that when the first expeditions crossed the Rocky Mountains going westward they found European articles five hundred, and in some instances eight hundred, miles from the coast.

In this manner, going from place to place along the coast, the trading vessels employed the summer. Then as the inclement season approached, they proceeded to the Sandwich Islands, there to winter and cure their furs. The following spring they would return to the American coast, as it was not possible to dispose of their cargo or load their ship with furs in one season. But after two summers' successful traffic they were prepared to sail for China, frequently carrying with them some products of the Islands to complete their cargo. Arriving at China the ship-master would sell

his furs and purchase teas, silks, beads, nankeens, or other articles, and return to Boston after a two or three years' absence. The profits of this trade greatly varied, but we may well believe that they were enormous.[15]

But adventures thither were not always without reverses. In 1792 a wealthy London firm united with the Northwest Company in the shipment of furs to China. For five successive years the experiment was continued, to the ultimate loss of eighty thousand pounds sterling, one half of which was borne by the London firm and one half by the Northwest Company. This loss was attributed by the adventurers not directly to the market or price realized, but to the difficulty of getting home the Chinese goods received in payment for the furs, and converting such returns into money. Great as were the fur companies in the forests of America, they were powerless when competing with the omnipotent East India Company, whose ships then in a measure controlled the trade between China and Great Britain. United States commerce being then free from such a scourge, and from the enormous expenses and restrictions attending monopoly, could send furs from the Pacific coast to China and realize on the returns in New York sometimes within twelve or fifteen months, so that America possessed great advantages over Europe in this trade. To help still further our own Northwest Coast, from 1796 to 1814 the Russians were not permitted to enter Chinese ports, so that the Boston ships which then frequented those waters stood high in advantage above all others.[16]

Another rich field was opening before them on the

[15] 'This casual traffic by coasters yielded to their owners in former days, by means of the returning cargo, an average clear gain of a thousand per cent. every second year.' *Ross' Adv.*, 4.

[16] *Twiss' Or.*, 8; *Ross' Adv.*, 4; *Irving's Astoria*, 32–3; *Mackenzie's Voy.*, xxvi. In the *London Quarterly Review*, October 1816, Archibald Campbell holds to the opinion as expressed by Mackenzie on p. 363 of this volume, whereat Greenhow takes offence, and accuses Campbell of writing in a spirit of the most deadly hatred toward the United States.

lower coast, then in the possession of Spanish Americans, who had neither the enterprise to establish a trade nor the wise government to foster it. True, the fur wealth of the Californias had not been overlooked, for the archives record a shipment in 1786 from San Diego of two thousand dollars' worth of otter-skins, and also that for some time the article had entered into trade in small quantities; but this industry, which under proper management might have been considerably developed, was promptly trammelled by a royal cédula, whereby the whole trade was reserved for the king and his commissioner, Vasadre y Vega, and to him the missionaries were strictly ordered to deliver all skins obtained from the Indians at a low fixed rate.[17] The receipts, as may be supposed, were insignificant, and the monopoly was abandoned by a decree of 1790, but the export of skins was restricted to Mexican ports, and the prices there being low,[18] the settlers preferred to clandestinely give the lion's share to the foreign vessels which now began to appear on the coast. The government neglected to entertain more liberal and enterprising plans to establish a trade, and the people were too indolent to acquire the needful skill and to exert themselves beyond what was demanded by their actual wants, so that the fur-traders found an open field when by increased competition on the northern coast they were obliged to extend their operations southward. The Bostonian O'Cain, of the *Eclipse*, had observed how numerous the sea-otters were on the coast of southern California, and in 1803 he prevailed on the Russian authorities in Alaska to aid

[17] This varied from seven dollars for the best otter-skins to two dollars for the lowest class. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Dept. St. Pap., San Jose*, i. 31–5; *Prov. St. Pap.*, vi. 38–9, passim. 'Prohibiendo absolutamente á todos los de Razon la adquisicion de los pieles de Nutrias.' Governor Fages' Letter, in *Santa Bárbara Arch.*, MS., xii. 3. White men being thus restricted, the Indians were alone relied upon to supply the monopoly, and they had no interest to stimulate them, since the fathers applied the money to mission work.

[18] This is explained by the fact that the Philippine Company had a monopoly of the China trade with the Spanish possessions. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xxi. 218 et seq.

him in exploring this wealth. An expedition was at once sent out, with twenty bidarkas, and resulted so well that the Russians engaged in the venture on a larger scale, and soon on their own account entirely. A few years later found them firmly established at Bodega, with Fort Ross as the centre of the otter and seal fishery operations which were carried on from Oregon to Cape San Lúcas, along the shores of the coast and bays. There they remained with their well known tenacity until 1841, by which time the seals as well as otters were almost exterminated.[19]

The English and Americans, particularly the latter, were equally zealous in the trade,[20] though barter, which was legitimized under republican rule, entered largely into their operations, and afforded quite an acceptable revenue to the inhabitants. Of this the missionaries at first reaped the larger share, but soon they as well as the Mexican settlers were displaced by the more enterprising foreigners, who entered into the country and became naturalized in order to engage in the fishery.[21] That foreign vessels should carry away this wealth without leaving a commensurate return, was decidedly objected to by the government, and the most stringent orders were issued to check the

[19] The Russian governor as early as 1834 reported that the raids of American traders would soon exterminate the otters, overlooking his own unrelenting persecution of the animal. *Zavalishin, Delo o Koloniy Ross*, 9. General Vallejo estimates that 50,000 sea-otters were taken in Californian waters between 1830 and 1840. *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 204–5; *Khlébnikof, Zapiski*, in *Materialui dlia Istor. Russ.*, iii., pt. iii. 8–9; *Tikhménef, Istor. Obozranie*, ii., app., 272–3; *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 307–9, 278; *Prov. Rec.*, ix. 47–50.

[20] Captain Smith is said to have secured 130,000 sealskins and a large number of otters at the Farallones between 1808 and 1810. *Taylor's Discov. Founders*, i. 76.

[21] In this they were often assisted by Alaskan Indians with their bidarkas, who were either engaged by them or tendered by the Russians against a share in the yield. The missionaries were not pleased with a license system, under which the government allowed these intruders to displace native enterprise. The superior of San Buenaventura mission writes in 1813 that the mission used to maintain six canoes for otter-fishing, catching annually 100 to 150 pieces, but 'ha tenido que alargar este tan útil como precioso ramo.' *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., ii. 97. A tax was levied on the catch, except on such as had been obtained by native Mexicans, but it was not very often paid. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Dept. Rec.*, viii. 52, 130; *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., i. 323; *Vallejo, Notas Hist.*, MS., 36–8; *Santa Cruz, Arch.*, MS., 95.

abuse. The Spanish government, which forbade foreigners ever to buy furs, had been able to enforce its decrees to some extent with the aid of cruisers, but those of the republic were empty threats, and the fishery was carried on with impunity even in sight of the forts.[22]

The interior river waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin had, on the other hand, attracted the attention of the Hudson's Bay Company even before United States trappers had reached them, and traders remained there in unmolested possession long after the Russians had left the country. The feeble frontier guard could do nothing but protest, and finally when the trappers had pretty well exhausted the outlying districts and wished to penetrate into the centre of the state, the government admitted them under an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, whereby a tax of fifty cents was to be paid for each beaver-skin.[23]

The first party to reach California from the United States was led in 1825 by Jedediah Smith of Ashley's company, across the desert regions of Utah and Nevada. He found a few beaver. Smith came again two years later, but met with so disastrous a reception from the Indians while pursuing the route to Oregon as to deter him from ever visiting this coast again. Quite a number of similar parties, varying in strength from fifty men to a few stragglers, are shown by the official letters of the period to have entered from the direction of Arizona and Sonora after 1826, and till the time when the gold excitement converted trappers into prospectors. One of these parties was headed by Sylvester Pattie, who in 1824 passed from the Missouri to New

[22] *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Dept. St. Pap., Pref. y Juz*, iii. 24; *Dept. St. Pap.*, i. 64–5. As early as 1803 several hundred otter-skins were seized on the American vessel *Alexander*, but while the supreme decision in the case was following the red-taped circuit, moths and other agencies snatched away the bone of contention. *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Prov. St. Pap.*, xix. 145–156; xx. 93, 161–2; *Langsdorf's Voy.*, 185.

[23] This arrangement was made in 1841, at which time the company had already acquired a trading station in San Francisco. *Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., x. 77; xxxiii. 180; *Fernandez, Cal.*, MS., 66–7.

Mexico, and thence made trapping tours into Arizona till 1829, when he entered California, to find a prison and a grave. His son James succeeded in obtaining his release in the following year, and published shortly after an account of this expedition.[24]

It is time these fur-hunting chapters were brought to a close. I would gladly have made them shorter were it possible so to give any adequate idea of the origin and operations of the several ponderous agencies that pushed discovery from the rivers St Lawrence and Mississippi, from Lake Superior and the bay of Hudson across the broad continent of plains and mountains to the shores of the Western Ocean, and sent fleets of New England merchantmen sailing round Cape Horn, and flitting between California, Vancouver Island, Alaska, the Sandwich Islands, and China.

[24] *Pattie's Personal Narrative*, 210–230; *Arch. Cal.*, MS., *Dept. St. Pap.*, ii. 4–5, 33–45; iii. 101–2, 111; *Dept. Rec.*, xiii. 17; vii. 89; vi. 9; v. 48, 73, 102, 107; *St. Pap., Sacramento*, xix. 37–8; *Smith*, in *Nouvelles Ann. des Voy.*, xxxvii. 210–11; *Frignet, Cal.*, 58–60. Some of the trappers had licenses from New Mexican authorities.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## RELATIVE ATTITUDES OF FUR-TRADERS AND NATIVES.

DIFFERENT VIEWS OF SAVAGISM BY DIFFERENT EUROPEANS, ACCORDING TO THEIR SEVERAL INTERESTS—UNITED STATES POLICY—HUMANE INTENTIONS—VILLAINY OF AGENTS—BORDER ATROCITIES—POLICY OF THE NORTHWEST AND HUDSON'S BAY COMPANIES—THE INTERESTS OF GOLD-SEEKERS, FUR COMPANIES, AND SETTLERS CONTRASTED—SYSTEM OF WIFE-TAKING—HALF-BREEDS—INTOXICATING DRINK—MISSIONARIES.

THE attitudes assumed by the several bands of Europeans at different times and places in America were quite distinct one from another. The invaders were governed partly by clouded conscience, but far more by interest. Many pretending piety made conscience subservient to interest. Many really good men having the welfare of the natives at heart did nearly as much harm through ignorance and bigotry as did the vile through lust and avarice.

In the minds of the gold-seeker, the fur-hunter, and agriculturist the savage inspired very different sentiments. In the first instance he was regarded as a temporary tool which after its work was done was to be thrown away; in the second case he was a splendid fellow who by a little petting and pampering would bring splendid returns. In the path of permanent settlers he was a viper, a vile, treacherous thing, fit only for extermination. He was useful, profitable in the first two instances; in the last he was an encumbrance, whose presence poisoned the air.

With the Spaniards conversion was no less a part of their purpose than conquest. In any event the country must be conquered for Christ, and the people

held in holy subjection. If they would accept pope, and king, and Christ as represented by priests and reckless adventurers, well: if not, they must be butchered for Christ, and king, and pope. The cavaliers had little thought of cultivating the soil, though some attempted it. Gold was their chief concern. But the native abhorred work; furthermore, it killed him, so that he was of little value as a slave or for any other purpose.

The English colonists desired land. There was little gold upon the eastern seaboard to tempt them, and furs offered them few attractions. Homes for themselves and their children were what they coveted, and to this end land was necessary. This was granted them in most cases by their sovereign before embarking from their native shore. But the land did not belong to their sovereign, and being men of stubborn piety and principle, some of them, to quiet their own minds and at the same time acquire title and peaceable possession, pretended to buy the land they wanted by giving for it a few valueless trinkets. Their descendants, desiring more land, took it, and on one or another pretext slew the inhabitants; but always unjustly, because they were robbers and the sons of robbers. Thus civilization crept swiftly and treacherously westward, the people meanwhile receding from forest to forest in their vain effort to escape the fell destroyer.

White people were at first regarded by the Indians as beings superior in righteousness as well as in material strength. But alas! they soon learned their mistake. From the moment Europeans placed foot on American soil the aborigines were doomed. Savagism and civilization, like heat and cold, or light and darkness, cannot dwell together in harmony. Native wise men and philosophers saw this at the time and affirmed it.

Taking advantage of the Indian's passion for finery and fire-water, Frenchmen and Englishmen accumu-

lated vast fortunes, which their descendants now enjoy, while forest and forester were swept away.

The Indian policy of the United States, in so far as a policy existed, has been in the main a righteous one. All saw that the race was doomed, and that little was to be done but to make savagism as comfortable as possible during its death agonies. The more bigoted and brainless talked of Christianizing or of civilizing the natives; but such knew not the nature of civilization. The more enlightened and practical regarded them as children needing parental care and authority, and so they became wards of the nation.

Nothing could have been nobler or more humane than this view of the matter, which has been generally acted upon by our statesmen for the past half century. Part of their lands were fairly purchased from them, while other parts were held in reservation for their sole use. Their comfort was likewise regarded; supplies were annually furnished them by the government. Arms and ammunition for hunting were given them; likewise blankets, cloths, provisions, and utensils of various kinds. Schools were established, though with questionable yet harmless wisdom. In all this our government, which should mean our people, behaved in a manner of which we may justly feel proud. History affords no higher example of kindness and forbearance exercised by a dominant power to those whose presence could scarcely be regarded in any other light than that of a national nuisance. Congress was even so magnanimous as to appropriate eighty thousand dollars for a miserable compilation in six volumes, illustrative of Indian character and condition, that it might know the better how to provide for the wants of the savage.

And yet our government, even though it should mean ourselves, has been greatly to blame, has acted foolishly, criminally, in not protecting from the spoilers these children of its adoption. While its counsels were in the main wise it failed to suppress the most das-

tardly deeds. It allowed the exercise of its parental care to degenerate into a trade. Appointments to agencies were openly bought by unprincipled men who trusted, for a profitable return of the investment, to robbing those in their charge. To prevent this, as many other iniquitous practices, the government has been too weak or too indifferent. Notwithstanding our fine declamation and beautifully spun theories, our conferences, and our Christianizing and civilizing societies, we have not done our duty by the Indian.[1]

What can be more fatal to the honor and dignity of a great nation like that of the United States than failure to keep faith with the helpless barbarians on its border? It is not enough for the government to say that it has not required of the natives strict compliance with treaty obligations; to break faith under any circumstances is disgraceful, most of all to break faith with the poor, ignorant, and helpless. Fourteen superintendencies with numerous agencies under the Indian Bureau branch of the Interior Department at Washington accomplish the evil.[2]

[1] The laxity of the government in protecting the natives, and the conduct of its corrupt officials, have been for years notorious. In the words of William Blackmore, writing in a work by Richard Irving Dodge, lieutenant-colonel in the United States army: 'It would be extremely difficult to find any treaty entered into by the government with the Indians during the last twenty years which had been strictly and honorably fulfilled.' An acting general in the United States army affirms that, 'Civilization makes it own compact with the weaker party; it is violated, but not by the savage.' A commission on Indian affairs reports: 'The history of the government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border white man's connections with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrong committed by the former as a rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakable barbarous deeds of retaliation by the latter as the exception.' It is useless to multiply words upon the subject when we can find them officially printed in black and damning characters like the following from the governor of Oregon to the sheriff of Umatilla county, dated the 18th of July 1878: 'It is not necessary, in my judgment'—Chadwick's, I presume, too good a man for so bad a judgment—'that any of the Indians taken should have been personally present at any particular murder in order to make them amenable to the law. Their depredations in Umatilla County may be regarded as parts of a general combination or conspiracy for the commission of a crime, and all who are in any way connected with it may be regarded as principals.'

[2] An agent at Siletz, Oregon, robbed the natives in his charge of $50,000, took service in the army as a colonel, held high his head, talked loudly of extermination as the only cure of the Indian evil, and found among our intel-

All our Indian wars may be traced immediately to one of three causes, namely, outrages by border men, failure of government in fulfilling its promises, and frauds perpetrated by agents. The outrages committed by settlers and desperadoes of the border equal any in the annals of crime. Indian agents have always been notorious for their peculations, the natives scarcely ever receiving more than twenty or thirty per cent of the amount appropriated by the government for their benefit.[3]

Back beyond the Alleghanies the natives were at first driven; then they were made to vacate the fertile valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and finally the saints of Salt Lake and the gold-diggers of California completed a continuous line of pacified country to the Pacific. A recital of events during this westward progress of civilization would cause a heart of stone to bleed. Adopting the red man's mode of warfare, his treachery, and his pitiless exterminating policy, which civilization so loves to denounce, stealthily and in darkness crept the noble European from east to west, his pathway marked by the scalped carcasses

ligent and fair-minded people many ardent admirers. *Parrish's Ind. Anecdotes*, MS., 74. Chilliman, a Coquille native, separated white men into three classes—the missionaries, who were sober and righteous; the 'Bostons,' who drank whiskey, swore, and abused them; and the soldiers, the 'Bostons'' dogs, who killed the Indians when set upon them by their masters. Vile, sensual men, far below the brutes in bestiality, who could not speak without copiously interlarding their words with horrible oaths and imprecations, sometimes played the missionary, selling the savages packs of cards for bibles, and telling them God would be angry with them if they refused them women, and the like. *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 73–6; *Parker's Ex. Tour*, 84–5.

[3] I could cite by the score instances which would set ablaze every honest heart, and make one wonder how almighty justice should slumber amidst such inhuman wrong. The interposition of force to prevent the lustful advances of dissolute white men toward their wives and daughters has cost the life of many a native father and husband, and has been the occasion of many battles. Driven from their hereditary hunting-grounds, their game frightened yet farther away, robbed of the food provided by the government, by vampires who to add a few dollars to their illicit gains with brutal indifference saw whole families starve, to save their lives they would sometimes kill and eat a stray animal belonging to a settler. But such instances were exceedingly rare, and occurred only when the poor shelterless people were driven by hunger to desperation; for they knew that in all probability their lives would be the penalty. Often and often in California the nearest rancheria of Indians have been butchered by drunken miners for offences which it was afterward ascertained never had been committed at all.

of savages and the mutilated bodies of unoffending women and innocent children. Such is Christianity and civilization as carried westward from Plymouth Rock into the forests of America by descendants of the Puritans.[4]

And the saddest feature of it is that there should be upon this so righteously governed planet so great a wrong for which there is no remedy. While in the full enjoyment of what God had given them, we came upon them, killed them, and took their possessions. Being stronger than they, being what we call civilized, it was what we call right thus to displace them. They are dead, and have left no inheritors of their wrongs. All we can do is to hide our heads in shame over the outrages committed in our behalf, and teach our children that murder and theft are equally wicked, whether perpetrated by nations or individuals, by civilization or savagism, in Christ's name or in the devil's name.

Whom did we make a neighbor of the red man? Who upon the ever shifting border of these American states have been our civilizers? The whiskey-seller, the blasphemer, the cheat, the libertine, the desperado, the assassin. Even the missionary lacked that complete and equitable moral sense whence alone comes even-handed justice.[5]

[4] It would be difficult to find in the annals of law-making anything more absolutely repulsive to a humane mind than the following from the legislative journals of Idaho: '*Resolved*, That three men be appointed to select 25 men to go to Indian-hunting, and all those who can fit themselves out shall receive a nominal sum for all scalps that they may bring in; and all who cannot fit themselves out shall be fitted out by the committee, and when they bring in scalps it shall be deducted out. That for every buck scalp be paid $100, and for every squaw $50, and $25 for everything in the shape of an Indian under ten years of age. That each scalp shall have the curl of the head, and each man shall make oath that the said scalp was taken by the company.' When we see such sentiments promulgated in such language by the legislature of one of our most recently formed territories, we may well blush for our people. Nothing I have ever read of outrages in any form has called up stronger feelings of disgust.

[5] What shall we say of such a sentiment as this proceeding from the mouth of Christ's vicegerent: 'If a policy had been established with the Indians in the outset that the whites had in the providence of God become the inhabitants of the United States, the inhabitants of the same soil with the Indians, and that we had just as good a right to the soil as the Indians because there was a time when they did not occupy it,' etc. *Parrish's Ind. Anecdotes*, MS., 72.

All this time the more respectable of our nation, good and kind dolts as they are, reading of outbreaks on the border and thinking only of slaughtered settlers and their burning homes, regard their own as the most injured of races, berate the government for its leniency in its dealings with savages, and on Sunday listen to their pastor's explanation how the difficulty can be solved only by the total extinction of the barbarians. I have heard God's ministers preach blood and injustice from the pulpit until my soul has sickened.

Soldiers burn to inflict upon them the very horrors they so severely denounce. "Dragoon them," says one. "Kill seven nations if necessary," says another, in order to protect a band of dissolute trappers or a half dozen ruffian miners. It is the old revenge, hatred, and curses for those we have injured.[6]

The Indian policy of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies was quite the reverse of those of Spain and the United States. In the absence of gold and the desire of settlement, the great temptations to abuse or extirpate were removed.

Several causes united to bring about this state of things. The British who first planted their forts on the inhospitable shores of Hudson Bay were wholly dependent upon the natives for their entire trade. They could not penetrate the interior and catch the fur-bearing animals themselves. Unless they were

[6] The theme of the cruelty of man to his fellow-man begins with the beginning of the race, and to all appearances will end only with the extinction of the race. There are no devils more wicked than man; it maligns the beasts to call men brutal, for brutes do not indulge in such merciless diversion as enslaving or torturing their captives. Those who have a desire to continue their investigations further should consult *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 172–5; *Parrish's Indian Anecdotes*, MS., 95; *Sir George Simpson*, in *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 85; *Victor's New Penelope*, 162, and *River of the West*, 20; *Butler's Wild North Land*, 73; *Dodge's Plains*, xvii. 321, 430, passim; *Umfreville's Hudson's Bay*, 66; *Abbott's Kit Carson*, 72, passim; *Peters' Kit Carson*, 527; *Dunn's Or.*, 71, 81–3; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 397; *Dunraven's Great Divide*, 118, passim; *Macdonald's Brit. Col.*, 56–124, 172–204; *Irving's Astoria*, 515; *Tache's North West*, 110; *Harmon's Journal*, 33–4.

friendly with the inhabitants, unless their conduct was such as to inspire confidence, not alone in personal safety but in fair dealing, the fur-traders might as well have remained at home.

Hence it was ordered at the home office that the savages should be treated as human beings. The men were not to be shot down at pleasure, or the women to be stolen, or the children scalped. In commercial intercourse they were not to be cheated; their self-respect was to be fostered; credit was to be given them, and their necessities were to be relieved, even when there was little probability of returns. British sovereigns, instead of calling them 'bucks' and 'squaws,' the most disgusting and brutal appellations ever bestowed on men and women, designated them as 'Our American Subjects,' which term for some reason carries with it a sense of greater security and fair treatment than the 'Our Wards' of the United States.

As the Hudson's Bay Company spread southward and westward, and finally laid claim to the whole of hyperborean North America, their original policy became yet more firmly established. They found the natives exceedingly useful to them, indispensable, in fact, to their trade; to hunt was one of the few things an Indian could do without disgrace—that and beating his wives, decking himself in finery, assassinating an enemy, and getting drunk. To preserve the wild men, the game, and the native hunters were all absolutely essential to the continuance of their exceedingly lucrative traffic. By this time they were strong enough, backed up by their pretended chartered rights, to hold the country against interlopers and completely to dominate it. Obviously settlement would be fatal. The admission of rival traders was not to be thought of. Even the employment of Irish or Orkney men as hunters, were such a course possible, would sooner or later break up their monopoly; for with the admission of white men in greater numbers than they could individually control, the land would quickly be thrown

open to the world. In these forests they could manage savagism better than civilization; and they did manage perfectly.

By their moral and intellectual superiority they not only stimulated the natives to greater activity in bringing in peltries, thereby converting them into customers, but they made them dependents and allies, building of them bulwarks for permanent protection. And here their servants, the patient peasants of Aberdeenshire, achieved a grander conquest than did ever the comrades of Cortés or Pizarro. The rapine of the wealth of civilized nations required little else than cunning and brute courage, whereas in the domination of the countless tribes inhabiting the vast forests and plains of the north, there must be in dealing with these hunters and fishers, in appearance at least, a recognition of rights. Thus it was in the Oregon Territory that such British subjects as the company could easily control were welcome, while citizens of the United States were discouraged. The natives were taught to despise alike the Americans and their goods: not because they were Americans, but because they were not the Hudson's Bay Company. Their own countrymen of the Northwest Company they fought far more bitterly than ever they opposed the Americans, Spaniards, or Russians.

By the time the conquest of Canada was achieved, and the Northwest Company was fairly in the field, the wise and conciliating policy of the Hudson's Bay Company had become so firmly established, and was so universally recognized as the profitable and righteous one, that the Northwest Company was in a measure obliged to adopt it. Indeed during their bitter and bloody feuds both sides became too conciliatory, feeding the native with fire-water until he could not hunt, and paying him more for his peltries than the traffic justified. Nowhere does the Hudson's Bay Company system claim our admiration to greater extent than in its treatment of offenders.

The object was in all cases even and exact justice, not indiscriminate retaliation. Unlike the people of the United States, the British North Americans did not seek to revenge themselves upon savage wrong-doers after the savage fashion.

When an offence was committed they did not go out and shoot down the first Indians they met; they did not butcher innocent women and children; they did not scalp or offer rewards for scalps. Professing Christianity and civilization, the argument that as brutes and savages treat us, so we must treat brutes and savages, had no force. A stolen article must be restored, and the tribe harboring a thief was cut off from commercial intercourse. The fort gates were closed to them; they could neither sell nor buy until the thief was brought to punishment.

If an Indian murdered a white man, or any person in the employ of the company, the tribe to which he belonged were assured that they had nothing to fear, that King George men were single-hearted and just, that unlike the Indians themselves, they did not deem it fair to punish the innocent for the deeds of the guilty; but the murderer must be delivered to them. This demand was enforced with inexorable persistency; and herein lay the secret of their strength. In all that vast realm which they ruled there was not mountain distant enough, nor forest deep enough, nor icy cave dark enough, to hide the felon from their justice, though none but he need have aught to fear. The officers and servants of the company were ordered to go to any trouble or expense in seeking and punishing an offender, and they were never to cease their efforts until the end was accomplished. Threats were made against those who harbored a criminal, and rewards offered for their capture. Numberless instances I might cite where criminals were tracked for thousands of miles, and where an officer of the company would enter a hostile camp alone, and shooting to death a murderer walk away unharmed.

Often friendly natives would be employed to capture malefactors.[7]

This certainty of punishment acted upon the savage mind with all the power of a superstition. Felons trembled before the white man's justice as in the presence of the Almighty.

Five hundred millions of dollars the United States has spent in Indian wars. Between the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific, in United States territory, there is not a hundred-mile patch on which white men and red have not fought; and during our hundred years of national history each successive score may count its great Indian battle, and some scores three or five. North of the Canadian line, where dominate the same avaricious Anglo-Saxon race over the same untamed element of humanity, there never have been Indian wars or massacres such as have been almost constant on the United States border, not a single encounter such as we could call a bloody battle;[8] and no money spent by the government to keep the natives in peaceful subjection. The reason is plain. In the latter instance the natives are treated as human beings, and their rights in some

[7] Alexander Simpson in his life of his brother, Thomas Simpson, states that murder was avenged by blood for blood without trial. The House of Commons committee, *Report Hudson's Bay Company*, 61, asked Sir George Simpson if this statement was true. He replied: 'We are obliged to punish Indians as a matter of self-preservation in some parts of the country. We seldom get hold of them for the purpose of trial, and they are usually punished by their own tribe. I scarcely know a case, though there may have been perhaps a few cases, in which our own servants have retaliated.' I could cite, Sir George, a score of cases; in short, retaliation without trial was the rule, and punishment by the tribe the exception.

[8] The reverend Mr Hines, in his *Oregon, its History*, etc., 391–5, becomes somewhat loose in his statements respecting intercourse with the natives. All the sins of all the fur-hunters and border ruffians he lays indiscriminately upon the Hudson's Bay Company. In general and sweeping statements he fills the northern country with wars, robberies, and murders which I fail utterly to find corroborated, surpassing even Mr Gray in this particular. Strangely enough we find stated on the same page that while they are in the habit of sending out war parties to attack indiscriminately the offending tribe—and frequently in these excursions women and children have been the greatest sufferers, yet—'whoever has been intimately acquainted with the Hudson's Bay Company, and has observed its operations for any length of time, must be aware that the policy pursued by them with reference to the Indians, is one of the greatest forbearance and conciliation.'

measure respected. Being amenable to the law they are protected by the law. In the former case they are treated as brutes, having no rights.

Of crimes among themselves, of their wars and atrocities, the fur companies did not feel called upon to take special notice, though without direct interference they used their influence to prevent barbarities and maintain the peace, for the men could not hunt and trade while fighting.

By preventing the coalition of neighboring nations, by fostering petty jealousies, by refusing arms and ammunition for purposes of war, by dividing clans, by setting up one chief and deposing another, by weakening the strong and strengthening the weak, the fur companies held the balance of power, and easily controlled the fierce tribes by which they were surrounded.[9]

Now it would not be just to human nature, it would not be just to Spaniard or Russian, or to our own people of the United States, to infer from their superior Indian policy and kinder treatment of the savage that the fur-traders of British North America were better men, more humane or fair-minded. It was alone the difference of situation and circumstances that made them different. In the gold-producing regions of middle America they would have carried themselves very like the Spaniards; thrown among the fierce islanders of Alaska, they would have defended themselves with cruel retaliations, as did the Russians; and to suppose for a moment that the Scotch and English who traded around Hudson Bay were morally superior to their countrymen who landed on Plymouth Rock and founded this great American republic is simply ridiculous. The British fur com-

[9] Townsend, speaking in his *Narrative*, 105, of Thomas McKay, who united the artless frankness of the forester with the affable grace of the Frenchman, greatly admired the discipline of his men, most of whom were Canadians, half-breeds, and Indians. McKay ruled them completely, although they required his constant attention. Flagellation was sometimes resorted to, but this disgraceful punishment was inflicted only by the hand of the captain himself; otherwise the humiliation would be unendurable.

panies found it to their pecuniary interest to be just and humane in their dealings with the natives—this and nothing more.[10]

Unlike the United States border men, the servants of the British-American fur companies were bred to the business, and held to a strict accountability for every act, whether in their intercourse with white men or Indians. They were no more allowed to shoot or ill-treat savages than to murder or swindle their own comrades.[11]

The free trapper, on the other hand, was often a rough character escaped from home in early life or from later questionable transactions, governed solely by his passions, and responsible to no one; all cases were to him simple questions of expediency. Many held savages to be really soulless, and the killing of them no greater crime than the killing of wild beasts. Indians were only a distinct species of animals, remarkable chiefly for their instinct of revenge. Con-

[10] Gray says that Greenhow is quite wrong in ascribing to the Hudson's Bay Company efforts to promote culture and conversion, and I am of the same opinion myself. There are instances where pious postmasters have supplemented the efforts of the missionary, and encouraged schools and conversion. But in the main it was money the company sought, and not the mental or moral improvement of the savages. As a class they were ungodly men for that day, and quite inclined to lechery, the freedom of the forest seemingly having freed their minds from many of the trammels of conventional thought.

[11] 'A Hudson Bay officer would receive no thanks for cheating an Indian. The policy of the company was honesty, and also to keep the several tribes divided and at enmity among themselves.' *Finlayson's Vancouver Island*, MS., 83. Mr Finlayson also bears testimony that the natives were honest when honestly treated. Slaves, he says, were an element dangerous to the fur-traders, who made presents to the chiefs to liberate them: for if a slave was ordered by his master to kill a white man he must do it or be killed himself. Said Mrs Harvey, daughter of Dr McLoughlin, to me in her quaint way: 'The Indians came into the Hudson's Bay fort at Vancouver in spring more than at any other time. There was a large hall there where they came in and sat down. The Indians would ask what was right to be done, and my father told them what was right and what was not right—whether, for instance, they should kill such a man for doing so and so. If he said 'No, you must not, it is wrong,' it would be all stopped. The whites, hired men, sometimes troubled the Indians, and they would complain to my father. He would put them in irons.' *Harvey's Life McLoughlin*, MS., 5. 'I have not heard as yet of a single instance of any Indian being wantonly killed by any of the men belonging to this company. Nor have I heard any boasting among them of the satisfaction taken in killing or abusing Indians, that I have elsewhere heard.' *Parker's Ex. Tour*, 131.

sequently when one thought of shooting an Indian for the beaver-skin he carried, it was well enough to consider the chances of capture and escape. This was the doctrine many independent frontiersmen acted upon. I know of nothing of the kind during the two centuries of fur-hunting history north of the United States boundary.[12]

To gain yet further influence over the savages, a system of wife-taking or popular concubinage was encouraged by the fur companies on behalf of their officers and servants. By this means two objects were secured: the more powerful native tribes were allied to the traders' interest, and the servants of the companies, as offspring came on, became fixed in the country. Further than this, gross immorality among officers and subordinates, which often led to dangerous feuds, was thus in a measure prevented. No civilized marriage rites attended these unions. The father of the bride was usually solicited, and

[12] The authorities on this subject are almost endless. Among the more important are *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., 5–6; *Work's Journal*, MS., 205; *Finlayson's Vancouver Island*, MS., 83–4; *Kane's Wanderings*, 96–7; *Umfreville's Hudson's Bay*, 66; Sir G. Back, in *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Company*, 186; *Schoolcraft's Per. Memoirs*, 327; *Viajes al Norte*, MS., 411; Sir T. Richardson, in *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Company*, 159–60; *Abbott's Kit Carson*, 72; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 397; *Dunraven's Great Divide*, 121; *Fitzgerald's Vancouver Island*, chap. vii.; *Victor's River of the West*, 29. Mr Gray, *Hist. Or.*, chaps. v. vii. lxiv., catalogues the crimes of the Hudson's Bay Company; and others writing as partisans enumerate many atrocities committed by its servants. These I do not deny. It would be strange if in the arbitrary and informal administration of justice in this distant wilderness some excesses were not committed by the inexperienced. I have not space to cite examples. I am not writing as a partisan. My opinion, based upon my study of the subject, is that for every case of unfairness or cruelty perpetrated by the northern fur companies upon the natives, one hundred crimes, each of tenfold intensity, might easily be found which have been committed by our border ruffians and the holders of office under the United States government. Martin, *Hudson's Bay*, 111–136, quotes *The Bishop of Montreal's Journal*, *Missionary Papers*, and *Extracts from Despatches of various Chief Factors* and others to prove that the conduct of the company was wise, prudent, and benevolent. Mr Martin writes only in the interest of the company, and though he states only one side, his assertions are in the main true. A. McDonnell, in *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Company*, 389, thinks the Hudson's Bay Company's system one of bondage to the native, and believes competition to be materially beneficial to him. The Nootkas begged an American captain not to sell muskets to certain tribes lest they should become too powerful. *Viajes al Norte de Cal.*, MS., 411.

presents were made; the delighted women thus taken were as a rule affectionate and obedient, and to the honor of the fur-hunters be it said they were treated by the men with kindness and often with show of respect. To some regrets never came: they seemed to take as much pride and happiness in their Indian wives and half-breed children as if the hair had been less lank and the skin less dark and greasy; others, more refined and sensitive, perhaps experienced regrets in finding themselves thus trammelled as marriageable white women began to appear.[13]

Some, in returning to civilization and mingling again with graceful, lovable, fair-featured women having hearts and minds akin to their own, remembered their forest family with some degree of shame and chagrin; but back again amidst their old associations they were speedily reconciled.[14]

The British American fur companies were not the first to encourage sexual union with the natives. It has been the English policy since the marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas in 1616. The treaty with Powhatan growing out of this alliance was faithfully observed by him, and renewed by his successor. Yet this turning the wilderness into a harem, and the settlements, where intoxicating drink was introduced, into pandemonium, greatly scandalized the missionaries, who saw their harvest thus spoiled and their religion disgraced by emissaries of Satan.

[13] Although informal, these marriages had been pronounced binding by the courts. From the *Guelf Herald* Mr Anderson, *Hist. Northwest Coast*, MS., 208–9, extracts a case decided by the superior court at Montreal. William Connolly in 1803 purchased an Indian wife, thus marrying her, according to aboriginal custom. The two lived together 28 years, and ten children were born to them. In 1831 Connolly returned to Canada with his family and continued to cohabit with his wife until the following year. He then married his cousin, and the Indian wife returned to her country, being granted an annuity by Connolly. The children were also treated with great kindness and liberally educated. Connolly died in 1849. The Indian wife died in 1862. Action was brought by the eldest son to recover a portion of the property, on the ground that the second marriage was illegal. Judgment was rendered for the plaintiff, thus affirming the legality of Indian marriages.

[14] See *Victor's New Penelope*, 163; *Harmon's Journal*, xiii.; *Butler's Wild North Land*, 44–7; *Wilkes' Nar. U. S. Ex. Exped.*, iv. 352; *Mayne's Brit. Col.*, 116; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 398; *White's Or.*, 119–20.

Attached by wife and children to the soil, of which during good behavior a small patch for a garden was allowed them, the servants of the company sank to a state of vassalage. The strictest decorum was in this way secured, but the offspring thus engendered were usually without much mind or energy.

The term *metis*, or half-breed, is used to designate any mixture of white and Indian blood; sometimes a person with one fourth Indian blood is called a quadroon, but that appellation is not common in northern intermixtures. The chief distinction is French half-breeds and English half-breeds, which are so designated according to the language spoken rather than actual parentage. Yet it is interesting to note the difference in those of different nationality on the father's side. All inherit the deep-seated passions of the mother, but while those of the French father are frivolous and extravagant, the sons of Scotchmen are often found to be staid, plodding, and economical. Though swarthy, the half-breeds are usually large handsome men, proud of their parentage and nationality, and quite hardy. No shame is manifested by reason of their aboriginal extraction, and some scarcely show it at all. They are a sharp-sighted, sharp-tempered race, yet too often uniting savage sluggishness of mind with civilized proclivities to drink and disease. Yet I have seen many beautiful and intelligent ladies who were daughters of Indian mothers. The half-breeds have large families, and though their instincts are Indian, they are generally kind-hearted and hospitable. The women are better than the men; they make good wives and are quite thrifty.[15]

[15] Many half-breeds proved themselves able men, and were allotted high positions. Moses Norton, born at Prince of Wales Fort, where he subsequently governed with prudence and ability, being very successful in forwarding the interests of the company, was a half-breed, educated in England. Six of the most beautiful Indian girls were kept for his harem. At the same time he was exceedingly jealous for the honor of his people, and of the reputation of their wives and daughters for chastity. He lost no occasion while indulging himself in every excess to inculcate precepts of virtue and preach morality to others. The wrath of God and the savageness of Indian nature were alike

The fur companies have generally acknowledged the claims of their half-breeds to protection and sustenance, and this class has never been forced into savagism. Attached to the Northwest Company in 1817 were fifteen hundred half-breed women and children; so many, indeed, that the company forbade their servants taking new wives from the forest, there being sufficient of this mixed element for all practical purposes. Several thousand dollars were about this time subscribed by the partners and clerks of the Northwest Company to establish a school at Rainy Lake or Fort William for the education of their children.

The liquor question was always one of no small moment to the fur-trader. The savage took greedily to intoxicating drink and tobacco from the first. His passion for rum and whiskey approached madness, and his only idea of happiness in the bottle was dead-drunkenness. Anything he had, his gun, his horse, his wife, he would give for a quart of bottled oblivion.

Intoxicating drink was not only the strongest magnet for bringing hunters to the forts, but its purchasing power was greater than that of any other commodity. Hence the constant temptation to swell the profits by dealing out fire-water.

But experience soon taught that the advantage thus gained was temporary; that the Indian would not hunt so long as he could get drink; and that it was not only safer, but in the long run more profitable, to dispense entirely with the destroying liquid in aboriginal traffic. To collect furs the Indian must possess his senses; to endure the winter's cold he must be fed and clothed; drink destroyed his energies, absorbed his property, and left him hungry and naked.

held up as a warning. In his old age, overcome by jealousy, he is said to have poisoned two of his young women. See *Good's Brit. Col.*, MS., 116–17; *Hearne's Journey*, 62; *Ballantyne's Hudson's Bay*, 107; *Tache's Northwest*, 97–110; *Butler's Wild North Land*, 45; *Kane's Wanderings*, 75–6; *Grant's Ocean to Ocean*, 175.

The great monopolies, therefore, had no difficulty not alone in regulating the trade within their territory to suit themselves, but in forming compacts with their neighbors prohibiting the traffic. It was only when opposition was rampant that prudential principles were thrown aside, and the fragrant forest air was thickened with the fumes of vile distillations.

In 1742 by the French in Canada the traffic was forbidden, and to trade required license and passport; yet the governor winked at it, and the trader met with little difficulty when liberal with his profits to the officials. The missionaries affirmed that the devil, to pervert the gospel, had with the gospel sent rum. Therefore they bestirred themselves to thwart the adversary; and for a time the prohibitory order which they procured, seconded by their own watchful exertions, stopped the traffic. Spiritual as well as temporal punishment followed the violation of the order; for not only were the privileges of trade withheld, but the rite of sacrament was denied offenders, though some evaded the regulation by giving the Indian liquor instead of selling it to him.

Under later French *régime* the license law was generally observed; but following the conquest of Canada was free dispensation attended by the usual violence and debauchery. It was to do away with drink, among other things, that the Northwest Company organized. The X. Y. Company, however, appearing in the field as an opposition, with a plentiful supply of fire-water, the Northwest Company was obliged to sell it or to abandon the situation. With the junction of the two factions the sale almost wholly ceased,[16] but was revived again on the breaking-out of hostilities with the Hudson's Bay Company.

[16] 'It was shown by accounts produced at the meeting that the quantity of spirituous liquors introduced into the Northwest country had in the two preceding years been reduced from 50,000 to 10,000 gallons; no great quantity, considering there were at that time 2000 white persons in their employment, of which the greater number were to pass the winter in a Siberian climate.' *Northwest Company's Nar. of Occurrences in the Indian Countries*, x.

It was no difficult matter for the United States after the evil had long been prevalent to pass prohibitory laws, but to enforce them was totally beyond the nation's strength or inclination.[17] After the union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies the sale of liquor ceased almost entirely, and Sir George Simpson in 1842 even prevailed upon the Russians to stop the selling of it to the natives. The American Fur Company were in the habit of obtaining annual permits to sell a limited quantity in order successfully to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company across the border.

On the Pacific coast the natives obtained copious supplies at an early date from the masters of trading vessels, to whom the demoralization of the people was a matter of indifference so long as they were enabled to fill their ship with furs. In the Rocky Mountains, and in the disputed Oregon Territory prior to 1842, alcohol flowed freely. The entire property of a village would sometimes be swept into the pockets of the traders during one debauch.

At different times and places the practice of the Hudson's Bay Company was quite different. In 1833 east of the Rocky Mountains it was the custom to deal it out sparingly but gratuitously, giving the voyager a regale, as they called it, on his arrival and departure, and the same to the Indian hunter when he brought in furs to sell. Strange to say, the Chipewyans would not touch intoxicating drink, and at one time the Crows would not allow it to be brought into their country. They called it "fools' water." Heads of families were sometimes presented a few gallons of whiskey on Christmas. In 1841 wagon-loads of alcohol in barrels were conveyed openly from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, and sold everywhere, notwithstanding the laws then in force

[17] The agents were not slow to profit by this law, supplying the natives, as they did, but making them pay enormous prices, while they pocketed the profits. *Schoolcraft's Per. Mem.*, 486.

against the traffic. All the great companies north and south of the Canada line bewailed the necessity of dealing out alcohol, affirming that they would gladly discontinue it but for their competitors. Later, in 1850 and 1851, the Hudson Bay servants grew lax, for we find complaints by the Russians on the one side, and the American government on the other, of their lack of good faith in selling alcohol to the natives.[18]

The missionaries of the several denominations who played so prominent a part in the settlement of Oregon and of other sections of the Northwest Coast were, in the main, intelligent, honest, well meaning men, who sought to do the best for themselves, their families, their country, and their God. We should scarcely expect those who were inspired with sufficient enthusiasm to enable them to brave the hardships and dangers of pioneer missionary life, to be wholly free from partisanship or fanaticism. We should hardly expect the highest practical wisdom from persons educated in closets, and from books and teachers regarding all human affairs from a single standpoint. We should hardly expect to find the most evenly balanced minds among votaries of a religion which recognizes no higher rights than those belonging to its dogmas. Nevertheless I am prepared to do honor to the pioneer missionaries of the Northwest, Catholic and Protestant, for I believe them to have been single-hearted men and actuated by the purest motives, though I must be permitted to take excep-

[18]In 1795 the Hudson Bay Indians were enervated and debased by reason of the deadly drink. *Winterbotham's Hist.*, iv. 21; E. Ellice testifies before the House of Commons, *Rept. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 326, that from 1811 to 1821 liquor was used wherever rivalry existed, that is in territory occupied by both the great companies and on the United States border over which from either side Indians were enticed for hundreds of miles. See *Schoolcraft's Per. Mem.*, 326–7; *Victor's River of the West*, 225–6; *T. Rae*, in *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Co.*, 37, 43–4; *R. King*, *id.*, 316; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 173; *White's Or.*, 78–9; *Rocky Mountain Scenes*, 28–9; *U. S. Catholic Magazine*, v. 20; *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 68–71; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 389; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 33–4; *Or. Spectator*, June 11 and 25, 1845; *Kane's Wanderings*, 97–8; *Armstrong's Per. Nar.*, 151, 164; *Richardson's Polar Regions*, 298–330; *Swan's Northwest Coast*, 156.

tions to such acts as appear to me unwise, impolitic, or unjust.

In looking back upon their early efforts we can but regret that those whose zeal in their great work was never wanting to carry them through any sufferings demanded, even unto death, and who bore their trials with a courage which claims our admiration, should not have met with the success which their meritorious services seemed to deserve.

Several causes united to bring about the result. First of all, impossibilities were attempted. Speaking generally, all missionary effort is a failure. Such history pronounces to be its fate. Missionary effort seeks to lift the savage mind from the darkness of its own religion, which God and nature have given it as the best for it, and to fix it on the abstract principles of civilized belief which it cannot comprehend. It seeks to improve the moral and material conditions of the savage when its very touch is death. The greatest boon Christianity can confer upon the heathen is to let them alone. They are not ready yet to cultivate the soil or learn to read, or to change their nature or their religion. These ends the Almighty accomplishes in his own good time and way, unfolding their minds as from a germ of his own implanting into the clearer light as they are able to receive it. Then the religious civilizers became too quickly absorbed in the acquisition and cultivation of landed possessions, which at best were to reduce the inhabitants to a state of serfdom.

It was indeed a hard task thus imposed upon the poor missionary, a task whose innate difficulties he himself did not comprehend. Manfully he applied himself to the material as well as mental and moral improvement of the savage, all unconscious of the poisonous nature of the civilized atmosphere which environed him. As settlers came in, the bad examples of those of his color and faith tended to destroy his influence with the natives. The simple savage reasoned

within himself that if drunkenness, profligacy, and disgrace were the practical fruits of Christianity and civilization, they were better off without these blessings.

As regards the attitude of the fur companies toward the missionaries I should say, speaking broadly, that it has been indifferent or at least undemonstrative. The Hudson's Bay Company's charter required of it the encouragement of missionary effort. The company did not dare to throw impediments in the way of the missionary. And yet any interference of white men with their traffic or with the natives was unwelcome. Post commanders usually treated priests and preachers with politeness and consideration. If a missionary was stationed near a fort, he was usually installed as chaplain of the fort with a salary of fifty pounds per annum and free passage to and from the country.[19]

We still read of the attendance of chaplains on the soldiers who go out to fight the natives, which calls to mind Cortés and Pizarro of old, who with their bloodhounds and Indian-killers carried their man of prayer to beseech the God who made the Indians, to give the white marauder the Indians' lands and join the invader in the extinction of this wild race whose creation must assuredly have been a mistake.

[19] Douglas, *Private Papers*, MS., 1st ser., 82–7, gives some interesting information respecting the natives before their demoralization. Richardson, *Journal*, ii. 55-6, says that 'the Hudson's Bay Company aid the clergymen of all the persuasions by free passages, rations, and other advantages, besides granting salaries to those employed at their fur-posts, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics.' See also *Ab-sa-ra-ka*, 180; *Mayne's Brit. Col.*, 305, 349; *Holcombe's Stranger than Fiction*, passim; *Horetzky's Canada on the Pacific*, 26, 138; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 100; *Grant's Ocean to Ocean*, 140-1; *Mackenzie's Voy.*, v.; *London Times*, July 22, 1858.

# CAPTER XVIII.

## THE NORTHWEST COMPANY.

1783–1821.

Character of the Montreal Associates—The French Régime Reviewed—Trade at Michilimackinac—The Montreal Merchants Penetrate North-westward and Form a Commercial Copartnership—The Disaffectionists form the X. Y. Company—Union of the Two Factions—Internal Regulations of the Northwest Company—The Grand Portage—Early Voyages from Montreal to Lake Superior—Feudal Glories of Fort William—Wars between the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company—The Red River Affair—Fusion of the Two Companies.

Of all associations formed at any time or place for the purpose of obtaining the skins of fur-bearing animals, the Northwest Company of Montreal[1] was the most daring, dashing, audacious, and ultimately successful. Its energy was surpassed only by the apathy of its great chartered rival, which had been in existence one hundred and thirteen years. Canada had been twenty years in British possession when it was organized, without assistance, privileges, or government favors, by a few Scotch Canadians for the better prosecution of a business with which they were all more or less familiar.

Infusing into their traffic the spirit of enterprise, these associates pushed adventure beyond Lake Superior to Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca, and finally overspread the then wholly new Northwest. It was they who found the river Mackenzie,

[1] Sometimes called the Canada Company, because it was organized in Canada, in contradistinction to the Hudson's Bay Company chartered in England.

and followed it to the Frozen Ocean; it was they who ascended Peace River, crossed the Rocky Mountains, planted posts upon their western slope, and traversed the country to the Pacific; it was they who by their Scotch shrewdness and resistless energy, after absorbing the Canada trade, took possession of the Northwest Coast, swept Astor from the Columbia, and brought the monster monopoly itself upon its knees.

We have seen how under the French *régime* those forest pedlers, called *coureurs des bois*, obtained from the merchant, perhaps on credit, the necessary store of goods, and set out in their birch-bark canoes for the great lakes and regions beyond, whence after one or two years of successful traffic they returned richly laden with their annual harvests, followed perhaps by crowds of Indians with furs to sell. We have seen how after settling accounts with the merchants these rovers gave themselves up to dissipation which shortly left them with little of their hard-won earnings.

This licentiousness excited to jealous action the missionaries, who endeavored to suppress this prostituted traffic by requiring every man trading with Indians to procure a license from government, which license prohibited the sale of intoxicating drink to natives, and was to be given only to men of good character.

Pure men only were thus to be brought in contact with the tender savage. The church was to furnish its quota as well as the state. Men made holy by hunger, by filth and fasting, by sleepless vigils, coarse gowns and bead-tellings, should enter the forest only for good. In their trail there should follow no slimy serpents of civilization, no hissing flames of disease or deadly distillations; and more wonderful than all, honest servants of the government should be found who would deal fairly, humanely, with these rude and defenceless forest-dwellers. Saturn should supply them.

And for a very short time the system worked well. The forests were exorcised of Christian demons; missionaries salted souls without let, and merchants paid their own price for furs. It was heavenly. It was far too fine a state of things to last. The missionaries began discussing transubstantiation, whilst the traders fell to cheating, and so the devil was permitted to return, fire-water was used again, and civilization followed its beaten track.

The establishing of military posts on the shores of the great lakes brought upon the border a better influence than that of either missionaries or licenses, by bringing the traffic into more respectable and responsible hands and checking improper policies. The chief officer of a fort at this time was regarded in the light of a commander rather than trader. This, however, did not change the character of the establishment; for call himself what he would, he commanded that he or others might trade.

Following the interruption of trade incident to the conquest of Canada by the British, Scotch merchants with purses as long as their heads located themselves at Montreal and assumed control of the fur-trade formerly enjoyed by the French. By employing such French Canadians as were friendly with the natives and attached to forest life, of whom there were thousands, the new masters of the country were enabled in time to conquer the repugnance of the savages to everything English, which aversion had been strenuously instilled by the French. Indeed many Frenchmen still took part in trade, for by the cession of Canada in 1763, they had become British subjects.

Beginning in a small and prudent way in 1766, with Michilimackinac as their interior station, singly or in pairs, or parties of three or four, accompanied by French boatmen, guides, and interpreters, the Montreal Scotchmen entered the field, at first venturing scarcely thirty miles away from head-quarters, but quickly gaining confidence with success, until one

Thomas Curry with four canoes crossed to Fort Bourbon, and returned the following spring with furs enough to supply his wants for the remainder of his life. James Finlay visited Nipawee, the farthermost French port on the Saskatchewan, and returned with four canoes fully laden with furs.

More adventurers now entered the field, and competition became animated, not only among themselves but with their brethren of the United States on the south, and the Hudson Bay people on the north. Indeed the latter became more jealous of their fellow-countrymen than ever they had been of the French; and in 1774, aroused to the adoption of protectionary measures by constant encroachments, they established a post on the east bank of Sturgeon Lake.

Gradually the nearer country became exhausted and remoter regions were sought. In 1775 Joseph Frobisher penetrated beyond Churchill River. A year or two later his brother reached Ile à la Crosse, both meeting with success. In 1778 some traders on the Saskatchewan River having surplus stock agreed upon a common venture, filled four canoes and sent them to the Athabasca country in charge of Peter Pond. The goods bought twice as many furs as the boats could carry; and having secured a portion in his winter hut, he returned for them the following spring.

This, however, was exception rather than rule, for throughout the country generally trade was falling into evil ways. Every possible artifice was employed to undermine competitors, and among others liquor was again introduced. The natives in consequence became troublesome, threatened to exterminate the traders, and were in a fair way to succeed when the small-pox broke out among them, committing fearful ravages.

Traffic was brought to a standstill. The country was well nigh depopulated, for those who escaped the disease fled to the forests. Nor did the fur-hunters perceive very flattering prospects before them even

when the scourge ceased. Satisfactory results could be secured only by excursions of constantly increasing extent and danger, performed by parties of constantly increasing size and strength. More boats were necessary, more goods to fill them, and men to navigate them; forts must be built and Indians awed.

Thus matters stood when in the winter of 1783–4 Simon McTavish, Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, McGillivray, Recheblave, Fraser, and others, including the larger part of the wealthiest and most influential of the merchants of Montreal, together with the more able and successful of the traders in the country, associated themselves under the name of the Northwest Company of Montreal, though sometimes called McTavish, Frobisher, and Company, and again McGillivray, Thain, and Company.

The number of shares originally was sixteen, but Peter Pond and Peter Pangman, able and successful traders, not being admitted by the association upon such terms as they deemed their due, left their business in the country and proceeded to Montreal, intending to form a rival company. Pond was at once admitted to the Northwest Company, so his opposition fell to the ground. Pangman won to his scheme two influential men, Mr Gregory and Mr McLeod.

Shortly before this the famous Alexander Mackenzie had been five years' clerk in the counting-house of Mr Gregory, and was then at Detroit with a small stock of goods intrusted him by his former employer. Without his solicitation or knowledge Mackenzie was made partner in the Pangman and Gregory Company, which now took the name of the X. Y. Company,[2] provided he would make an expedition into the Indian country in the following spring of 1785, which proposal was immediately accepted by Mackenzie.

[2] Schoolcraft, *Per. Mem.*, 135, erroneously states that Mackenzie established the X. Y. Company. Mackenzie was at first opposed to the Northwest Company, and always disliked McGillivray, who never spoke well of him.

A severe struggle now arose between the McTavish Company and the Pangman Company, the bitterest hitherto experienced in those parts, arising from the attempt of the former to crush the latter. In the feuds which followed, one of Pangman's partners was killed, another lamed, and a clerk shot but not killed, the bullet passing through the powder-horn before entering his body. Hostilities were finally terminated by the admission in July 1787 of the plucky opposition into the ranks of the Northwest Company, whose unequally divided shares were increased for that purpose to the number of twenty.

The Northwest Company was now prepared to make its influence felt; and the partners purposed to do business. The association included the best men in the country, the very cream of the Canada fur-traders. It was a simple commercial partnership, and none the less strong because not a dollar of capital was required from anybody. Every partner must be a man, a strong man in some one particular branch of the business.

There were no two houses in Montreal of greater might or wealth than the Frobishers and Simon McTavish; these two distinct houses while continuing their regular business acted conjointly as agents for the Northwest Company in Montreal. They were to supply the necessary capital for conducting the business, the money actually employed to draw interest. They were to obtain supplies from England; have the goods made at Montreal according to the requirements of the trade, and packed and shipped to the Grand Portage on the north-western side of Lake Superior, where the French Canadians had formerly a rendezvous, and where the Northwest Company now made their head-quarters, bringing there every spring the furs collected, and sending thence for the interior fresh supplies. There two of the Montreal agents were to proceed every year to attend to the business, for which service the Montreal

partners were to receive a commission in addition to dividends on shares.

The other proprietors were to spend their time in the Indian country managing the business with the assistance of clerks, and occupied during winter in the fur-trading districts, whereby they were called wintering partners. They were not obliged to furnish capital, but ability and energy, and even then such was the skill and influence of some of them that they held two shares, with one of which they might at any time retire from active service, each naming a clerk as his successor who should have the other. It was an admirable combination of skill and capital, founded not on speculative theory, but on actual experience and practical necessity.

To obtain admission into partnership was no easy matter. It could be accomplished only by long and arduous service; money was no object, ability was everything. It was what the candidate could do, not who his grandfather was, that spoke him favorably. Yet those admitted were generally of good family.

Clerks succeeded to partnership after a five or seven years' apprenticeship, receiving one hundred pounds sterling for the term, according to priority and merit. If at the expiration of their apprenticeship there was no immediate vacancy in the partnership, from one to three hundred pounds per annum according to merit was allowed as a salary until they could take their place in the company as partners. During their term of apprenticeship some added to their duties the office of interpreter, receiving therefor extra pay. Shares could be sold only to servants of the company whose admission as partners was secured by vote; the seller of a share received only its value based upon actual earnings irrespective of probable dividends. This held out to meritorious young men having served a five or seven years' apprenticeship the prospect of some day obtaining shares without the payment of a premium; and if worthy they were seldom disappointed. Each

share was entitled to a vote, and a two thirds vote was necessary to the carrying of a measure. Thus by a liberal and intelligent policy interest was aroused and emulation sustained, and the affairs of the company were no less wisely ordered than efficiently executed.

Forty thousand pounds was the gross return in 1788, increasing to three times that amount in eleven years. So signal a success was unparalleled in the annals of the fur-trade. In 1790, the term of partnership having expired, the organization underwent a change. Some retired, while new partners were admitted and the shares were increased to forty-six. A new firm was formed by the retired partners, who built a fort at the Grand Portage and styled themselves the X. Y. Company, and for a time there were again two powerful parties in the field; but in 1805, yielding to the dictates of interest, the two factions coalesced.

The company's business routine was as follows: No money was directly employed in the purchase of furs from the natives; Indians scarcely ever knew what money was. In October of each year the agents at Montreal ordered goods from London, which were shipped the following spring and reached Canada in the summer. These goods consisted of coarse woollen and cotton cloths, calicoes, blankets, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, hats, hose and shoes, thread and twine, brass kettles, cutlery and other hardware, arms and ammunition, and tobacco. Liquors and provisions were obtained in Canada.

The next winter the cloths were made into such articles as suited trade with the natives. The stock required was then put into packages of ninety pounds each, and sent from Montreal the following May, and reached the wilderness market the winter following, two years from the date of ordering. Goods for the posts of the Pacific were yet longer in reaching their destination.

This is not all. Goods were frequently kept over a year or two at the interior forts, and the furs did not reach Montreal until the autumn following the winter of their purchase. Then they were shipped for the most part to London and sold; but pay was not received until the succeeding spring or summer, three years at least from the shipment from England of the goods with which they were purchased, and sometimes four or five years.

The expenses attending the sale of the goods were about equivalent to their first cost. Allowing the Montreal agents twelve months' credit in London, they were still obliged to carry for two years the outlay for the goods and the expenses attending their sale. It is easily seen that when the traffic was £80,000 or £120,000 per annum, the amount required to be carried especially for those times was enormous; so that although profits were large, expenses, risk, and labor were likewise large. At first goods for the Pacific posts were transported across the mountains in boats and on men's backs, at fearful cost and labor; later they were shipped round Cape Horn and taken up the Columbia and Fraser rivers.[3]

[3] There were employed in 1798 by the Northwest Company 50 clerks, 1120 canoe-men, and 35 guides. Of these between Montreal and the Grand Portage, some going as far as Lac la Pluie, were employed during the summer five clerks, eighteen guides, and 350 boatmen. These people were called 'pork-eaters,' also 'goers and comers,' as they lived chiefly on pork instead of the meat of wild animals, which was almost the only food of those in the forest, and spent their lives going and coming between Montreal and Fort William. As compensation for this trip the guides received, besides expenses and privileges to trade on their own account, $160 and their equipment; foremen and steersmen, $90; middlemen, $70, and a shirt, trousers, and blankets. In trading they often made as much as their wages. Those who wintered at the upper end of the route received double pay. All other employés were engaged by the year, and for a term of years. A first-class equipment consisted of fourteen pounds of tobacco, two blankets, two shirts, two pairs of trousers, two handkerchiefs, and some trinkets for trading; second-class, ten pounds of tobacco and the other articles; third-class, half the quantity of second-class. To the northmen, as the employés who wintered in the field were called, were attached more than 700 native women and children, victualled at the company's expense. During the height of their power 2000 voyageurs were employed at an average wage of £40 per annum. *Northwest Company's Nar.*, 77–87; *E. Ellice*, in *House of Commons Report Hudson's Bay Company*, 323; *Silliman's Journal*, April 1834; *Mackenzie's Voy.*, iii. xliv.; *Harmon's Journal*, 40; *Ballantyne's Hudson's Bay*, 244; *Franchere's Nar.*, 338–9; *Dunn's Or.*, 14–33; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, i. 276–7; *Cox's Col. River*, i. xi.–xix.; *Irving's Astoria*, 21; *Gray's Or.*, 22–23. 'Employed at one time not

When the boundary line between Canada and the United States was determined it was found that the old fort of Grand Portage, situated on the northwestern side of Lake Superior, and which from the date of their organization had been the rendezvous of the Northwest Company in that region, stood on United States soil, and the company determined to demolish it and build another forty-five miles to the northward, at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, flowing into Thunder Bay, still on the shore of Lake Superior. It was in 1805 when the two unfriendly factions of the Montreal merchants, that is to say the X. Y. Company and the Northwest Company, were united that this was done, and the new establishment, built upon a magnificent site, was called Fort William, in honor of William McGillivray, then chief agent of the company at Montreal.[4]

Fort William became, as the Grand Portage had hitherto been, the grand depôt for the interior posts, where every summer assembled the wintering parties from the interior and the agents from Montreal, the former to deliver the furs collected and receive new outfits, the latter to bring forward the necessary supplies, discuss the affairs of the association, and plan the campaigns of the ensuing season.

Let us follow a brigade, as they called their little fleets, from Montreal to Fort William, and then look

fewer than 2000 voyageurs.' *Twiss' Or.*, 13; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 325; *British N. Am.*, 247; *Lord Selkirk and the Northwest Company*, in *London Quarterly Review*, October 1816. 'The number of voyageurs in the service of the Northwest Company cannot be less than 2000. Their nominal wages are from 30*l* to 60*l*, some as high as 80*l* or even 100*l*; the average cannot be less than 40*l*, and is probably higher; so that the sum total of wages must be 80,000*l* or 90,000*l*. The gross return of their trade seldom exceeds 150,000*l*.' Selkirk's *Sketch Fur Trade*, 39, not the best authority on Northwest Company. Umfreville, *Hudson's Bay*, 71–5, asserts that while the Hudson's Bay Company through a false sense of economy endeavored to make boatmen of the Indians, and ground their servants down to £15 per annum, the Canada merchants paid theirs £40. Yet the former stigmatized the latter as pedlers, thieves, and interlopers, because they went where trade was instead of waiting for it to come to them.

[4] McGillivray originated the measure which, first in the Northwest Company and later in the Hudson's Bay Company, made every efficient clerk in due time partner or shareholder.

in upon them for a moment there; for it was a gay, dashing life, in which creature comforts were by no means forgotten, though it was the boast of this company, from the managing agent to the humblest voyageur, that he was always ready to accept hardships cheerfully, that upon emergency he could tramp forests, buffet rapids, burrow in snow, carry burdens, sleep hard, and eat dog.

The start is made from Lachine, a prettily situated village on the bank of the St Lawrence, eight or nine miles above Montreal, and in the month of May, when the rivers and lakes are nearly free from ice.

At a cost of about sixty dollars each the requisite number of canoes have been provided, say thirty, in which case the squadron is divided into three brigades, each having its guide or pilot, whose business it is to point the course, take charge of boats and property, attend to all repairs, and act as commander or admiral, to whom the voyageurs stand in the relation of common sailors.

In each boat are eight or ten men with their baggage, six hundred pounds of biscuit, two hundred pounds of pork, three bushels of pease—these as ship's stores, with sixty-five packages of goods as freight. The equipment of the canoe consists of two oilcloths with which to cover the goods; a sail and sailing tackle; an axe, a towing-line, a kettle for cooking purposes; a sponge for bailing, and some gum, bark, and watape for repairs. To the inexperienced observer of these frail craft, thus crowded with men and heaped with goods three or four tons in each, until the gunwale is within six inches of the water, it seems that destruction is inevitable, especially when winds and swift currents are considered. But so experienced and expert are these Canadian boatmen that loss of life and property is comparatively rare, although accidents are frequent. Two picked men, a foreman and a steersman, are placed, the one in the bow and the other in the stern of every canoe; those who simply

ply the paddle are called middlemen. A sail is hoisted whenever the wind is favorable. Above Fort William and the Grand Portage the boats are about half the size, and are managed by four, five, or six men. They carry about thirty-five packages, twenty-three of which are for purposes of trade, and the remainder luggage and stores.

A prayer and a vow to Saint Anne, a few confessions and cheap votive offerings, a farewell carouse to comrade and sweetheart, and the voyageur is ready. Then adieu for a time to civilization and dissipation, adieu to church-bells and tutelar saint; for the white mistress now must give place to the brown, the dusty cobwebbed vault of Saint Anne to the open arc of God's temple, where the stars shall keep vigil amidst the companionship of wild men and wild beasts.

Embarking, soon the rapids of Saint Anne are reached, when part or the whole of the cargo must be unladen. These portages, from *porter*, to carry, though frequent and fatiguing, are not annoying, because taken as a matter of course. The voyageurs at these places vie with each other in displays of strength and celerity, and would as soon think of complaining because the sun heated them, or the water made them wet, or rum drunk.

The advantage of ninety-pound packages, from long experience proved the most convenient weight, is now seen. The usual load for one man is two packages, but if the way be exceedingly rugged one suffices, though the ambitious boatman will sometimes carry three. These are thrown upon the back and there supported in slings suspended from the head. The cargoes are thus carried to some point above the fall or rapid, to which the canoes are either towed by a strong line or carried on men's shoulders. The carrying-place passed, the boats are again loaded and the party proceeds. So methodical and expert have these boatmen become by practice, that a portage is made in an incredibly short time, twelve or twenty of them

being frequently passed in a single day. The length of the portages varies greatly, extending from sixty yards to six miles, or even twice or thrice that distance. Round a perpendicular fall the way is usually not far. In crossing from one stream to another the carrying-places are longest.[5]

Up the Ottawa River the Portage de Chaudière is passed, where over craggy rocks the stream plunges twenty-five feet; then Portage des Chênes, after which Lac des Chaudières is entered.

Whatever calls to mind the Christ, his crucifixion, and his comfortings, claims recognition. In passing a fork of the river, or a cross erected over a grave, of which there are many on all the main routes, the voyageurs solemnly remove their hats, cross themselves, while one in each boat or in each brigade repeats a short prayer. But not alone their songs and superstitions break the monotony of portages and paddling. Like the sailors they have their lines, passing which for the first time comrade or clerk must treat or take a ducking. Heavy hearts and weeping eyes were all left with Saint Anne; and the wild solitudes echo only laughter and loud delight.

Step by step picturesque waterfalls are surmounted, and the transparent streams, placid lakes, and wild untenanted shores come and go as in panorama. Hunters are sent out and bring in fresh meat; a light canoe, paddled by twelve picked men gorgeously arrayed and striking in exact time, shoots past, carrying a director clothed in rich furs and surrounded by sovereign state for the grand council to be presently held at Fort William.

Portage des Chats is passed; likewise Décharge

[5] 'The tract of a transport occupies an extent from three to four thousand miles, through upwards of sixty large lakes and numerous rivers, and the means of transport are slight bark canoes. It must also be observed that those waters are intercepted by more than two hundred rapids, along which the articles of merchandise are chiefly carried on men's backs, and over one hundred and thirty carrying-places from twenty-five paces to thirteen miles in length where the canoes and cargoes proceed by the same toilsome and perilous operation.' *Mackenzie's Voy.*, 410, note.

des Sables, and Mountain Portage, and Lac Coulonge, and fifty other places with old-fashioned names, smacking of the all-absorbing traffic of the times. Then across the Nipissing Lake, past Huron, and to the upper end of Superior, where at Thunder Bay the centre round which the fur-hunting universe revolves is reached.[6]

Rightly to picture in our minds such an establishment as Fort William in the flush fur times, we must place the feudal beside the original and mark the effect of subserving civilization to commerce. As in the classical abnormities of California gold-seeking there were many phases of human nature never before displayed, many scenes in social statics never again to be dramatized, so here we may see the blending of savagism and civilization, a mercantile mixture of French volatility and keen-edged Scotch cunning, such as the world will never witness again. There are no more unguarded Californian valleys, gilt-edged with a gold-embosomed sierra; there are no more hyperborean planet-parks filled with various animals, beasts, birds, and fishes, and hunted only by simple-minded savages; no more of these vast unappropriated natural treasures in which civilized man may make display of his voracity. Within the palisades of Fort William, in the centre of the enclosure, stood the great corporation's great house which was both council-chamber and caravansary.

In it were the rooms of officers, the spacious dining hall where staid revels were indulged in; below was the ample kitchen, stocked from Montreal. Surrounding the council-house, and still within the pickets, were subordinate tenements, eating, sleeping, and working houses, warerooms, and stores.

Outside the stockade during the summer fortnight of business festivity were two encampments, con-

[6] For less than one fiftieth the cost by canoe transportation from Montreal, goods are now landed at Fort William in ships direct from England.

sisting of between three and four hundred men each, the one on the east side of the fort being the *mangeurs de lard*, pork-eaters, comers and goers between Montreal and Fort William, and those on the west side the *hivernants*, or winterers in the field. Behind the fort were camped such Indians as were drawn thither by curiosity, love of liquor, or love of finery and display.

The four groups afforded many contrasts. Probably of them all, the least thoughtful, the least concerned about the here or hereafter, as indeed they were the happiest, the noisiest, and the greasiest, was the pork-eating company. They had not the reflective melancholy-mindedness of the Indian, although they vied with him in filth and freedom. Next to the chiefs and their immediate followers who inhabited the fortress, and made pretensions to refinement and even luxury, were the winterers, who were indeed the chivalry of the company. As a class they were entitled to the credit of some degree of intellectual rasping in addition to their sylvan accomplishments. Across the river from the fort was a small settlement of worn-out voyageurs, their little log-houses filled with native wives and children, who cultivated small patches of corn and potatoes, which with a few fish and perhaps a tobacco pension from high quarters, sufficed to secure what kingdoms could not buy, content.

A busy buzzing characterized the day both within and without the fort. There were multitudes of accounts to be settled, of old scores to be wiped out and new obligations to be assumed. Expired engagements were renewed, and promotions made. Those who desired might send their earnings to Montreal or London by purchasing the company's draft on those places. Always there was more or less bartering going on between employés, accompanied by boisterous mirth or sullen cursings, as the case might be. Games of chance and skill were indulged in, Indians and French-

men alike entering into them with the keenest zest. Thus the gathering bore to some extent the appearance of a pleasure party no less than a business meeting. While the *bizarre* brotherhood of Canadians, Indians, and half-breeds without the fort were engaged in their noisy industry and still louder voiced pastimes, the grave Scotch seigniors were holding weighty councils within. It was a huge machinery which they had set in motion and were now obliged to keep running, and at no Spanish córtes were ever presented countenances stiffer with concern; and although some pompous diction and swelling oratory were indulged in, there was much more of tough Orkney logic, the immediate result of practical business intuition. But it was at the hour of dining, when, the sober business of the day accomplished, like old feudal barons the wintering partners, each surrounded by his retainers, had entered the great banqueting-hall, there to meet the still more august magnates from the city, that the glories of the fortress shone resplendent. Running parallel down the hall were two large tables loaded with the combined delicacies of forest and field, prepared by skilled cooks and served by experienced stewards from London. Fish, beef, and venison, with rarer and more savory side-dishes, moose nose, beaver tails, and buffalo tongue; milk and butter, white bread and corn, pease and potatoes, luxuries indeed to those whose regular diet was only meat; dainty desserts, ale, liquors, delicate wines, and finest tobacco—all this and much more was every day placed before the assembled fur-hunters in the great hall at Fort William.

At the head of each table a proprietor-agent, the highest officer of the association, took his seat, and on either side partners, clerks, guides, and interpreters arranged themselves according to their several pretensions. The Montreal partners were nabobs richly attired, and with the surroundings, whether at home, *en voyage*, or at the rendezvous, of luxury and wealth. In the city they kept open house, and entertained like

lords, and in the field, though they should sleep upon the ground, they slept soundly, and were attended like monarchs. Though ranking no higher, and in the council having no extra vote, by reason of position their influence was more general, having the buying, selling, and handling of all merchandise employed in the traffic, than that of the wintering partners; though there were few of these last named but ruled a realm as large as England. Nor must we forget that between the several members of this assembly there was a bond of common sympathy; they were not only friends but business brothers; so that, when they came together on this great occasion of the year, it was not like an ordinary feast made for the indulgence of vain display, but more like a family festive gathering, in which the senior partners were patriarchs, and the juniors their sons of enterprise. As the more importunate claims of appetite became appeased, and the mellowing influence of happy surroundings brought relaxation, the dry distasteful parts of British character disappeared, and there beamed in every face a kindly sympathy which presently kindled to enthusiasm as home and distant friends were brought to mind; likewise future plans were discussed and the present as usual well nigh forgotten. How different an affair it was, this thing of living here and there. Become savages for furs! a commentary truly upon the divine ideal in progress. There was little philosophy, however, little inquiry into the *a priori* reasons of their skinnings; instead, stories were told of youthful frolics in the dear old native land, and these compared with the life-defendings of pathless wastes, which often swelled in the recital to a diapason of dangers.

And as the generous wine went round and brimming bumpers were drank to loyal toasts, and rising impulse broke forth in highland song and chorus, making the rafters of Fort William ring with high hilarity, round the outskirts of this knightly wassail-

ing were heard the roarings of French and Indian bacchanals, which were indeed a credit to lordly example.

Such was Fort William, and such the magnificent Northwesters in the days of their popular renown.

Slowly, slowly awoke the monster monopoly, as by their charter and self-affection they would wish to be, well nigh dormant in their hyperborean dealings these hundred years and more, to a realization of their situation. These Montreal Scotchmen, with their constantly increasing wealth and independence, with their superior intelligence, enterprise, and pluck, were becoming formidable.

What should be done?

There was but one answer an Englishman could make to such a question: they must be driven out. Although they were planting themselves firmly enough in all the wide north-west, scaling the stony barrier which had so long obstructed the fur-hunter's path to the Pacific; and although the fiercer beat upon them the storms of rivalship the deeper and more firmly did they root themselves to the soil, yet they must be driven out. For every post they planted, another should be built beside it; for every inducement offered the natives to trade, double should be given; so the council ordered, and so the servants did.

Now no highland chieftain in his sovereign stronghold was ever more ready for the issue than these same revellers in the great hall of Fort William; no highland clansmen were ever more eager for the fray than the impulsive voyageurs and fierce half-breeds that echoed their masters' bacchanals beyond the pickets.

Three claims to sole occupation and superiority the Hudson's Bay Company set up, not one of which with the Northwest Company was of a feather's weight. First was their royal grant, which, whether confirmed by parliament or established by time, or neither confirmed nor established, restricted the grantors to Ru-

pert Land, which latter term signified the territory immediately encircling Hudson Bay. Secondly, the policy of the Rupert Land adventurers, which was to let the natives of the interior alone, while the white men should remain at their factories on the coast and receive such peltries alone as the Indians chose to bring them. This method was deemed better than to push traffic into the heart of the continent to the speedy extermination of native men and beasts. Thirdly, fixed prices, sober routine, orderly intercourse, and various slow commercial flummeries to which the wide-awake Northwesters would not even listen. It must be confessed that the Northwest Company were not so strictly scrupulous in their use of means as they might have been; but in principle they were sound enough. The north-west territories were as rightfully open to one robber as to another; and of this a Scotchman did not need to be told. Evils arose from bitter rivalry which might be justly chargeable to both. I have no disposition to put in a plea for or against either. Competition led to summer hunting, which yielded imperfect furs, and to dam and cub killing, alike suicidal and cruel.

By this time, say 1805, private speculators were practically driven from the Canadian fur-trade. In the region north-west from the great lakes, beyond the established boundary, the Canada Company did not attempt to penetrate after 1804. Prior to that time, besides forts on the great lakes, the Northwest Company had forts on the headwaters of the Mississippi.[7] In like manner the United States companies east of the mountains confined themselves to their own territories. West of the Rocky Mountains, where proprietorship was yet undisputed, nationalities met, as we shall see hereafter. Hence the two

[7] 'Prior to the year 1789 they had extended their discoveries and establishments along the numerous lakes and rivers situated north of that high tract of country which divides the Mississippi and Missouri waters from those which run toward the north and east to within a short distance of the Rocky Mountains.' *Gass' Journal*, 4.

great British companies were prepared in British territory to throw their whole weight against each other in bloody rivalry; school-fellows perhaps in England or Scotland were now to array themselves under commercial banners in deadly antagonism.

In 1806 a Hudson Bay trader named Corrigal was stationed with a body of men at Bad Lake, within a short distance of which was a fort commanded by a Northwest partner, Haldane, it having now become customary for both companies, following their declared policy, to plant their posts beside each other. Corrigal having obtained some skins from natives owing Haldane, the latter with five men broke into the establishment of the former, and threatening to kill him if he interfered, carried them off. Then Alexander McDonnell, clerk with the Northwest Company, broke into the house of T. Creor, a Hudson's Bay Company trader, and after beating him and stabbing his servant, righted some real or fancied wrong by seizing some furs, a quantity of provisions, and a canoe. In like manner William Linkwater and Duncan Campbell fought.

From Churchill Factory in 1809, Peter Fidler went with eighteen men to establish a post at Ile à la Crosse, the Hudson's Bay Company having failed in previous similar attempts, being driven away by their rivals, who had secured the attachment of the natives of that locality. Mr Fidler built his fort; but meanwhile the Northwest Company stationed a party of *battailleurs* or professional bullies in a watch-house built for that purpose, in order to overawe the natives and prevent them from trading at the Fidler fortress. Not liking his situation, Mr Fidler retired, and his persecutors set fire to his fort. In like manner the Hudson Bay people treated their opponents as opportunity offered; and for such outrages Canada at this time offered no redress, for had one party attempted to capture another, and carry prisoners to Montreal for trial, general war would have been the

result. In short such action was not possible. A thousand Hudson Bay men could not carry a single Northwester through his own territory to a Montreal prison.

But one instance of bringing an offender to trial occurred within a period of twelve years, and that was the memorable case of Mowatt, a Hudson's Bay Company's servant, who killed a Northwester at Eagle Lake in 1809. Surrounding the house in which he took refuge, the Northwesters demanded his immediate surrender, which was made on condition of his being taken to Montreal for trial. This was done; and after long and harassing delay, the Hudson's Bay Company then having no agent at Montreal and the man no friends, he was finally convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and to be branded on the hand with a hot iron.[8]

During this bloody epoch pugilistic encounters were frequent, not only between the men but between the principals. Clerks who had not fought their duel were regarded as little better than cowards. Liquors were circulated freely by the associations both among the natives and the servants of the companies. Trade was demoralized to a disgusting extreme. White men besieged the Indians' hunting-path so as to secure the catch. Some of these clansmen, while they would fight fiercely in the field, once returned to their respective forts were brothers, visiting each other freely and keeping holidays in common. Their friendships were their own, their fights were their masters'. So tame were some of the servants of the old monopoly that a Hudson Bay clerk was once

[8] A complete history of the war between the rival companies would fill a volume. The instances cited, however, together with a brief account of the Red River difficulties, will, I trust, be sufficient to give the reader a clear idea of the nature and method of the contest. Cumberland House was a place much spoken of. 'The houses of the two companies at this place,' says Sir John Franklin, *Nar.*, i. 86, 'are situated close to each other,' with no friendly intercourse at this period between them. 'A suspicious kind of armed neutrality was preserved on each side.' *Cox's Adv.*, ii. 229–244; see also *Northwest Company's Nar.*, 40–5.

heard to say in declining the challenge of a chivalrous sprout of the Northwest Company, "that he was employed to trade for furs and not to kill his fellow-countrymen."

In playing at duello, it must be confessed the clerks succeeded well in their efforts not to harm each other. Tricks were always in order, and the bright doings on both sides lost nothing in the telling.

One winter's day in the Athabasca country a Hudson Bay scout reported Indian tracks in the snow, thereby indicating the return of a hunting expedition. As usual the forts of the two companies were near together, so that it was almost impossible for one to make a move in any direction without exciting the curiosity of the other. The question was how to reach these returned hunters and secure their furs without the interference of their rivals.

There were too many to coerce, therefore courtesy should do it. Childish rivalry for the moment should give place to friendship's hallowed communion. A grand ball should be given to the honorable Northwest Company, and on the spot. When drink was not wanting, a ball in fur-hunting circles was a matter quickly arranged. Invitations were answered by the dancers presenting themselves in the evening at the hour named in grandest apparel, with clean capotes, bright hat-cords, and new embroidered moccasins. The native fiddler struck up a Scotch reel, and while from the huge fire came fitful gusts from savory roasts, the guests were invited to manifest their appreciation of the entertainment by the measure of their potations. Would they not drink? would they not dance? would they not take another drink, and another, and another?

This within the palisades; while down in a hollow behind the fort muffled men with packs and snow-shoes were hurrying to and fro hitching dogs to sledges, patting the creatures to keep them quiet, and directing their eager movements only by signs and whispers.

Finally, the sledges being well loaded with goods and the bells all removed from the dogs' necks, the party started at a round pace for the Indian camp. Long after the noiseless train had departed, the sound of revelry was borne upon the frosty air, until finally stillness reigned. Next day the Northwest lookout reported the returned hunters. With bells ringing merrily a party set out in pursuit, only after a long day's journey to find the hunters all dead-drunk, with not so much as a musquash left to sell.

Yes, it was a brilliant ball, but the Northwesters swore there should be dancing to another tune ere long. Soon opportunity offered. Rival trains in search of the same hunters meeting one cold day, it was proposed to build a rousing fire, and eat and drink together. Soon a huge pile of logs was crackling furiously, and spirits were flowing freely. This time the Northwesters by spilling their liquor upon the snow were at length enabled to put their competitors into a state of beastly intoxication; then tying them to their sledges they sent the dogs homeward, while they went forward to the Indian camp and secured the furs.

A novel idea, though unmarked by deep diplomacy, next arose in the minds of the monopolizers. If they could not extirpate their enemies they might at least hope more thoroughly to annoy and exasperate them. The route of the Northwest Company from Montreal and Fort William to their posts in the western interior lay along Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods, and thence by way of the river and lake Winnipeg to Athabasca, or across Red River to the Saskatchewan country.

Now if by any pretext their way westward might be barred, if at the very threshold of their broad field of operations these impudent interlopers might be driven back or turned aside from their beaten path and compelled to make a wide détour in order to

reach their destination, thereby adding time and expense to all their operations and enabling the monopolizers the better to compete with or crush them, would it not be a fine thing, a noble thing, a thing worthy of civilized Christians to do?

They would try it. Round the junction of the Assiniboine with Red River, at the lower end of Lake Winnipeg, and between Lake of the Woods and Manitoba Lake, and extending thence westward to the Rocky Mountains, is a region of more than ordinary fruitfulness and beauty called the fertile belt. It is well watered and wooded, and consists in part of prairie land and in part of rich river bottom. This tract they would appropriate: though not their own they would call it theirs, and so make a cheap offering of it to civilization. Yes; they would magnanimously curtail the common hunting-grounds to that extent; they would gather here the hybrid race which they were so rapidly propagating in every forest and beside every stream; they would here establish schools, teach the simple savage superior cunning, improving him meanwhile to his swift destruction. It was contrary to rule they well knew to colonize or settle hunting-ground; but might they not here at once help themselves and injure their enemies? Might they not indeed serve God as well as the devil by building churches and making revenge popular as well as profitable? They would do it. Singular they had not thought before of applying religion to fur-hunting.[9] Briefly the history of the Red River settlement is as follows:

In 1811 the earl of Selkirk obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company possession of a tract of land round Red River, extending from Lake Winnipeg far into United States territory, for the purpose of estab-

[9] Says Governor Semple himself, about 1815: 'I have trodden the burnt ruins of houses, barns, a mill, a fort, and sharpened stockades, but none of a place of worship, even on the smallest scale. I blush to say that throughout the whole extent of the Hudson's Bay territories, no such building exists.' *Hinds' Red River Ex.*, i. 174; *Northwest Company's Nar.*, 36–9.

lishing there a Scotch colony, though Irish, Scandinavians, or native half-breeds were not excluded. The tract was given Selkirk in the form of a grant from the Hudson's Bay Company; the Northwest Company denied the validity of the grant, but the British government was disposed to encourage the colonization scheme.

The spot selected, besides being situated on the great thoroughfare between the St Lawrence and the Northwest, included the pemican depôt of the Northwest Company, who were already in possession. Here this important article of food was manufactured; and if colonization were permitted, the buffalo would shortly disappear, and the company be obliged to remove their manufactory to other parts, or bring supplies at heavy cost from Canada. In short, as every one well knew, a colony planted in a hunting-ground was in a measure ruinous to the fur traffic.

The scheme, as may well be imagined, was not favorably regarded by the Northwest Company. Hence when in 1812 several Scotch families presented themselves as the vanguard of Lord Selkirk's colonial army, they were met by a large party of natives and half-breeds, retainers of the Northwest Company, and warned not to attempt settlement there.

Passing the winter at the Hudson's Bay Company's post Pembina, in the following May the colonists returned to Fort Douglas, near the present site of Fort Garry, and began agriculture, spending the winter again at Fort Pembina. Some became discouraged and returned to Canada, free passage being offered in their canoes by the Northwest Company. Those remaining now determined to attempt permanent settlement upon the forbidden ground; but every effort was attended by danger, their houses being destroyed and their lives threatened. During this summer of 1814 Miles McDonnell, Hudson's Bay Company's governor of the Assiniboine district, famine being imminent, issued a proclamation forbidding the sending

away of any kind of provisions. To this the Northwest Company paid no attention, their store-keeper, Mr Pritchard, having in charge several hundred bags of pemican which they drew upon at pleasure. Hearing of it, McDonnell sent Pritchard an order demanding the surrender of the pemican, which order Pritchard refusing to obey, McDonnell seized the pemican and carried it off by force. The servants of the Northwest Company flew to arms, coming in from quite a distance to recover their winter's provender, and but for the opportune arrival of one of the Northwest partners blood would then have flowed. Half of the pemican being immediately restored, the remainder was allowed to remain under protest. During the severities of winter part of the colonists had joined the Northwest Company, but repudiated their obligation in the spring. The exasperated Northwesters, however, appeared among them, burned houses, killed one Warren, took Governor McDonnell prisoner, and ordered all settlers to retire from the river. Thus it was, when in October 1815 the main body of colonists arrived from Scotland, starvation and the sufferings incident to a shelterless winter in that region stared them in the face.

But Selkirk proved equal to the emergency. If war was the cry, war it should be. Strengthening himself by a new purchase of shares in the Hudson's Bay Company,[10] he assumed active management of affairs, opened a general store at Fort Douglas where colonists were supplied on credit, won to his service by promises of higher positions and pay several clerks of the Northwest Company discontented by reason of non-promotion, of which there were always some, and displayed on every side a determination to adopt extreme retaliatory measures.

Fortunately securing for his manager Colin Robert-

[10] 'For this purpose it is said, and we believe truly, his lordship purchased at a price far beyond its value, about one third part of the stock of the Hudson's Bay Company, the whole of which is only £100,000.' *London Quarterly Review*, October 1816.

son, one of the Northwest Company's most shrewd and enterprising men, with him Selkirk obtained all the Canadians he required, and throwing aside the traditional caution of the Hudson's Bay Company met his rivals, in the person of Mr Robertson, with their own daring policy.

Trade with the natives was now opened; and knowing all the weak points of his late masters, Robertson carried the war into the enemy's stronghold, which was then the Athabasca country. Thither he made an expedition which proved eminently successful. Mr Clarke, late partner with Astor in the Pacific Fur Company, was engaged and sent there. By paying higher prices for furs, the nearest natives were seduced from their late allegiance, and the loyalty even of the more distant was made to waver. The enemy visibly winced beneath these blows.

Selkirk was jubilant. His triumph, however, was of short duration. As well might he attempt to stop the eruptions of Mount Ætna with his hat, as thus to quench the audacious fire of his opponents. Rousing themselves to action with their rising wrath, the Northwest Company prepared for the campaign of 1815 by raising the wages of their men, promoting clerks to proprietors, and doubling the usual quantity of goods sent to the interior. *Coûte qu'il coûté*, buy furs, was the order on both sides.

It seems a little strange to hear of actual war between commercial companies of the same nationality on American soil, of attacks and repulses, of capturing forts, and holding business competitors as prisoners; yet truth compels the utterance, for throughout this then practically limitless region arms were the only argument and brute force was the ultimate appeal.

Early in 1816 the war began in earnest, and in the battles which followed, the Hudson's Bay Company and the colonists were the greater sufferers. Three hundred half-breeds, armed, painted, and plumed, were mounted by the Northwest party and sent forth to

maraud in good old feudal fashion. First the settlement was destroyed and the colonists dispersed, some proceeding to Norway House and others to different parts, though their fort on Red River yet remained.

At Athabasca Mr Clarke was besieged; and after losing seventeen men by starvation he capitulated. At Slave Lake the Hudson's Bay Company were more successful, though they elsewhere lost thirteen more by famine in June. Two of the Northwest Company's forts, with all their properties, were taken, Mr Cameron, proprietor, made prisoner, and the fortresses burned. The keeper of the Northwest Company's station on Qu'appelle River, who had been threatened with annihilation by the Hudson Bay people should he attempt to pass downward, growing anxious for the arrival of a party expected from the northward, on the 19th of June sent Alexander Fraser, seconded by Cuthbert Grant, with eleven men and some fifty Indians and half-breeds, and having two carts loaded with supplies.

Their way carried them within two miles of the colonial post Fort Douglas, where Governor Semple of the Hudson's Bay Company was then in command. Notified of their approach, the governor with twenty-six men sallied from the fort and demanded their purpose. Grant answered that they were attending to their business, and wished to know of the governor what he was going to do about it.

Words came sharper and quicker; and almost before any one was aware of it, Semple had given the order to fire. The order was obeyed, and the result was one killed and one wounded. Then at the command of Fraser, the Northwesters raised their deadly implements, and taking deliberate aim fired. Seven fell, among them the governor himself, mortally wounded. The Hudson Bay people turned and ran for the fort, the Northwesters pursuing and firing. Of the twenty-six who so lately left the fort only four returned. The Northwesters then took posses-

sion of the fort, securing therewith a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Among the officers of the garrison killed were Governor Semple, Doctor White, McLean, Rogers, Holt, and Wilkinson. Again for a time the colonists abandoned the place.[11]

In the immediate vicinity of Red River, however, the Northwest Company suffered severely, while at a distance their superior energy and boldness carried all opposition. Selkirk himself started to quell the disturbance, but paused at Fort William, preferring discretion to valor. Proclamations were issued by the governor-general of Canada threatening peace-breakers with the severest punishment, which fulminations were treated by the spirited fur-hunters on both sides with sovereign contempt. Commissioners were then appointed to proceed forthwith to the scene of action to investigate outrages and seize offenders; but such a mission smacked of danger, and was easily postponed on account of the lateness of the season, thereby permitting the fur-hunters to fight through the winter of 1816–17 unmolested by the busy, buzzing law.

Meanwhile the war continued with unabated vigor. Men were killed and forts captured on both sides, the monopolists being as usual the greater sufferers.

[11] The statements respecting the affray are very conflicting. As told by different persons it can hardly be recognized as the same story. Some say that Semple was out in search of this band; others that the Northwesters were about to attack the fort. Each side accuses the other of having fired the first shot. By a careful comparison of all the authorities, my text conveys the facts as nearly as I am able to arrive at them. That Governor Semple was an amiable, modest, humane man, following his line of duty, there can be no question. The Montreal *Herald* of October 12th hides a body of cavalry in the woods, which surrounds Semple and his party, when one Bouche opens the conference by applying insulting language to the governor. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, iii., is obviously so biassed in favor of the Hudson's Bay Company that I find myself unable to follow him with any degree of confidence. In describing the attack he goes further even than Selkirk himself, and asserts that an armed band of 65 approached the fort to attack it, when Governor Semple appeared at the head of 27 men, and that while he was in consultation with his party 'the Indians and half-breeds divided themselves into two bodies and instantly commenced firing from the shelter afforded by a few willows; first a shot or two and then a merciless volley.' The Northwest Company in their official version of the affair, *Narrative of Occurrences*, 54, assert that in view of the fact, not even denied by the opposite party, that they marched out and followed the Indians, and fired first upon them, no doubt can remain who were the aggressors.

Trade was completely ruined. In their revengeful competition the natives were paid more for furs than their value at Montreal, while their expenses were wonderfully increased. And when at last, tired of all this, Selkirk was permitted to bring his hundred soldiers up from Fort William and call back his frightened colonists, the charges and arrests which followed were little preferable to war.[12]

[12] Ross Cox, *Adv.*, ii. 225–42, gives the best account of any one there during hostilities. Lord Selkirk's *Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*, published in 1816, as well as the *Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon the Red River*, London 1817, are not so much historical and descriptive accounts, but rather bills of indictment against the Northwest Company. They bear no comparison with Sir Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the Fur Trade*, in points of intelligent observation and fairness. In the *Narrative of the Occurrences in the Indian Countries of America*, 50–5, published by the Northwest Company in 1817, we have the other side of the story, which must be accepted with the same degrees of allowance. When men became so crazed with anger as to resort to killing, little reliance was to be placed on oaths and asseverations. From the minutes of a meeting of a council of Rupert Land held at Red River, 1845, Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 63, quotes eight rules regulating the rights of settlers. See also *Douglas' Private Papers*, MS., 1st series, 79–80. In the *House of Commons Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 323, in the testimony of E. Ellice, will be found the text of the grant made to Lord Selkirk by the Hudson's Bay Company, dated the 12th of June 1811; also, 361–2, copy of land deed as made by the company in conveying land to settlers at Red River; on 381–5 statistics of the colony by Donald Gunn, and on 445–6 a complaint made by Pequis, chief of the Saulteaux, of unjust treatment by the settlers and by the Hudson's Bay Company. Cornwallis, *New El Dorado*, 61–2, gives an account of the overflow of Red River in 1826, when houses by the score were lifted up and carried away. *Van Tramp's Adv.*, 260–6, and *Farnham's Travels*, 13–14, contain general sketches on the Red River settlement. Evans, *Hist. Or.*, MS., 109, gives a general sketch of Red River affairs. See also *Macdonald's B. C.*, 247; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 21–6, 61–6. During the affray and for years thereafter those belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company were known as the 'Blues,' while the Northwesters were designated as the 'Grays,' from the officers affecting a uniform of those colors respectively. *Anderson's Northwest Coast*, MS., 53. The advantages and disadvantages of the Red River establishment over similar settlements are given at length by Sir James Douglas in his *Private Papers*, MS., 1st series, 79–80; *Ballantyne's Hudson's Bay*, 94–6; *Hinds' Red River Ex.*, i. 172–5; *Martin's Hudson's Bay*, 19; *Ross' Red River Settlement; Andrews' Min.* Letter x.; *Franchere's Nar.*, 330–3; *Palliser's Papers* and *Further Papers; Martin's British Colonies*, iii. 532–3; *West's Red River Colony; Gray's Or.*, 24, 212–13; *Milton and Cheadle's Northwest Passage*, 37–45; *Hines' Life*, 387; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 323–4; *British N. Am.*, 252; *Lord Selkirk's Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America; British Quarterly Review*, xvi. 129–44; *Beltrami's Pilgrimage*, ii. 349 et seq.; *Harmon's Jour.*, 259–61; Portland *Oregonian*, January 15, 1870; *Anderson's Northwest Coast*, MS., 49–52; *Tod's New Caledonia*, MS., 3; *Douglas' Private Papers*, MS., 1st series, 89. John Dunn, *Or. Ter.*, 10, gives a rabid and rambling statement, the erroneous deductions of which are only exceeded by its remoteness from truth. Call his narrative by another name, and one would scarcely recognize the story as told by others.

At that time the Canadian courts had nominal jurisdiction over all the north-west territories. The offending of both companies were equally amenable, and after feuds so serious as those of Red River it was scarcely to be supposed that on the field of battle the trouble should be ended.

Human justice, however, is an uncertain affair. The wonder is that men pretending to be wise should make so much of it; that is to say, it would be strange were not chicanery become reputable. No sooner was it announced that legal investigations had been ordered than a general scattering on both sides took place, particularly among the Northwesters, who had fought in earnest and with fair success, and who did not care to face close scrutiny. It was remarkable how many of these fighters just then had business at remote posts, even in the depths of the wilderness and in the bosom of native families; so that when law's slow minions appeared there was scarcely a bad man to be found. Innocence was stamped on all faces. Enough, however, were arrested to give occupation to the lawyers and cause much trouble to offenders. Several of the more prominent actors, those whom to secrete would be inconvenient, were taken to Canada or England for trial; but money and influence seldom failed to hoodwink justice.

Four years' fighting in courts followed criminations, prosecutions, and suits over titles, leaving matters exactly where they were originally. The adventurers into Hudson Bay still held Rupert Land, and the Northwest Company still disputed their right to exclusive trade, and still carried off the larger part of the peltries. Over fifty thousand pounds sterling were spent by each company in these litigations; after which unsatisfactory attempts to achieve the ultimate, both at force and at law, negotiations followed. By the deed-poll statute of the 26th of March 1821, the trade was to be carried on exclusively in the name of the adventurers of England trading into Hudson

Bay, and by that of the 6th of July 1834, an attempt was made still further to regulate the trade in furs throughout the territory and diffuse the duties of employers. Notwithstanding which, after much suffering the colony at Red River ultimately prospered. Churches and academies were built, and close beside them jails; and law, learning, and religion were thus administered to multitudes of the fur-hunters' half-savage offspring.

Steadily all this time the Northwest Company had extended its cordon into and to the westward of the mountains, particulars of which extension will be given in their proper place. Old Establishment on Peace River was built by Mr Pond in 1778–9. No other fort was built in that region until 1785.

Fort Chipewyan, on Athabasca Lake, was one of the most important posts of the Northwest Company. Thence Alexander Mackenzie took his departure in both of his expeditions. Two months were occupied in bringing goods from the Grand Portage to this place. Often one hundred men would winter there, dependent for their sustenance wholly upon such fish as they could catch. Prior to 1782, the natives round Athabasca used to go to Fort Churchill to trade, but the hardships they experienced on the way more than offset the higher price obtained for their furs. In 1821, the Northwest Company's force between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific numbered three hundred.[13]

In other places than at Red River, with greater or less intensity at various times, hostilities raged between the two companies until negotiations for peace were instituted.[14] Alexander Mackenzie pointed out the advantage of union as early as 1801, which, had

[13] *Bouchette's Brit. Dom.*, i. 15: *Mackenzie's Voy.*, lxxxvii.; *Boston Transcript*, May 25, 1857.

[14] This in 1820. 'It is not the dread of the Indians, but of one another, that has brought the rival companies so close together at every trading-post; each party seeking to prevent the other from engaging the affections of the natives, and monopolizing the trade. Whenever a settlement is made by the one, the other immediately follows, without considering the eligibility of

it then been concluded, would have saved great loss of life and property, besides a general demoralization of the trade.

Both companies possessed such international rights as they had the strength to maintain. The Hudson's Bay Company might plead their charter, but as they had failed to fulfil its conditions their better claim was prior possession. This likewise was the title of the Northwest Company to the territory claimed by them, derived, through the conquest of 1759, from the French discoverers and colonizers of the country. At one time negotiations were entered upon for the sale of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Northwest Company. In 1804 Edward Ellice, then a partner in the Northwest Company, offered Sir Richard Neave, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, £103,000 for the whole concern, that being the capital stock of the Hudson's Bay Company at that time. But part of the stock being the property of minors, the bargain was not consummated.[15]

In June 1819 the question of rivalries and existing disputes between the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies was brought before the British parliament. Later by interposition of the ministry, a compromise was effected and the two companies merged into one. In conjunction with this coalition an act for regulating the fur-trade and establishing a criminal and civil jurisdiction in certain parts of North America was passed by parliament the 2d of July 1821, which consummated the union. The capital stock of the united association was divided equally between the late members of the two companies, and more than half of the officers were secured by the former partners of the Northwest Company. Upon the happy consummation of these arrangements a grant was made by the sovereign of Great Britian to the repre-

the place; for it may injure its opponent though it cannot benefit itself, which is the first object of all other commercial bodies, but the second of the fur-traders.' *Franklin's Nar.*, i. 290.

[15] *House of Commons Rept. Hudson's Bay Company*, 344.

sentatives of both companies, of exclusive trade for twenty-one years. The name of Hudson's Bay Company was retained in preference to the other by reason of its age, respectability, and charter.[16]

[16] Simpson, *Life*, 46, says the Northwest Company's resources were well nigh exhausted by the huge expenses, particularly for legal processes. But if this were true, how could they bring the proud old Hudson's Bay Company to such humiliating terms. See also *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 324–6. No less were the hearts of the Hudson's Bay Company turned toward reconciliation by reason of loss of dividends. Says one: 'The interests of the Hudson's Bay Company suffered so much that between 1800 and 1821 their dividends were for the first eight years reduced to four per cent., during the next six years they could pay no dividend at all, and for the remaining eight years they could only pay four per cent.' *British N. Am.*, 249, note. Although throughout its whole career the Northwest Company labored under disadvantages, assuming risks and dangers which were declined by the Hudson's Bay Company, and although they paid their servants much more liberally, and were under many heavy expenses which their rival was not, and required a much longer time in which to turn their capital, yet by reason of superior energy the Northwest Company made their business more profitable than the older and slower company. Sir George Simpson, in *House Commons Report Hudson's Bay Company*, 87, laments the general demoralization of Indians and whites arising from the rivalry between the two companies. 'It was very uncertain for a long time which of them lost most money; none of them gained money.' *Ellice*, in *House Commons Report Hudson's Bay Company*, 348–9. Mr Finlayson, *Vancouver Island*, MS., 84–8, says that both companies were almost ruined, and that their rivalry tended to the demoralization of the Indians. See also the testimony of McLoughlin and McDonell in *House Commons Report Hudson's Bay Company*, 263–6, 283, 387; *Anderson's Northwest Coast*, MS., 46 et seq.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## EARLIEST OVERLAND EXPLORATIONS NORTH-WESTWARD.

1640–1786.

UNKNOWN NORTH-WESTS—THE NORTH-WEST OF NEW FRANCE—CHAMPLAIN—BRÉBŒUF—MESNARD—ALLOUEZ—MARQUETTE AND JOLIET—LA SALLE AND HENNEPIN—GROSSELIEZ AND RADISSON—LA HONTAN—THE STORY OF JOSEPH LA FRANCE—VÉRENDRYE, THE FUR-HUNTER, PROPOSES TO FIT OUT AN EXPEDITION—CHARACTER OF VÉRENDRYE—GOVERNOR-GENERAL BEAUHARNAIS REGARDS THE PLAN FAVORABLY—VÉRENDRYE'S COPARTNERY AND ROUTE—EMBARKATION—ERECTION OF FORTS—MASSACRE AT LAC DES BOIS OF YOUNG VÉRENDRYE, PÈRE ANNEAU, AND TWENTY MEN—DISCOVERY OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—VÉRENDRYE'S RETURN AND DEATH—INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF CANADIAN OFFICIALS—ADVENTURES OF MONCACHT APÉ—CARVER'S SPECULATIONS—HEARNE'S JOURNEY—PIKE'S EXPEDITIONS—LONG'S EXPLORATIONS.

THE term North-west was orginally applied by Spanish, French, and English colonists to the undefined regions of North America in the direction indicated. Later, both the United States and Canada had each within prescribed limits their North-west Territory, as the former had its South-western Territory east of the Rocky Mountains. At the close of the revolution in 1783 the country south of lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, was organized as the North-western Territory.

Fifty years ago Canada called all that portion of her domain west of Lake Superior and Hudson Bay, except such portion as belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company, the North-west Territories.[1] As the Hud-

[1] 'By the North-west Territories, is generally understood all that portion of country extending from the head of Lake Superior, westward to the western shores of America, northward to the Frozen Ocean, and north-westward to

son's Bay Company gradually absorbed its lesser rivals, and from the borders of its original Rupert Land spread its dominion over all unoccupied country, naturally such territory took its name; but when in 1870 the Hudson Bay Territory passed into the possession of the Dominion of Canada, the term of North-west Territories was again applied to this region, which to-day comprises all British North America except the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia.

It includes the surfaces drained by streams flowing into Hudson strait and bay, the Arctic Ocean, and Lake Winnipeg.

The name Northwest Coast was given by early voyagers to that part of the Pacific seaboard north of California. For the purposes of this volume I extend this designation from the sea-shore north of the forty-second parallel back to the Rocky Mountains, excepting only Alaska. It will be noticed that none of this domain has ever come within the appellation proper of the North-west Territories as it was applied to portions of their possessions east of the Rocky Mountains, both by Canada and the United States; nor would it make any difference in this connection if it had. Between the years of 1776 and 1796, the white population of the United States overspread her south-western territory, and from 1795 to 1804 her north-western.

To the French in the north, as to the Spaniards in the south, are due the first attempts to traverse the continent from east to west. While yet in timid bands Dutch and English fur-hunters were percolating through the chief Atlantic range into the valley

the limits of the territory granted under the Hudson's Bay charter. What these limits actually are, has long been a subject of doubt and difficulty; and created not many years ago the most inveterate and alarming feuds between the rival traders of the north-west and Hudson's Bay, which led to consequences the most disastrous and lamentable.' *Bouchette's Brit. Dom.*, i. 29.

of the Ohio, whose sombre shades, like the Sea of Darkness, were filled with monstrous creations of the fancy; and while the hypothetical shores of the South Sea were thus receding from the western base of these Blue Mountains, as the Alleghanies were then called, observant Frenchmen from Canada were quietly descending the Mississippi and noting the streams, which, flowing in from the north-west, told of more continent in that direction than had ever yet been dreamed of.

Aroused perhaps by the reckless chivalry of Champlain, a kind of forest knight-errantry broke out among the religious men of the Society of Jesus, which drove fifty or more of them from Quebec to welcome death in the western wilds. It was during their distant excursions that a knowledge of the marvellous lake system leading westward was revealed. Thus in 1640, Père Brébœuf came upon the Falls of Niagara; in 1660, Père Allouez, dispensing grace from the same spot, learned much from the natives concerning the yet unexplored region. The Sioux assured him that their lands extended northward to the end of the earth, while the Great Stinking Water bounded the nations on the west.

Leaving Michilimackinac, where since 1671 he had been teaching the Hurons, Père Marquette, accompanied by the Sieur Joliet, in 1673 floated silently down the Great Water, not knowing whither it would carry him. Straight on was the Mexican gulf; but it might deflect to the east, and so prove to be one of those streams found by the English on the coast of Virginia; or it might turn to the west and discharge into the gulf of California, or into the South Sea. But when the junction of the Missouri was reached, it was then clearly evident that much elevated land must intervene between them and the Pacific, to send so large a body of water toward them.

More than this, the natives assured the two explorers that beyond the sources of the Rivière des Missouris, there was another large stream which flowed

westward. This the missionary was sure found its way to the South Sea, and he said God helping him he would find and follow that river. In his surmise Marquette was right; but death directed his explorations elsewhere before he was permitted to prove his theory.

Since he was a boy thoughts of a route from the Laurentian gulf to the Pacific Ocean had filled the mind of La Salle. His factory near Montreal was called La Chine, some said in derision, because the proprietor fancied it one step on the way to China. Hence when M. Joliet returned to Quebec, La Salle did not hesitate to express the belief that by ascending this river Mississippi instead of descending it, some means might be found of reaching the western ocean. It is not strange, therefore, that before undertaking his memorable journey to the gulf of Mexico La Salle should despatch Père Hennepin to trace the Illinois to the Mississippi, and to ascend the latter as high as possible.

This the famous Recollet accomplished in 1680, reaching the Sault St Antoine.[2] To the westward of Hudson Bay in 1682 we find Grosseliez and Radisson discovering the rivers Nelson and Churchill.

Thus laboring side by side, piety and avarice slowly pushed back the curtain so long obscuring the setting sun.

The temptation to romance about the unknown regions was not always withstood. The Baron La Hontan appears to have been the Munchausen of the day. It is as impossible, however, to write unadulterated falsehood as unadulterated truth; hence we may find shadows of history in the baron's mythology.

In the account of his pretended journey up the

[2] Father Hennepin's piety was greater than his veracity. Notwithstanding his vanity and love of exaggeration, his *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1688, contains much correct information, but his *Nouvelle dècouverte d'un très grand pays situè dans l'amèrique entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale*, Utrecht, 1697, in which he professes to have been the first to descend the Mississippi to the gulf of Mexico, was unmitigated falsehood.

long river[3] in 1688, he speaks of meeting four slaves of the Mozeemlek nation, whom he at first mistook for Spaniards, as they were clothed and had thick bushy beards.

Their country, of which they gave a description, illustrated by a map drawn on deerskin, was the farthest north and west then known. It lay beyond mountains "six leagues broad, and so high one must cast an infinity of windings and turnings before he can cross them." Continuing, La Hontan says: "The four slaves of that country informed me that at the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from the place where I then was, their principal river empties itself into a salt lake of three hundred leagues of circumference, the mouth of which is about two leagues broad; that the lower part of that river is adorned with six noble cities, surrounded with stone cemented with fat earth; that the houses of these cities have no roofs, but are open like a platform...that the people of that country made stuffs, copper, axes, and several other manufactures." Again: "All they could say was, that the great river of that nation runs all along westward, and that the salt lake into which it falls is three hundred leagues in circumference and thirty in breadth, its mouth stretching a great way to the southward."

The people on the lake called themselves Tahug-

[3] *La Hontan, Voy., Let.*, xvi. Obviously the story of Long River is fiction, there being no such stream in the locality named. Nevertheless there is truth in it. The writer may or may not have made the journey described; certainly he did not see all he professes to have seen; but for all that he may have made the excursion, may have ascended a stream which in his narration is larger and longer than in fact. Other travellers before and since have indulged in exaggeration. However this may have been, certain it is that some of his reports of the information given him by the natives bear internal evidence of their truth. Something of the Rocky Mountains was known, and something of the great river flowing to the west. Information, to some extent correct, the baron certainly obtained from some source, which could have been no other than the natives. La Hontan was a free thinker and a free writer; hence he was traduced and his works by many were discredited. Mr Granville Stuart, in *Montana, Hist. Soc. Contrib.*, i. 303, expresses the opinion that 'the information concerning Long River which he obtained from the Indians referred to the Missouri, but that in passing through the many intervening tribes it became greatly exaggerated.' See further *North Am. Review*, January 1839, p. 97.

lauks, and wore beards two fingers' breadth in length. They were covered with garments reaching down to the knee; a sharp-pointed cap covered the head; their boots reached up to the knee, and they carried a tipped cane in their hands.[4]

Are there any of my readers who desire yet more absolute fiction, they may find it in the El Dorado of Mathieu Sâgeau, who had been with La Salle and afterward went exploring, as he says, on his own account. With eleven Frenchmen and two natives, he ascended the Mississippi one hundred and fifty leagues from Fort St Louis to a cataract round which they carried their canoes and proceeded forty leagues farther. The party now began a hunt which lasted a month, during which they encountered another river fourteen leagues distant from the first and flowing south-south-west. Carrying thither their canoes, they descended this stream one hundred and fifty leagues, and found themselves amongst fortified towns governed by a king claiming descent from Montezuma. Gold was there in greater abundance than ever it had been found in Mexico or Peru, the brick of the king's apartment being made of it, and the floor being paved with it. They saw a caravan of three thousand oxen laden with gold depart on a trading journey to a neighboring nation. The Frenchmen were royally received and entertained; any woman who refused them was punished by death. On their way thither they encountered lions, tigers, and leopards, which offered them no harm. Much more this rank imposter told, the strangest part of all which was that he should find fools to believe him.

[4] The deerskin map gives river, lake, and cities. The mountains referred to were assuredly the Rocky Mountains; and whether the narrative be true or false, this is the first mention made of them. Though we call them now a thousand miles broad instead of six leagues, there are water-dividing ridges of less width than that last named. The river referred to may have been the Columbia or the Colorado, and the salt lake may have been the Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of California, or Great Salt Lake of Utah. The houses, clothes, and beards of the natives may have been the huts, breech-cloths, and down of the Oregon tribes pluralized, or if we imagine a distant reference to the pueblo-towns the exaggeration is less gross.

As early as 1708, half a century before France had lost her vast American domain, which toward the north-west was then of limitless or unknown extent, attention was directed toward explorations westward across the Rocky Mountains. Some knowledge of this had been brought to the merchants of Montreal by their agents trading in that direction, which information had been originally obtained from the natives. It was about this time that M. Jeremie, first lieutenant and afterward governor of Fort Bourbon, or as the English called it Fort Factory, at the mouth of Hayes River, and others made excursions westward.

Among the more forward of the clergy to denounce the pretended claims of La Hontan to a journey up Long River was a learned priest named Babe, who on the 15th of March 1716 wrote from Versailles to De l'Isle, geographer to the Academy of Science in Paris: "They tell me that among the Scioux of the Mississippi there are always Frenchmen trading; that the course of the Mississippi is from north to west, and from west to south; that it is known that toward the source there is in the high land a river that leads to the Western Ocean. . . For the last two years I tormented exceedingly the governor-general, M. Randot, and M. Duche to endeavor to discover this ocean. If I succeed as I hope we shall have tidings before three years, and I shall have the pleasure and the consolation of having rendered a good service to geography, to religion, and to the state." Babe's efforts were not wholly fruitless, for in 1717, with a view of extending westward French explorations, he succeeded in having reëstablished by Robertel de Laudue the post erected by Du Luth in 1678 at the head of Lake Superior.

When Crozat in 1712 obtained from the French king the monopoly of Louisiana for fifteen years, he looked forward not only to the discovery of mines but to a lucrative trade with Mexico, in both of which

he was disappointed. Sieur Juchereau, whom Crozat sent overland to Mexico as his commercial agent, on his arrival at the city of Mexico was seized and imprisoned by the viceroy; and although he was subsequently released, and kindly treated, and besought to renounce his allegiance to his country and become a Spaniard, and was given the fair María, daughter of Pedro de Velasco, commander of Fort Jean, to wife, with one thousand piastres as a wedding present, yet on taking a reluctant and affectionate leave the viceroy's last words were: "I can allow no trade between Lousiana and Mexico."[5] So that in this direction the westward way of the Frenchman was blocked.

To Arthur Dobbs one Joseph la France, a half-breed, related a story, told him at Fort Factory by an old Home Indian, who about 1726 went as he affirmed at the head of thirty warriors "to make war against the Attimospiquais, Tête Plat, or Plascotez de Chiens, a nation living northward on the Western Ocean of America." Taking with them their families, they hunted and fished for two winters, and the following summer "came to the sea-side on the Western Coast," where were "a great many large black fish spouting up water in the sea." Constructing some canoes, they left their families on a little island easily reached on foot when the tide was out, and coasted thereabout three months in search of their enemies, the Flatheads, passing meanwhile a strait where the sea-coast lay almost east and west. Upon the bank of a river they found a large town of their enemies, which with whoop and wild halloo they attacked, routing the inhabitants. But when the villagers saw how few were their assailants they returned and killed fifteen, the remainder being glad to escape with their lives. Of these, while attempting to return, all died save this one old man. Thus we see how reports reach eastern settlers, of the country beyond the mountains.

[5] *Charlevoix's Nouvelle France*, iv. 170; *North Am. Review*, January 1839, p. 105–6.

But not until 1731 was any signal effort made by Europeans to reach the Pacific overland from New France. In that year Pierre Gauthier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, who for many years past had held commercial intercourse with the western aboriginal nations, left Lake Nepigon, where since 1728 he had been stationed, and visited Quebec to consult the government upon the subject which had been much in his mind of late.

There are some things which simple energy will not accomplish, nor yet energy united with ability. Enthusiasm is necessary, both in the conception and in the achievement of great deeds. The explorer as well as the missionary must have in him somewhat of the stuff of which martyrs are made; something to lift him in a measure out of himself, above the ordinary pleasures and discomforts which constitute no small portion of every man's life, and which will enable him to sacrifice cheerfully according to the fervor of his hope and the worthiness of the object.

In the matter of transmontane exploration, Vérendrye was an enthusiast. He had thought of it long, and talked of it long, and from him his brother and his two sons had caught the inspiration. Though a fur-trader in the wilderness of America, he was of gentle blood and much elevation of character. Temperate in forming plans, he was bold in their execution; of broad views, penetrating judgment, and intrepid energy, it required no small obstacle to turn him from his purpose. And yet his schemes were not wholly free from mercenary motives. Few were in those days, or are even now. He was not a religionist, and therefore made no pretensions to pious zeal; he was a dealer in skins, and if seized by intelligent aspirations sufficient to incline him to forego a portion of his profits, to take unwarrantable risks, or even expend the half of his fortune, it did not follow that he was indifferent to the remainder.

The governor-general of New France at that time

was the Marquis de Beauharnais, a commodore in the navy, an intelligent man, of generous and ambitious impulses, and one who had filled many important posts, and gained much distinction elsewhere than in America. When informed by Vérendrye of his project, Beauharnais was by no means indifferent to the lustre that such an expedition, if successful, would give his administration, and as Vérendrye begged from him nothing, he felt in duty bound to give him all he asked.

Vérendrye's purpose was to form a trading copartnery with certain Montreal merchants who should furnish funds with which to procure goods for barter with the natives and equip the expedition. To avoid the territory of the Sioux he would ascend the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers instead of the Missouri, which otherwise would offer superior attractions; thence he would take any stream he should find flowing westward and follow it to the Pacific.

It was a pleasing plan to one who knew nothing of what he was undertaking. Were such a stream there, and should he find it; were there no mountains to cross, no cold to endure, no mouths to feed, no hostile tribes to encounter, he might estimate the chances of success more accurately. And yet Vérendrye was experienced in forest affairs, and thoroughly competent to accomplish any possibility.

Having formed his partnerships and equipped his expedition, with a small fleet of canoes, in company with a missionary, Père Messager, he embarked for Lake Superior. Orders had been given him by the government to take possession in the king's name of such countries as he should discover, and carefully to examine them in order to ascertain the best route for connecting Canada and Louisiana with the Pacific seaboard.

As Vérendrye had kept himself free to act as his judgment should dictate, he now determined to carry with him as far as possible toward the west a line of

forts which should enable him to hold permanent possession of any country he might discover. From Lake Superior, therefore, he despatched part of his force to build a fort, St Peter, at Lac La Pluie.

Then proceeding to the Lac des Bois, he erected Fort St Charles, but did not complete it until the following year. In 1734 he established Fort Maurepas on the Winnipeg River. Gradually working his way westward, he examined the country on every side, never failing to take formal possession whenever he planted a fortress. Thus several years were occupied.

Extending his circuit, Vérendrye crossed lakes Dauphin and Des Cignes, and ascended the Saskatchewan to its fork. He then built Fort Dauphin at the head of Manitoba Lake, and Fort de la Reine at the foot. He built Fort Bourbon at the head of Winnipeg Lake, and Fort Rouge on the Assiniboine at its confluence with Red River.

From these posts Vérendrye sent expeditions under his brother and his sons northward and westward. They found the Rocky Mountains, found them farther west than they had supposed, but in vain they sought there the South Sea. Their efforts were not unattended by dangers. On one island in the Lac des Bois in 1736 the youngest son of Vérendrye with a Jesuit named Anneau and twenty men were massacred by a company of Sioux.[6]

Striking southward, always seeking the Pacific, in 1738 Vérendrye entered the Mandan country, building in October of this year Fort La Reine on the Assiniboine. Proceeding slowly up the Missouri, he reached the Yellowstone in 1742. Ascending the Assiniboine and taking the Mouse River trail, on the 1st of January 1743 Vérendrye's eldest son and brother found themselves face to face with those monstrous craggy upheavals which sixty years later unsuccessfully barred the progress of Lewis and Clarke in their efforts to penetrate the mysteries beyond.

[6] The natives have a tradition of this tragedy, which may be found, as given by Belcourt, in *Minnesota Hist. Soc., Annals 1853.*

There was little wisdom, after all, in thus attempting to unite exploration with traffic. Pursue traffic, and exploration attends; explore, and traffic follows at its heels. There are laws regulating these things, which he who risks life and fortune would do well to observe. Yet this earnest Frenchman was wise and noble according to his day. It is very easy for us, knowing the beyond, to point the proper way, saying that to explore, one should drop fort-building and trading, and with a company of tough reliable men press rapidly forward to the end, and then return. Whatever risk of life might have attended such a movement, the expense would have been less. But all was as a wall of darkness to this explorer, one step into which might plunge him to the foot of a precipice.

As it was, Vérendrye spent all his fortune and forty thousand livres besides. Then he returned to Quebec and asked government aid, which was denied him. The truth is, there were those who wished to continue his explorations, availing themselves of his spent fortune and twelve years of effort without return, hoping to reap the reward rightly his due. This is the old story in pioneering, whether in art, industry, letters, or discovery.

Frowns are plentiful enough among disappointed associates. Maurepas circulated reports unfavorable to Vérendrye's character, and the latter was finally induced to remit his commission to Noyelle, who purposed to continue the exploration in his own name. As a cheap reward for his services to the state thus far, the king conferred upon Vérendrye the order of St Louis. Beauharnais, however, was faithful to the explorer, as was the governor's successor, Galissonière; and Vérendrye was about to resume his undertaking when he fell sick and died December 6, 1749.[7] Véren-

[7] Granville Stuart, in *Montana, Hist. Soc. Contrib.*, i. 316, surmises the last ramble of the Vérendryes to have been from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine, up Mouse River and across to the Missouri, which he touched just below where since was built Fort Berthold. Thence they ascended the Missouri to

dryc's son and brother claimed the right, and very justly, to continue the discovery; but men high in office now stepped forward and in the name of progress prepared to fleece the state. Forming an association composed of Jonquière the new governor, Brèard the comptroller of marine, Captain Lamarque de Marin, Le Gardeur de St Pierre, and others, the Intendant Bigot placed himself at the head of it, and setting all other claims aside prepared to avail himself of Vérendrye's efforts.

The scheme was for Marin to ascend the Missouri to its source, cross the barriers which so frightfully presented themselves to the former explorers, and take the first stream which should present itself, and follow it to the Pacific. St Pierre was to set out from Fort de la Reine, cross the mountains farther to the north, and join Marin at a given latitude on the shore of the Pacific. This project was entirely feasible, being practically what both Mackenzie and Lewis and Clarke, though at different dates, and without acting conjointly, successfully accomplished later.

But mercenary motives interfered and crushed what otherwise might have produced the grandest results. Once fairly embarked, with the public treasury to draw upon, these political explorers paused in their direct effort to traverse the continent, and employed the opportunity for their personal profit, peltry-gathering at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, where in 1752 they erected Fort Jonquière. To their everlasting disgrace be it said that these high officials, on the wrecked efforts of the truly noble Vérendrye, by infamously diverting to their personal and pecuniary

the gates of the mountains near Helena, Montana, the 1st of January 1743, found them on these mountains, whence they passed up Deep or Smith River, crossed to the head of the Musselshell, and then to the Yellowstone, which they crossed and ascended Pryor Fork and passed through Pryor Gap to the Sinking River, crossing which they continued south to Wind River, where the natives told them of Green River over the mountains, and of the armed bands of Sioux waiting at the pass to slay any who should come from the land of their hereditary foes the Shoshones. Hence the explorers turned back and reached the Missouri in May 1744.

profit the state aid which they had obtained professedly, as public servants, for the advancement of a laudable purpose, divided large spoil, the governor receiving as his share three hundred thousand francs.[8] "Thus," says M. Garneau, "ended ignobly a project nobly conceived, but made almost abortive by injustice and selfishness."

The first exploring expedition across the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the Pacific Ocean, was neither that of Alexander Mackenzie nor yet that of Lewis and Clarke. It was not performed by an armed band under the auspices of a powerful corporation or by army officers guarded by a posse of soldiers. We are not even indebted to European intelligence or progress for the first account of the Oregon country. Prompted by curiosity, the stimulant underlying all advancement, a native of the Mississippi Valley, unassisted and unattended, found the path which Jefferson's captains sixty years later, with all their government aid, encountered such laborious difficulty in following; for brains work under red skins as well as under white.

While engaged in historical and ethnological investigations west of the Mississippi, M. Le Page du Pratz, a French savant, like many another before and since, became interested in the question of the origin of the Americans, and thought immediately to solve it.[9] To this end wherever he went he inquired

[8] *Dobbs' Hudson's Bay*, 44; *Pierre Margry*, in *Moniteur Universel*, September 14 and November 1, 1857; *Journal of Travels performed in 1742 by Chevalier de la Vérendrye in search of the Western Sea, addressed to the Marquis de Beauharnais; F. X. Garneau, L'Histoire du Canada*, tom. i. lib. vii. cap. 2; *Smith's Hist. Canada; New York Hist. Mag.*, 1859; *Contrib. Hist. Soc. Montana*, i. 301–16; *Parkman's Old Régime*, 227; *Neill's Dis. Rocky Mountains in 1743*.

[9] M. Le Page du Pratz gives the result of his researches in his *Histoire de la Louisiane*, published in Paris in 1758. An abridged English translation appeared in London in 1763 and another in 1764, the former being reprinted in 1774. In these translations the text is badly mutilated. The author resided fifteen years in Louisiana, and it is from him that later writers derived their fullest and most reliable information respecting the Natchez and adjacent peoples. Though somewhat diffuse, like most writings of that day, much practical good sense is displayed in these pages. The writer was well acquainted with his subject, and the work may be considered reliable.

for those most familiar with tradition, that they might tell him what he wished to know. At length among the Natchez he encountered an ancient aboriginal, wiser than all the rest, who himself had thought much of the beginning of things, and more particularly of that time-worn puzzle whence he and all other men had come. He belonged to the nation of the Yazoos, and was known to the French as L'Interprète, because he spoke many languages, but by his own people he was called Moncacht Apé, that is to say, He who Kills Trouble and Fatigue.

This savage was a most remarkable man, possessing a most remarkable mind. It is a mistake to give civilization all the brain-power of the planet. Not less than Europe, America had her arts, her letters, her eloquence and diplomacy; not less than the university, the forest has its lofty contemplations, its hungerings after higher intelligence, its battlings with black ignorance and mental obscurations.

Though struggling in the darkness, his love for the sciences was not less than Plato's; his thirst for the enlightenments of travel was not exceeded by that of Herodotus.[10]

How shall we rate a redskin who, prompted alone by the workings of inward intelligence, seeks from tradition to know what has been, and from what has been to determine what shall be? to this end asking first his neighbors who and what they are, then tribes beyond, until in his eager thirst for knowledge he travels from the Mississippi first to the Atlantic, and then across the mountains to the verge of the Pacific.

"When I saw it," exclaims this American Marco Polo, referring to his first view of the ocean, "I was so delighted that I could not speak. My eyes were too small for my soul's ease. The wind so disturbed the great water, that I thought the blows it gave would beat the land in pieces."

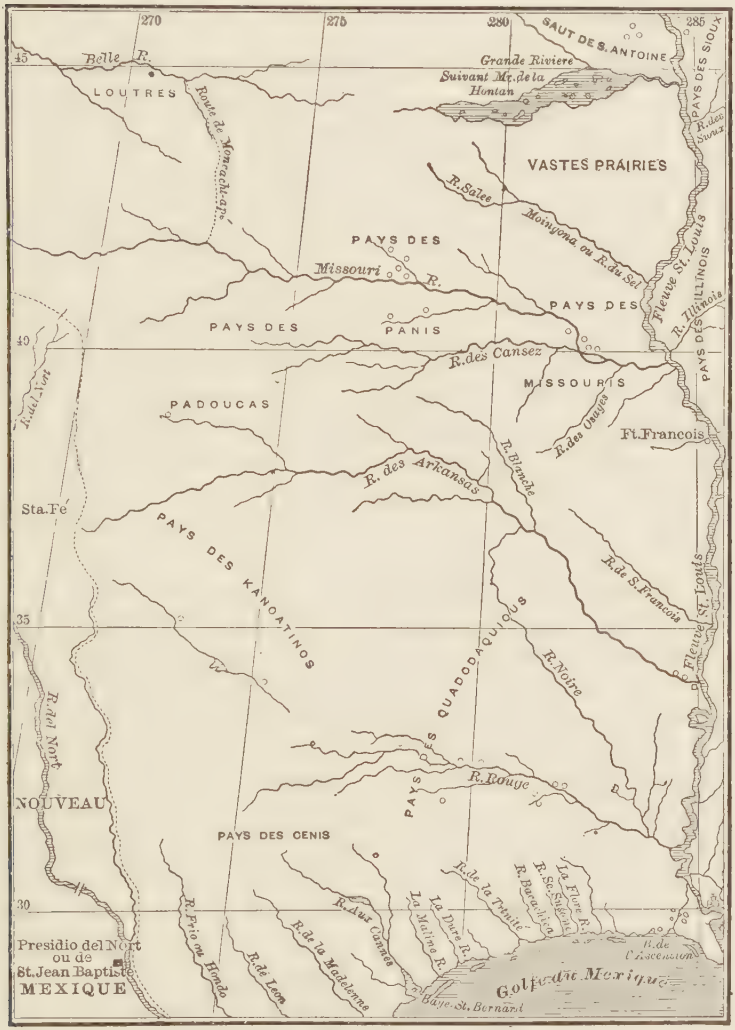
[10] 'Je ne puis mieux le comparer qu'à ces premiers Grècs qui voyageoient principalement dans l'Orient pour examiner les moeurs et les coûtumes des diverses nations.' *Le Page du Pratz, Hist. de la Louisiane,* iii. 88.

The flux and reflux of the tide greatly puzzled him. On the approach of the water toward his camping-place upon the beach he fled in dismay, thinking the world would be engulfed. Reassured, he returned; and when he saw the water retiring, so long and so intently did he regard it that his companion thought him crazed. In journeying toward the north he observed the days lengthened, while in going south they shortened. Asking the cause, none could tell him, until finally M. Le Page du Pratz explained the matter by the aid of his instrument. Returning from the east, his longings unsatisfied, and having all his life heard that beyond the source of the Missouri was the cradle of his race, he was hungry, he said, to see with his own eyes the land whence came his first fathers; hence he resolved upon a journey thither. Not later than 1745, Moncacht Apé crossed the Mississippi and spent the winter with the Missouris, who inhabited the banks of the river which to-day bears their name, near its junction with the Mississippi. There he learned the language of the Kansas, the people above.

Embarking in a pirogue the following spring, he began the ascent of the Missouri. At the river and country of the Kansas he stopped to learn something of the regions beyond. The Kansas sought to discourage him from so difficult and perilous a journey; but when they saw he was not to be turned from his purpose they lent him every assistance. They directed him to continue his course up the great river of the Missouri for one moon, when he could reach certain mountains exceedingly high and beset with dangers. Then he should turn to the right and proceed directly north, and after several days' march he should come to a river flowing toward the west. This was called the Beautiful River, and it flowed into the great Western Ocean.[11] There he would meet

[11] Under the name *Belle River*, in latitude 45°, north of the Missouri and west of the Rocky Mountains, the same stream with tributaries all flowing

a people called the Otters, who could inform him how to descend the river in a boat.




MAP OF LE PAGE DU PRATZ, 1757.

westward is placed in the north-west corner of the *Carte de la Louisiane Colonie Française* of M. Le Page du Pratz, drawn in Paris in 1757, of which above it is written: 'Cette belle Riviere est representée sans nom dans la Carte qui fut donnée par un Sauvage á M. de la Hontan.' I give herewith a *fac-simile* of that section of the map.

"I ascended the Missouri for one month," continues Moncacht Apé, "and although I had gone so far I did not turn to the right as they had directed me, because for some days past I had seen many mountains which I dare not cross for fear of blistering my feet." While hesitating, not knowing what to do, he presently saw a smoke, and thinking possibly it might arise from a camp of the Otters, he presented himself and to his joy found that it was so, the camp consisting of some thirty men and women bound eastward buffalo-hunting.

Their language Moncacht Apé did not understand, but he himself understood by signs. The Otters were greatly surprised with him, and they tarried there three days. Fortunately for the traveller it meanwhile happened that one of the women complained of illness, and her husband, in a most un-Indian manner, offered to take her back to their village. Moncacht Apé accompanied them, and thus secured safe guidance over the worst part of his route.

"We ascended the Missouri," he goes on to say, "for nine short days, when we turned directly to the north and marched five days, at the end of which time we came upon a river of beautiful clear water, called for this reason the Beautiful River."

Fatigued and travel-stained, the man and woman plunged immediately into the cool tempting stream, and signed their fellow-traveller to follow. With philosophic caution he replied that he needed bathing badly enough, but that he was afraid of crocodiles. When informed that such monsters did not infest these northern waters, he bathed with pleasure and profit. Along the bank of the Beautiful River they marched the remainder of the day, when they came to a creek where the hunting party had cached their canoes. Taking one from the place of concealment, the travellers embarked, and reached the village of the Otters that same night.

The fortnight our philosopher spent with this

friendly couple was quite sufficient for him to learn somewhat of their language; and now that he had come among the old men who loved to teach he soon knew it well. After resting there some days he signified his intention to depart. His new-found friends urged him to prolong his stay, but his project burned within him and occupied his thoughts alway.

As some of the Otters were going to smoke the calumet with a kindred tribe directly on his route, Moncacht Apé accompanied them, floating delightfully with the stream for eighteen days, stopping now and then to hunt. Landing with the Otters at the village of their friends, Moncacht Apé was persuaded to go no farther that season, because the heat was great, the grass high, and snakes to the hunter dangerous. Moreover, it was necessary he should learn the language of the people below, "for it so happened," he says, "that with this knowledge I should be able to understand all the nations which I should find, even to the Great Water which is to the west."

From the counsels of the old men of this nation Moncacht Apé derived great benefit, and he loved them, for their heart was as their mouth spake. When ready to depart they placed him in a canoe well stored with pemican and everything necessary for his comfort, and sent him happily on his way. "I soon arrived," continues the traveller, "at a small village whose people were astonished to see me come alone. This nation wear the hair long, and regard all who wear it short as slaves, cutting it in order thus to distinguish them. The chief of this nation, who found me on the bank of the river, called to me brusquely, 'Who are you; whence do you come; and what seek you here with your short hair?' I answered him, 'I am Moncacht Apé; I come from the nation of the Otters; I seek information, and I come to you that you may give it me. My hair is short that it may not embarrass me, but my heart is good. I ask no food; I have still far to go; my right arm and my bow are

always equal to my necessities. In the winter I am the bear and lie dormant; in the summer I am the eagle, ever on the wing to satisfy my curiosity. Should you fear one who comes alone and in the day?'"

Mumbling that though he came from the nation of the Otters he was not one of them, and wondering how he should know the language of a people he had never seen, the cross chief bade the stranger rest if he would; but our arrant scholar now rose, slightly rampant, and would have no sour hospitality. Turning upon his heel he growls: "When bears meet they rub noses; but men speak rudely." Then raising his voice as he was about to shove off he exclaimed: "I was charged by Salt Tears to see the Big Roebuck."

Scarcely were spoken these magic words when out from his tent hurried an old man so blind as to be led. He was the Big Roebuck, and father of the cross chief, and he spoke to the stranger as to his own child. Seizing him by the hand he took him to his tent and ordered thither all his effects from the boat, and kept him there two days, telling him how to conduct himself with favor toward the people below. When ready to depart he pressed upon the traveller fresh food, and among other things some meal prepared from a small grain smaller than the French pea, which Moncacht Apé was very glad to get, as no maize was found in that country, and he had had only pulverized dried meat to carry in his boat. In parting, the old man assured the stranger that to be well received by all the nations thence to the Great Water, he had but to say that the Big Roebuck was his friend. And so he found it to be.[12]

[12] M. Le Page du Pratz here questions Moncacht Apé closely regarding his route, and the latter went carefully over the ground again. The Great Water could be nothing else than the Western Ocean, but this Beautiful River had never before been described to a European by an eye-witness. Again he was told that his course was northward from the Missouri nation to the Kansas, from the Kansas nation up the Missouri north-west to the Beautiful River, which he struck in going directly north from the Missouri, and the course of the Beautiful River was north-west to the Great Water. The Big Roebuck had assured him that the Missouri and the Beautiful River flowed for some distance parallel to each other. This of course was an error, as well

At each of the nations below, Moncacht Apé tarried but one day, so that he shortly came to the last, a people one day's journey from the Great Water, and about a league distant from the Beautiful River, who were hiding themselves in the woods from white bearded men[13] who came every year in a bark for a yellow stinking wood, and to steal the young women for slaves. By this people the traveller was at once received as a chief by his own family, "because they thought with reason that one who had seen white men and many nations should have more mind than one who had never been from home and had seen none but red men."

These bearded disturbers of their peace, the natives further informed him, went always clothed, no matter how warm the weather; their weapons also made a great noise and sent forth fire, and they came from where the sun sets.[14]

Seeing that it was the yellow wood which seemed to bring them there, following the counsel of the old men, the people were fast destroying that odorous attraction, so that they hoped in time they should be no more molested.

Exceedingly curious to see these white-bearded men who were neither English, French, nor Spanish, Moncacht Apé entered heartily into a plan to attack those who should next come. It was now about the

as the direction from the Missouri to the Columbia, and the general course of the latter to the sea. But in view of the ruggedness of the country, the windings of mountain passes, and the twistings of streams, we can readily excuse slight discrepancies as to direction by one without chart or compass, and the first to traverse this region and return to tell of it.

[13] 'On me dit que ces hommes étoient blancs, qu'ils avoient une barbe longue et noire qui leur tomboit sur la poitrine; qu'ils paroissoient gros et courts, la tête grosse et couverte d'étoffe; qu'ils étoient toujours habillés, même dans les plus grosses chaleurs; que leurs habits tomboient jusqu'au milieu des jambes, qui étoient couvertes ainsi que les pieds d'étoffe rouge ou jaune.' *Le Page du Pratz, Hist. de la Louisiane*, iii. 116.

[14] M. Le Page du Pratz pronounces the intruders Japanese; others think it quite as likely they were Russians. Whatever is said of them must of course be taken with allowance. The description of their color, beard, and dress, together with their annual visits, might point toward Kamchatka, or Japan. But as a matter of fact the Russians had at this time visited the coast but once, and then not below latitude 56°.

time of their annual arrival. All the families in the vicinity of their landing-place had retired from the coast lest their young women should be captured. Our hero had smelt gunpowder and was not afraid.

Leaving their camp near the Beautiful River the warriors journeyed five days to a point on the coast where were two great rocks, between which emptied into the sea a shallow stream on whose banks grew the yellow wood. It was between the two rocks that the foreigners ran their vessel when they came ashore.

Seventeen days the warriors now waited the arrival of their prey. All had been arranged in council for the attack. Presently they espied the vessel in the distance, and hiding themselves they watched an opportunity four days more. At length two boats containing thirty men put off from the ship and entered the little stream between the rocks. When the strangers were well scattered gathering wood and taking in water, the natives fell upon them and killed eleven, the rest escaping.

Having slaughtered the strangers like a savage, Moncacht Apé examined their dress and physique like a scientist. The bodies were thick, short, and very white; the head was heavy, the hair short, and instead of hats they wore cloth wound round the head. The dress was neither of wool nor bark, but of a soft stuff like the old cotton shirts of Europeans. That which covered the leg and foot was of one piece.[15] Only two of the dead had fire-arms, with powder and balls.

Joining some northern nations who had come to assist at the slaying of the strangers, Moncacht Apé continued his journey along the coast till he reached their village, when the old men of the place dissuaded him from proceeding farther, saying that the country beyond was cold, barren, and tenantless. Therefore he returned to his own people by the route

[15] Not unlike the clothing of the Aleuts.

he went, having been absent on this western tour five years.[16]

It was not long after the journey of Moncacht Apé that Jonathan Carver, captain in the British provincial army, made his exploration of the interior of North America.[17] Setting out from Boston in June 1766, he proceeded to Fort Michilimackinac, whence he made excursions round the headwaters of the Mississippi, reaching as his farthest west a point on St Pierre or Minnesota River, sixty miles from the Falls of St Anthony. There he met a people which he designates as the Naudowessie nation, but who were in truth the Dacotahs, with whom he remained seven months studying their language and learning of them something of the country to the westward. Of the surrounding region they drew for him plans with coal on the inner birch bark, which, though rude, Carver found on verification to be in the main correct.

[16] After questioning the narrator closely, M. Le Page du Pratz asserts his belief in the truth of the story; and indeed I see no reason to doubt it. The mountains, the river, and the sea are there to-day as Moncacht Apé described them; and let it be remembered, no other person, white or red, so far as known, had ever before performed this journey between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean by way of the Columbia River. 'Le bon sens que je connu á cet homme,' concludes the author, *Hist. de la Louisiane*, iii. 137–8, 'qui n'avoit ni ne pouvoit avoir aucun intérêt à m'en imposer, me fit ajoûter foi à tout ce qu'il me dit; & je ne puis me persuader autre chose, sinon qu'il alla sur les bords mêmes de la Mer du Sud, dont la partie la plus Septentrionale peut se nommer, si l'on veut mer de l'Ouest. La Belle Riviere qu'il a descendue est un fleuve considérable, que l'on n'aura point de peine a découvrer, lorsqu'une fois on sera parvenu aux sources du Missouri; & je ne doute point qu'une semblable expédition, si elle étoit entreprise, ne fixât entierement nos idées sur cette partie de l'Amerique Septentrionale & sur la fameuse Mer de l'Ouest dont on parle tant dans la Louisiane, & dont il paroît que l'on désire la découverte avec ardeur.'

[17] Carver was born in Connecticut in 1732, and died in London in 1780. Owing to the interference of government, the publication of his book was delayed ten years; and although the work ran through several editions and seemed to throw some light upon the question of a north-west passage, the author derived little benefit from it, and died in poverty after having rendered important services to his country. The information which it pretends to contain is not of the most reliable character. His journey was neither difficult nor important; his description of the natives was taken from La Hontan and Hennepin, and his dissertation on the origin of the Americans from Charlevoix. 'It is probable,' remarks Mr W. F. Sanders, *Montana, Hist. Soc. Contrib.*, i. 301, 'that from the discoveries of Vérendrye and his party, Captain Jonathan Carver derived the information which enabled him to put forth the pretentious but inaccurate knowledge of the sources of the four great rivers.'

With singular intelligence they pointed to the Rocky Mountain region directly to their west as the highest land upon the continent, from the fact that thence flowed great rivers in every direction.[18] There were the Mississippi, Carver said, the River Bourbon, which we should now call the Saskatchewan, the Oregon, or River of the West, and the St Lawrence. Substitute for the latter the Colorado, which makes the observation all the more striking, and the statement is essentially correct.[19] I append Carver's map.

[18] Since which time explorers and scientists have called attention to the fact a score of times at least, each apparently as a first observer, when the savages had said as much a hundred years before them.

[19] This is the first mention we have of the word Oregon. Carver mentions it first in his introduction, p. ix., as applied to the Columbia, 'that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the straits of Anian.' On p. 76 the statement and word are again repeated, and on one of the maps, in latitude 47° and longitude 99° west from London is placed a lake, shooting from which are two short streams, and the words 'Heads of Origan.' See *Hist. Or.*, i. 17, this series.

Further than this, the Dacotahs told Carver of certain Shining Mountains, which were part of a range beginning at Mexico and continuing northward east of California, and dividing the waters which flow into the gulf of Mexico from those which flow into the gulf of California.[20] On one of Carver's maps we find laid down in about latitude 45° a mighty stream which for five hundred miles from its mouth is twice as wide as the Mississippi in a like location, and with dotted banks and continuation, signifying that its breadth and limits were unknown. It is labelled in large letters River of the West, and at its mouth is mentioned that it was discovered by Aguilar. South of it is New Albion; to the north the straits of Anian, a limitless western sea and the Mountain of Bright Stones, which blazed with variegated crystals of such exceeding brilliancy as to dazzle beholders, though very far west of the continental ridge in which were placed the Shining Mountains.

Other wonders there were in these undiscovered lands no less marvellous than the sea-serpents, mermaids, and monsters on undiscovered ocean thrown in by map-makers to fill blank spaces. Round the headwaters of the Missouri, if we may believe Carver, grew male and female mandrakes, that is to say, a species of root resembling human beings of both sexes. But after America has been obliged to make room for Bacon's Atlantis, and Gulliver has founded here his kingdom of Brobdignag, we should not be disturbed by trifles.

Doubtless the Shining Mountains of the Dacotahs were those white domes rising from emerald forests

[20] It would not do to carry the Rocky Mountains too far to the north so as to block the Anian Strait; hence we find stated, though the ground for it is not given, that 'they appear to end in about forty-seven or forty-eight degrees of north latitude, where a number of rivers arise, and empty themselves, either into the South Sea, into Hudson's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between these two seas. Among these mountains, those that lie to the west of the River St Pierre are called the Shining Mountains, from an infinite number of chrystal stones of an amazing size, with which they are covered, and which, when the sun shines full upon them, sparkle so as to be seen at a very great distance.' *Carver's Travels*, 121.

which greet the weary traveller's eye while yet far away over the billowy plain, which greet the mariner's earnest gaze while yet the shore-line is invisible; for we are told that the phosphorescent waves of the Pacific at night are lustrous under the reflection of their glistening snows.

To make the tale complete, Carver impregnated with gold the Shining Mountains of the Dacotahs; and here again he was nearer right than perhaps he himself suspected. So plentiful was gold among the people of the Shining Mountains, he had been assured, that they made their commonest utensils of it.[21] Gold was there, true enough, but deep hidden in the gorges and difficult to find. Before gold, the soft warm covering of beasts which skipped upon the surface was destined to be the attraction. The natives in that vicinity were white, as befitted their celestial surroundings.[22]

Carver's object in making his explorations, besides studying the character and customs of the natives, was to traverse the continent and ascertain its breadth between the forty-third and forty-sixth parallels, after which he intended "to have proposed to government to establish a post in some of those parts about the Straits of Annian, which having been first discovered by Sir Francis Drake of course belong to the English." Such a course would facilitate trade and settlement, and hasten the discovery of a passage between Hudson Bay and the Pacific Ocean. Twice did he make the effort and twice his plans proved abortive. In his first attempt promised supplies did not reach him; his second project, formed in 1774

[21] 'Probably in future ages,' Carver writes of the Shining Mountains, *Travels*, 122, 'they may be found to contain more riches in their bowels than those of Indostan and Malabar, or that are produced on the Golden Coast of Guinea; nor will I except even the Peruvian Mines.' Brave words for one who might as well have been speaking of the Mountains of the Moon so far as actual knowledge or even probability was concerned; and yet this rover was not far wrong.

[22] On the whole the narrative of Moncacht Apé is to my mind far more sober and consistent, and contains much more ascertained truth, than anything Carver wrote of matters beyond the mountains.

in conjunction with Richard Whitworth, a wealthy member of parliament, was frustrated by the breaking out of the war for independence. The British government sanctioned the latter plan, which was to ascend the Missouri and descend the Columbia with fifty men, and after building a fort to prosecute discovery on the Pacific.

Besides the natives there were the fur-hunters and several French writers from whom Carver obtained information, and whose accounts, in order to make his own appear more important, he did not fail to disparage. On a number of the maps drawn about 1750 we find the coming Columbia designated as Rio Aguilar, Rio Thegayo, and Great River of the west, also the fictitious Anian Strait, and other myths whence Carver derived his imaginings.

For the first overland journey by a European from the northern interior of North America to any seashore other than the eastern, we must look to the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1745 a reward of twenty thousand pounds was offered by parliament for the discovery by any British ship of a passage between Hudson Bay and the Pacific Ocean. This offer was renewed in 1776.

After a century-sleep by the Frozen Sea, fearful lest others should be before them in the search for a northern passage which they did not wish to find, yet satisfied of the non-existence of a navigable channel, in 1769 the directory despatched Samuel Hearne on a tour of discovery. Directing his course north-west from Prince of Wales Fort, on Churchill River, he made it his mission as well, in determining the question of a north-west passage, to search for a rich deposit of copper said by the natives to be upon the bank of the far-off Metal River. After proceeding two hundred miles, Hearne was deserted by his guide and forced to return. Early the next year a second attempt was made, which was likewise attended with ill success.

In December 1770 Hearne set out for the third time, and the following year discovered the Great Slave and other lakes, as well as the Coppermine River, and crossed what he called the Stony Mountains to the Northern Ocean.[23]

It was 1786 before the first traders from Canada stood on the banks of Peace River. Then little forts sprang up, the Metropolitan Fort being Chipewyan, founded in 1788, which was the year in which was abandoned the establishment on Elk or Athabasca River built by Frobisher and Pond ten years previous. And it was yet later when, in 1802, James Pursley with two companies left St Louis on a hunting excursion, and after three years' wanderings and losses reached Santa Fé, being the first American to cross the plains to New Mexico.

In 1776 padres Dominguez and Escalante penetrated from New Mexico to Utah Lake in the Great Basin.[24]

After Hearne's journey were the expeditions of Alexander Mackenzie in 1789–93, and of Lewis and Clarke in 1804–6, of which I fully treat hereafter.

Some time before the journey up the Missouri of Lewis and Clarke, Mr Fidler had made explorations in that quarter, the results of which were drawn on Arrowsmith's map. The geography thus laid down subsequent explorers very naturally found incorrect, the knowledge of a country, like the knowledge of anything else, being something which cannot be achieved at once, but must be left to develop itself from small beginnings.[25] I will mention here but two others of

[23] Hearne's journal was not printed until 1795, the Hudson's Bay Company being in no haste to make known the nature of that territory. Probably it would not have then appeared had not La Pérouse, who when he captured Fort Albany found there the manuscript of Hearne, stipulated for its publication.

[24] *Dominguez and Escalante, Diario; Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 316, and *Pacific R. R. Rept.*, xi. 22.

[25] See *Lewis and Clarke's Travels*, 186. In Mr Arrowsmith's map is laid down in the Rocky Mountain range one prominent mountain near latitude 45° called The Tooth. 'Said to be so marked from the discoveries of a Mr Fidler.'

the most notable early expeditions east of the Rocky Mountains, which were those of Zebulon Montgomery Pike in 1805–7 and of Stephen H. Long in 1819–20.

Pike was a lieutenant in the United States army, sent by his government to explore the sources of the Mississippi and establish friendly relations with the nations whose territory had lately come under the domination of the republic. Embarking with twenty men from his encampment near St Louis on the 9th of August 1805, in a keel-boat seventy feet in length, he ascended the Mississippi to its source, hoisted the United States flag, and returned after an absence of nearly nine months. The following year he penetrated the interior of Louisiana on a similar mission. Arrived in February 1807 at the Rio Grande, which he supposed to be Red River, he was arrested by a body of Spanish cavalry and taken to Chihuahua, whence he was sent home. The peak bearing his name, which rises from the gold-fields of central Colorado, was first seen by him in 1806.

The results of Pike's expeditions were important. Before this the sources of the Mississippi were not unknown, but the river remained undiscovered except at certain fur-trading points. Its upper course had never been continuously traced. He first reported and mapped the upper Arkansas, the Kansas, and the sources of Platte River.

One can hardly realize, that at the beginning of the present century the interior of the North American continent, now so familiar to us, was less known to the world than is to-day the heart of Africa. It is true that French fur-traders had penetrated these parts, no one knew whither, for they kept their own secrets and carried them to the grave. We might indeed except Du Pratz, who in his work on Louisiana threw more light upon the geography of this region than had any one prior to the observations of Pike. In return for his important services Lieutenant Pike was made general and appointed to a command

against Canada, but lost his life in an explosion which accidentally blew up the fort which he occupied. Full of fortitude and humanity in his several expeditions, Lieutenant Pike won the hearts of his men by regarding their comforts and sharing their hardships. He was far too brave and high-minded an officer to treat with unfairness or cruelty the natives with whom he came in contact. He could not do a mean or inhuman act. With pride the American historian may hand his unblotted record to posterity.

Major Long of the United States army, by order of his government left Pittsburg in April 1819, to explore by steamboat the navigable waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri, and to examine the region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains for the purpose of obtaining a more thorough knowledge of the country. Jefferson's instructions to Captain Lewis were recommended to Major Long. The expedition fell in with many of the traders of the Missouri Fur Company, then an institution of that region. Making their way up the Missouri and camping for the winter near Fort Lisa, five miles below Council Bluffs, the expeditionists there met Messrs Pilcher, Fontenelle, Woods, Geroni, and Immel, all of the Missouri Company. Major Long was restricted in his movements by straitened national finances, and after wintering his company at Council Bluffs, further progress up the river was arrested by order of the secretary of war. At the same time, however, was authorized a land excursion from that point to the source of the river Platte, which was made, their steamboat, the *Western Engineer*, meanwhile departing down the river. From the base of the Rocky Mountains which Major Long reached at the source of the south branch on the Laramie Plains, his party proceeded southward to the Arkansas and thence to the Mississippi.

Minor expeditions might be mentioned, such as that of Dunbar and Hunter up the Washita River, a

report of which was communicated to congress by the president in 1806; J. C. Brown's survey of a road from Fort Osage to Taos in 1825-7; Richardson's survey between Little Rock and Fort Gibson in 1826, and others; but we must hasten on to things which led more directly toward our great Northwest beyond the mountains.[26]

[26] Pike's account of his expeditions was printed in Philadelphia in 1810. As in most works of the kind, much reading is necessary in order to obtain a small amount of not very valuable information. The account of Long's expedition was compiled by Edwin James and printed in two volumes in Philadelphia, 1823. For further reference to matters treated in this chapter may be mentioned *Ann. des Voy.*, xvi. 273; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 106–7; *Richardson's Polar Regions*, 122–7; *Tytler's Hist. Discov.*, 143–70; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 87–97; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 140, 146, 260, 289, 322; *Irving's Astoria*, 35; *Monette's Valley Miss.*, ii. 544; *Twiss' Or. Quest.*, 4; *Falconer's Miss. and Or.*, passim; *Brit. N. Am.*, 193–218; *Hines' Ex. Or.*, 365–376; *Parkman's Discov. of Great West*, 413; *Am. Register*, v. 275–311; *Lewis and Clarke's Travels*, 87–146; *Allen*, in *De Bow's Ind. Res.*, iii. 516; *Pacific R. R. Report.*, xi. 23–6; *Am. State Papers*, xiii. 31-2, 68-9; *Id.*, specially referring to Carver, xviii. 521, 611; *Wisconsin Hist. Soc.*, vi. 220–70; *Wentworth's Mis.*, containing threads that lead over the Rocky Mountains; *Tucker's Hist. Or.*, 30–7; *Garden of the World*, 17–48; *Niles' Reg.*, vi., ix.; *Mrs Victor*, in *West Shore*, April 1878. In *Pacific R. R. Reports*, xi. 17, is given a map of North America drawn in 1795. In the United States general land office was filed the 21st of January 1818 a manuscript by Rector and Roberdeau showing the western part of the continent between latitudes 35° and 52°. The mountain ranges are exceedingly erratic, and excepting the hypothetical rivers of San Buenaventura and Timpanogos or Mongos, all the errors of its predecessors, Carver, Arrowsmith, Pike, Lewis and Clarke, and Humboldt, seem to have been faithfully copied. *Finley's Map of North America*, Philadelphia 1828, shows the Tapetette flowing from the north-west and emptying into the Columbia at its confluence with Snake River; the Multnomah or Willamette flowing in from the south-east, the rivers Mongos and Timpanogos both beginning at Lake Timpanogos and discharging into the Pacific, the former just below Cape Orford and the latter below Cape Mendocino. The Buenaventura rises near the headwaters of Snake River, flows into Lake Salado, and thence proceeds to the bay of Sir Francis Drake, where stands the presidio of San Francisco. H. A. Homes, *Cal. and Northwest Coast*, traces the growth of geographical knowledge and fixes the dates when errors were introduced and wiped out from the charts. On the government map of 1830 the Rocky Mountains are also called the Oregon Mountains. *U. S. Gov. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept., No. 830*, p. 28. In Wheeler's *Geog. Survey Progress Report*, 1872, is a map showing United States exploring routes from that of Lewis and Clarke to date.

# CHAPTER XX.

## PASSES AND ROUTES.

HISTORICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE POSITION OF THE CORDILLERAS—PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE MOUNTAIN REGION OF THE WEST—THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN PASSES BETWEEN THE ARCTIC OCEAN AND THE FORTY-NINTH PARALLEL—PASSES THROUGH THE COAST RANGE—THROUGH THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS BETWEEN LATITUDES 49° AND 32°—PATHS ACROSS THE PLATEAU—THE SIERRA NEVADA—SAN BERNARDINO MOUNTAINS—THE COLORADO REGION—ROUTES THROUGH MEXICO—THE SIERRA MADRE—THE EASTERN RANGE—THE ISTHMUS AND CENTRAL AMERICAN PASSES—HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ROUTES FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC—THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE—THE NORTH AMERICAN SITUATION—ROUTES TO ASIA ETHNOGRAPHICALLY CONSIDERED—HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.

THE various paths by which successive emigrations overland reached the shores of the Pacific were determined, as a matter of course, almost altogether by the physical features of the intervening barrier. An examination of the character of the several passes seems therefore appropriate.

That the Spaniards first explored the western coast, and first settled in the heart of the continental chain, resulted from the fact that in the latitudes earliest occupied by them the Atlantic approached the base of the highland; while to the westward, the Pacific, opposite the passes by which they penetrated the range, was either not remote or else actually washed its base.

Nor was proximity the only factor in the emigration. In the north, where the Pacific slope was settled by English, French, and Germans, the trend and relations of the river valleys were no less significant.

The unity of the great valley behind the Laurentian chain, the St Lawrence-Ohio-Mississippi valley, the key of which was the Hudson River, cutting the way through that chain, compelled these colonists to adopt a common language.

The first explorations and settlements of Canadians on the Pacific coast were due not merely to the shorter distance from Hudson Bay, but to the fact that a great river, the Nelson-Saskatchewan, navigable by canoes and batteaux, and in more recent times by steamer for the greater part of its length, flowed in a direct course from the Rocky Mountains to the haven frequented by the Atlantic vessels at York Factory on Hudson Bay. Its headwaters interlaced with those of another great river, the Peace-Mackenzie, which cleft its way through the entire Rocky Mountain chain by a navigable pass only sixteen hundred feet above the sea.

It may be observed that the entire mountain region of the west, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, is one general system, the continuation of the Andean system of South America. Widening gradually in northern Mexico, Utah, and British Columbia in accordance with the general widening of the continent, it yet remains indissolubly united by its lofty intervening plateau, while the general altitude and the complexity of the individual parallel or angling ranges increase in proportion to the width, the loftiest snowy mountains being found in latitude 38° 45′, flanking the highest portion of the plateau.

When the Spaniards crossed in 1513–30 and the Californians in 1849 by the Chagres-Panamá Pass, in latitude 9° 10′, the altitude of the range was only two hundred and sixty-two feet, and it was a simple range made up of parallel ridges only forty-eight miles across. Where the Hudson's Bay Company's people crossed in 1847 by the Peel and Porcupine rivers, in latitude 67° 30′, which pass leads from the Mackenzie to the Yukon Valley, there was a portage of but fifty

miles over a rough, broken table-land of inconsiderable altitude.[1] Here the Rocky Mountain, or eastern flanking range, subsided with the contracted plateau into the slope of the gradual slope of the Yukon Valley toward the Bering Sea level, while the western flanking range, still maintaining its individuality, disappeared beneath the Aleutian Sea. In latitudes 38° to 42° the width of this mountain system is one thousand miles; in latitude 60° it is less than five hundred miles; in Mexico from one hundred to three hundred miles.

The name *cordillera* came gradually into use as "a comprehensive term for the vast complex of ranges west of the 104th meridian, which are so connected together as to demand a name which shall include them all."[2] Hence the cordilleran region, or the cordilleran plateau, embracing as it does a territory so vast in area, unique in situation, and known to history only since 1848, must be understood as describing a grand physical feature of the continent, as strongly idiosyncratic and marked in its influence upon the history of the Pacific coast as the mining industries characteristic of the latter region.

Passing over for the present that series of Central American routes across the cordillera whose inconsiderable elevation has recommended them for lines of interoceanic canals, and of which that of Tehuantepec in southern Mexico is the farthest north, we find in Arizona and New Mexico, near the Mexican frontier, the next great depression, and the lowest pass within the boundaries of the United States. Here in early times the Spaniards of New Mexico traversed the cordillera, locally termed the Sierra Madre, to the headwaters of the Gila in Arizona, and of the Yaqui in Mexico, without attaining a greater altitude than four thousand feet. This is the most northerly of the

[1] See an account of the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Yukon, by McMurray, in *Dall's Alaska*.

[2] Whitney, in *Walker's Statistical Atlas*, 1874, 1.

passes which is not more or less obstructed by winter snows. To find another as low we have to journey northward beyond latitude 49°. Mackenzie, the first English explorer to the Pacific, found and traversed in 1793 the lowest of them all, except such as are within one hundred miles of the Arctic Ocean, namely that of the Peace River, already mentioned.

Routes North of Latitude 49°.

Returning now toward the south, we will survey in detail the passes of the cordillera, remarking the ruling conditions which affected the migrations westward, whether for traffic or for settlement. Of the motives for discovering a north-west passage, and the explorations of routes for commercial communication overland by canoe, by wagon, or by railway, mention is made in other parts of this work.[3]

[3] *Hist. Cal.; Hist. Northwest Coast*, passim; *Hist. Oregon; Hist. Brit. Columbia.*.

Porcupine, or Peel River Pass, in latitude 67° 30′, within the Arctic circle, and but one hundred miles from the Arctic Ocean, was the Hudson's Bay Company's northern highway to the Yukon, leading from Fort McPherson, on the Peel River branch of the Mackenzie, to La Pierre House, on the Porcupine branch of the Yukon. Hearing from the natives of this short and easy route to the great river of the far north-west, McMurray, a factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, followed it in 1847 and built Fort Yukon. The goods designed for Fort Yukon reached Fort McPherson by descending the Mackenzie nearly to its mouth and then ascending Peel River. Thence they were conveyed in winter a distance of fifty miles on sledges to La Pierre House, and embarked on the Porcupine-Yukon the following season.[4] Liard River, a branch of the Mackenzie, penetrates the Rocky Mountains in latitude 59°, but this pass does not appear to have been used by the fur-traders to any great extent.

Peace River Pass, in latitude 56°, was visited by some of the Hudson's Bay Company traders previous to 1792, for Mackenzie remarks that Mr Finlay had been making arrangements for erecting a fort not far from the pass. Horetzky in 1872, and Selwyn and Macoun in 1875, also explored this pass, Horetzky placing its altitude at sixteen hundred feet.

Pine River Pass, in latitude 55° 30′, was examined for railroad purposes by Hunter in 1877, and Smoky River Pass, in latitude 54° 30′, by Jarvis in 1876.

Yellowhead, or Tête Jaune Pass, known also as the Leather, and Jasper Pass, is situated in latitude 53°. Its first appellation came from an old tow-headed Indian who lived there, and its other titles from the leather traffic carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company between Jasper House, the Saskatchewan post of Edmonton, and the Fraser and Thompson posts of forts George and Kamloop.

This traffic began probably about the time the

[4] *Dall's Alaska*, 342.

Hudson's Bay Company's head-quarters on the Pacific were transferred from the Columbia to Vancouver Island, when their accustomed route across the Rocky Mountains *via* Kootenais Pass was also abandoned for one more direct.

A large party of Canadians traversed Yellowhead Pass *en route* for Cariboo about 1862, and characterized it as a natural roadway. It was also fully explored and described by Milton and Cheadle,[5] and afterward by the Canadian Pacific Railway surveyors. During the Cariboo gold excitement, and later, all the overland travel from Canada entered British Columbia by this route. For some unexplained reason, however, Palliser failed to examine this pass during his three years of exploration for a road through the Rocky Mountains in 1857–9, though he scrutinized all the passes south of it as far as the forty-ninth parallel, and reported adversely as to the practicability of building a road through any pass in British territory.[6] Yellowhead Pass is the key to British Columbia, being situated at the apex of the Columbia-Fraser triangle, and within easy reach of both river valleys. Its altitude is thirty-four hundred feet.[7]

Athabasca Pass, in latitude 52° 25′, was first explored by David Thompson in 1810, when he was despatched to the Pacific by the Northwest Company with a view to anticipate Astor in the fur-trade. It leads from the source of the Athabasca along Whirlpool River to the Big Bend of the Columbia at Boat Encampment. This was the original route of the Hudson's Bay Company to the mouth of the Columbia, and was travelled by them from 1810 to the time of Simpson's second journey in 1840. The old Canadian cart trail from Winnipeg, as laid down on the

[5] *Northwest Passage by Land.* See also *Brown's Essay.*

[6] Palliser fell in with the Boundary Camp at Colville, where he was well received, and was led to believe that an astronomical boundary line was a great mistake.

[7] Speaking of it in 1859, Palliser says: 'It has never been used except as a portage' between the Athabasca and Fraser rivers, there being no land route connected with it.

Pacific Railway general map,[8] after reaching Edmonton, in latitude 53° 10′, continues south-east toward Kootenai Pass as far as the Old Bow fork on Bow River, a branch of the South Saskatchewan, opposite the Kananaski Pass, and leading to and through that pass in latitude 50° 50′.

By a detour the old trail continued toward the south-east along the base of the mountains to the boundary or South Kootenai Pass, where another cart trail from Winnipeg reached the base of the mountains by a direct route following the forty-ninth parallel. Leaving Winnipeg by the cart trail, there was but one road up the valley of the Assiniboine till that stream turned to the north. The boundary or Wood Mountain trail then left it, continuing its course to the westward, while the Edmonton trail deflected with the river in a northerly and north-westerly direction, and crossing the water-shed, followed the valley of the Saskatchewan to Edmonton.

This Saskatchewan road, as it may be termed, derives great importance from the fact that it led along one of the principal water highways of the Hudson's Bay Company, that of the great Nelson-Saskatchewan, which flowing through the northern end of Lake Winnipeg, had its eastern terminus in Hudson Bay, while from its western extremity at Edmonton was ready communication with the country beyond the mountains by several different passes.

Dunn, speaking of the Athabasca Pass in 1844, says it was the most frequented of all the passes through the Rocky Mountains, and was used by the Hudson's Bay Company as being comparatively easy. Blakiston remarks in 1859: "Until the last few years it was used regularly by the Hudson's Bay Company for the conveyance of a few furs, as well as despatches and servants, from the east side to the Pacific by way of the Columbia River, and from the Boat Encampment is navigable for small craft." There was at

[8] *Fleming's Report*, in *Canadian Pacific Railway*, 1877.

that time no land route to the westward in connection with this pass.

The Athabasca and Yellowhead passes are identical as far as Henry House. The former then continues south, between two of the highest mountains in British Columbia, Mount Brown and Mount Hooker, both estimated at about sixteen thousand feet, but neither actually measured.

From Henry House the Yellowhead Pass has a westerly direction, following a branch of the Athabasca to the extreme source of the Fraser in Cowdung Lake.

Howse Pass, in latitude 51° 45′, leading south from the source of the North Saskatchewan to the Blackberry branch of the Upper Columbia, was explored by Mr Moberly in 1871 for a railway route, and at first favorably considered, its elevation being forty-five hundred feet, but was subsequently abandoned on account of the sinuosities of its approaches and greater altitude than the Yellowhead Pass.

The Kicking Horse Pass, in latitude 51° 25′, was so called by Mr Hector, who examined it in 1858 in connection with Palliser's expedition.[9] He found that it led from the source of Bow River south-west to the Kicking Horse branch of the Upper Columbia. The expedition also traversed the Vermilion, Kananaski, and the north and south Kootenai passes. Of these Hector explored the Vermilion, which proved densely wooded and much obstructed by fallen timber, but having the advantage of a gradual descent on both sides of the water-shed, was deemed remarkably well adapted for a wagon road. This pass is in latitude 51° 10′, and leads from a small branch near the source of Bow River south-west, with many windings, to the Vermilion branch of the Kootenai River. Meanwhile Palmer went through the Kananaski Pass on his route to the westward, and returned to the eastern side by the North Kootenai Pass.

[9] Mr Hector while in this neighborhood was severely hurt by the kick of a horse.

Kananaski Pass, in latitude 50° 40′, leads from one of the branches of Bow River south-west to a branch of the Kootenai. The Indians informed Palliser that this was "the place where Kananaski was stoned but not killed." Simpson and James Sinclair with a party of fifty Red River emigrants passed through it to Oregon in 1841. It was commonly used for the purpose of following the valley of the Kootenai into United States territory. On its eastern ascent Blakiston came upon the remains of Sinclair's abandoned wagons.[10]

The North Kootenai Pass, in latitude 49° 25′, leads from the Belly River branch of the South Saskatchewan south-west, past the sources of the Flathead, to the Wigwam branch of the Elk and Kootenai rivers.

South Kootenai or Boundary Pass crosses the continental water-shed a few miles north of the forty-ninth parallel, from the Waterton branch of Belly River, in a south-westerly direction to the valley of Flathead River, and thence over another summit to the head of Tobacco River, a branch of the Kootenai.

Among these passes through the eastern flanking ridge or flange of the cordilleran plateau in British territory, that of Peace River is the first in importance, from the fact that the great river of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, in this latitude, also drains half of the plateau west of the axis of the range; the real continental water-shed at this point being only one hundred and fifty miles from the axis of the western flanking ridge or flange, and within one hundred and ninety miles of the sea, at the mouth of Skeena River. By the Finlay branch of Peace River the Hudson's Bay Company had an old travelled route to the Babine branch of Skeena River, passing through the Omineca gold region, and crossing the water-shed near the Bulkley House, on Tatla Lake.

Scarcely second in physical and strategic importance

[10] *McDonald's Brit. Col.*, 239–40.

is the Yellowhead Pass, on account of the peculiar configuration of the Pacific slope in British Columbia; in consequence of which it was early ascertained by the Canadian Pacific Railway surveys, and by common consent admitted to be the ruling point governing the railway location to the strait of Fuca. Chief trader John McLeod as early as 1823 learned from the 'Shinpor' Indians of Thompson River, who sometimes went east of the Rocky Mountains, that in this region there was "a pass leading through both ranges."[11]

The following principal canoe portages and fur-trading routes upon the plateau itself, used by the Hudson's Bay Company, may next be indicated, namely, the route connecting the McLeod branch of Peace River with the Fraser, in latitude 54° 30′, travelled by Mackenzie in 1793; and also the Giscome Portage, in the same vicinity, mentioned by Mackenzie, and subsequently adopted as the usual route. Next, the lake and river chain, occupying the centre of the plateau, and trending in the same general direction from the Fraser to Lake Frances and Fort Pelly Banks, on the headwaters of the Yukon, in latitude 62°. And lastly, the trail and portage from Dease House, on the Liard branch of the Mackenzie, leading to the Stikeen River, not far from the Cassiar mines.

Once more, beginning at the northern end of the western flanking range or flange of the cordilleran plateau, as we have done on the eastern, it is to be observed that the passes south of Mount St Elias formed the roads from the Russian American sea-coast to the British American interior even as far south as the fifty-fifth parallel, a distance of five degrees of latitude.

To the north of Mount St Elias, or the sixtieth parallel, there was but one broad channel of travel and traffic this side of the Arctic Ocean, that of the

[11] *John McLeod's Report on Indian Tribes*, quoted in *M. McLeod's Peace River*, 116. The Cariboo-Selkirk and the Rocky Mountain ranges are here referred to.

great Yukon river and valley, in latitude 65°, first explored by Gláseuof in 1835. From the facility of communication by water along this river to Lake Frances, near its source in latitude 61° 30′, it is evident that the northern interior plateau has been in constant communication with the coasts of Bering Sea. By the pass of the Yukon through the Aleutian range, in latitude 64°, canoe navigation was found so little obstructed that in 1849–51 Mr Campbell, the Hudson's Bay Company's factor at Fort Selkirk, in latitude 63°, had his goods brought around and up the Yukon from the Mackenzie *via* Porcupine River Pass. In this pass of the Aleutian range "the river is narrow and dark, running with great impetuosity, though without rapids, for many miles."[12] In its course of two thousand miles the descent of the Yukon from an altitude of two thousand feet is made with great regularity.

Touching the features of the north-western end of the cordilleran plateau, as a means of communication with Asia, the operations of the Russian American extension of the Western Union Telegraph Company under Bulkley in 1866 are significant, he having been forced on and confined to the easy plateau within the extremely rugged mountains of the western flange.

The western flange of the plateau has been called by various names. In the north it is known as the Coast or Cascade Range, being the equivalent of the Cascade Mountains of Oregon and of the Sierra Nevada of California.

In Mexico the eastern and western flanges are both, at different points, denominated the Sierra Madre, without much regard to identity or system, though that name is most commonly applied to the western flange.

From Mount St Elias to California all the principal rivers of the coast rise east of the flange, on the

[12] *Dall's Alaska*, 507–8.

plateau, cutting through the Cascade Mountains, and forming passes along which are ancient and time-worn Indian trails that have been followed and generally improved by the march of civilization. Principal among these are the Stikeen, in latitude 58°; the Nasse, in 56°; the Skeena, in 55°; the Salmon, in 54°; the Bellacoola, in 53°; the Hornathco, in 51° 30′; the Fraser, in 49° 30′; the Skagit, in 48° 30′; the Columbia, in 46°; the Klamath, 42°; and the Pitt, or Upper Sacramento River, in latitude 41°. In Mexico the two typical large rivers are the Santiago and the Zacatula, the former in latitude 21° 30′ and the latter three degrees farther south. In the Colorado region, though the western flange is broken, the Colorado itself has linked the inhabitants of Utah and Arizona with the south and west.

While the course of the smaller streams, including their passage through the flange, is generally southwesterly and at right angles to the latter, that of the rivers of the first class differs in a strange and uniform manner, the Yukon, Fraser, Columbia, Santiago, and Zacatula persisting in curving to the right, due west. The four great rivers of the west have besides to make long detours to the north or south in the course of their descent from the plateau.

Proportionate to the size of the streams is the altitude above the sea of their respective passes or erosions into the axis of the western flange; varying from less than ten to three or four hundred feet. Most of the plateau-coast rivers have been navigated precariously by canoes, with occasional portages, in a traffic which for the time lacked a safer or a better road. Trading houses and towns were called into existence on the inner edge of the Pacific flange, whence trails or roads were found to have led from time immemorial to the more favored valleys of the plateau, inhabited by the populous tribes. Since the advent of the white men they have led to the first known mining regions. "It is useless to disguise,"

says Butler, "that the Fraser affords the sole outlet from that portion of the Rocky Mountains lying between the boundary line and the fifty-third parallel of latitude; and that the Fraser River valley is one so peculiarly formed that it would seem as though some superhuman sword had at a single stroke cut through the labyrinth of mountains for a distance of three hundred miles."[13]

South of the forty-ninth parallel, on the eastern or Rocky Mountain flange of the plateau, after leaving Boundary Pass we find in latitude 48° the Flathead Pass. It leads from a branch of the María River, a tributary of the Missouri, westward to Flathead Lake, which is merely an expansion of the Flathead branch of Clarke or Bitter Root fork of the Columbia. Flathead Pass forms the shortest route from the main Missouri to the main Columbia. It was mentioned by Dunn among several others as being well known to the Hudson's Bay Company's servants in 1843.[14]

Lewis and Clarke Pass, in 47° 5′, and Cadotte Pass are close together and virtually the same. By a small branch they lead from the main Missouri south-west, on two different sides of a hill, to the Blackfoot branch of Clarke fork. It was first explored by Clarke on his way east from the Lewis and Clarke expedition in 1806. Mullan Pass, in latitude 46° 30′, near Helena, Montana, leads from the Little Prickly branch of the Missouri south-west to the Hellgate tributary of Clarke fork. Mullan constructed a wagon road through it from the navigable waters of the Missouri at Fort Benton to those of the Columbia at Walla Walla in 1858–62. The Hellgate Pass is near it, a little farther south; while Deer Lodge Pass, also in the same vicinity, leads from the extreme source of the same stream, in latitude 46°, to Divide Creek and Fish Creek, tributaries of the Jefferson fork of the Missouri.

[13] *Wild North Land*, 352.
[14] *Dunn's Or.*, 348.

PASSES BETWEEN LATITUDE 49° AND 32°.

From the South Platte River at Julesburg, now tapped by the Union Pacific Railway, there is an old military road which follows the Oregon emigrant route along the North Platte north-west to Fort Laramie, where it branches off and continues along the base of the mountains to forts Fetterman, Reno, and Kearney, and to Fort Smith, in the Yellowstone basin. It ascends the Yellowstone and crosses over to Bozeman, and the mountain park of the Missouri, by the Bozeman or Yellowstone Pass through the broken eastern flange of the plateau, in latitude 45° 45′, connecting by way of Gallatin, in the Upper Missouri Valley, with Mullan Pass, at Helena, beyond the continental water-shed.

Big Hole Mountain Pass, in latitude 45° 38′, leading from the Big Hole or Wisdom branch of the Missouri north-west to the extreme source of the Bitter Root or Clarke fork of the Columbia, was the route travelled by Lewis on his back-track from Oregon in 1806, and was the pass he may be said to have been looking for on his way west. It is the natural route from the extreme source of the Missouri to the extreme source of the Columbia, though not the most direct nor the best.

Seeking a direct route, Clarke led his party west across the water-shed from the Horse Plain branch of the Jefferson or Beaver Head fork of the Missouri, by the Lemhi Indian trail, in latitude 44° 45′, into the Salmon River branch of the valley of the Columbia. Not until Idaho and Montana were explored and settled by the prospectors from California in 1860–2, was there even a local importance attached to a passage to this portion of the water-shed, and it remained for the completion of the overland railway in 1869 to bring into prominence this and other communications between the parks of Montana and the south.

The road to the railway, leading from Helena up Beaver Head Valley *via* Bannock, goes through the

same pass to Lemhi; thence it ascends Salmon River Valley through Cotés Defile, in latitude 44° 20′, and thence continues to Fort Hall and to Corinne *via* Bannock River and Malade River Pass, thus penetrating the Utah basin.

A more direct route between the same ultimate points leaves the Beaver Head at the junction of Horse Plain and Red Rock creeks, and ascends the latter to the south-east, reaching Snake River Valley by a single pass through the water-shed, in latitude 44° 30′, leading to the head of Dry Creek near Pleasant Valley, and thence to Fort Hall; another loop of the same road taking in Virginia City, Montana, and connecting at the pass.

It was by this Pleasant Valley Pass that Montana received the larger part of her mining population, mainly from California. It was by Hellgate River that the Oregon and Idaho miners mostly recrossed the water-shed, through the Mullan, Hellgate, and Deer Lodge passes, to the eastern slope parks of the broken Rocky Mountain flange at the head of the Missouri.

The Oregon emigrations between 1842 and 1849 followed the North Platte to Fort Laramie, and entered the Laramie park or plain by the pass of that stream through the Black Hills, in latitude 42° 30′. The North Platte changes its name to the Sweetwater, opposite the Sweetwater Mountains, the latter separating it and the old Oregon trail from the Bridger Pass, Holladay stage road, or Union Pacific Railroad route to the south of it.

South Pass, in latitude 42° 26′, leads from the Sweetwater branch of the North Platte west to the Big Sandy branch of Green River, the main Colorado, attaining an altitude of 7489 feet. Bonneville was probably the first to draw the attention of the civilized world to the merits of this pass through the Rocky Mountains, having obtained his information originally from the French or Canadian trap-

pers of St Louis, and having explored it personally in 1832.[15]

At this point we find the eastern flange of the cordilleras bent and broken to such a degree that the flat-bedded tertiary lake formations, called parks, within the parallel ridges of the Rocky Mountains form the most elevated portions of the plateau, and along with the underlying conformable cretaceous beds furnish the characteristic scenery of the old Oregon and California emigrant road which unites the Atlantic and Pacific water-sheds by a nearly level road 7000 feet above the sea.

From here to Fort Hall the Oregon emigrant road crossed the headwaters of the Colorado over level country and reached the upper waters of Snake River by a short journey through the somewhat hilly country formed by the northern extension and breaking down of the Wahsatch Mountains, of older rock. Leaving Green River behind, the road followed up the Piney Creek and struck westward through Thompson Pass, in the hills just mentioned, to the Salt River branch of Snake River.

Frémont in 1842–3, Stansbury in 1849, and Hayden, King, and Wheeler's surveys since 1872, surveyed and mapped not only the old Oregon road, but the entire region north and south of its intersection of the Rocky Mountain region over several degrees of latitude.

The emigrant pass through the Blue Mountains of eastern Oregon, in latitude 45° 20′, was more formidable both in the matter of abruptness and in being obstructed by forest growth. It ascended the Grand Ronde tributary of Snake River from Grand Ronde Valley north-west to one of the branches of the Uma-

[15] Bonneville's adventures from South Pass as a centre began in 1832, and were published by Irving in 1843. He was the first to recognize Green River as identical with the Colorado, and the first to discover the character of the 'Utah Basin,' its being without outlet to the sea. Dunn, *Or.*, 348, said in 1843 that a pass 'which is very important lies between Long's Mountains and the Wind River Mountains.'

tilla River, and was followed and delineated as far as the Dalles by Frémont in 1843.

Bridger Pass, in latitude 41° 36′, was south of the Sweetwater Mountains, and like the old Sweetwater road ran parallel thereto in an east and west course, leading from the elbow of the North Platte northwest over Laramie plains and the continental water-shed to the Bitter Creek branch of Green River. In this tertiary region of the Laramie Plains and of Green River, Holladay's overland stages, and subsequently the Union Pacific Railway, crossed the continental water-shed many miles west of the axis of the eastern flange.

Holladay's stage road, constructed for the purpose of carrying the United States mails at a rapid rate by a continuous night and day travel to California, after the state attained its full importance in 1850–60, entered the Rocky Mountains from St Vrain Fort, near Denver, through the Antelope Pass in the Black Hills, a defile cut by the Cache à Poudre tributary of the South Platte, and then proceeded west across the Laramie park, or plains, to Bridger Pass.

When the railway army reached the Rocky Mountains in the autumn of 1867, the rails were laid along the Lodge Pole branch, intermediately between the North and South Platte, as far as Cheyenne, whence the engineers struck due west through the Black Hills by a direct route through one of the Cheyenne passes. Emerging on the Laramie Plains, between the emigrant road and the overland stage route, the railway followed the course of the latter, traversing the same tertiary lake region over the continental water-shed near Bridger Pass, and over the main tributary of the Colorado near the Green River ferry. Instead of crossing the Wahsatch with the Oregon emigrant road, however, in a north-westerly direction from the Colorado to the Columbia basin, both the overland stage road and the Union Pacific Railroad at this point kept to the south or left hand, striking boldly

into the heart of the Wahsatch Range toward Weber Pass.

Weber Pass, through the Wahsatch Mountains, in latitude 41° 18′, leads from the muddy fork of the Green-Colorado River near Fort Bridger south-west past the headwaters of Bear River to the head of Weber River, and along that stream into the Great Salt Lake basin at Ogden. The western part of the Wahsatch range is cut by Weber River very nearly to the level of the Salt Lake basin, or the average level of the plateau in this latitude; and is made up, like the main ridge of what we have called the Rocky Mountain, or eastern flange of the plateau—with its correlative parallels, the Cariboo, Selkirk, and Bitter Root ranges to the north, and the San Juan, the Mimbres, and the Sierra Madre of Mexico to the south—of older rocks, antedating the existence of the plateau itself.

The California emigrant road of 1843–9 was originally identical with the Oregon trail to Fort Hall, whence the California-bound followed the direction of the Goose Creek Mountains, and of the Goose Creek and Raft River branches of Snake River to the rim of the Utah Salt Lake basin, and by an easy though desert road, to the source of the Humboldt, near Humboldt Wells. Jesse Applegate in 1846 guided Thornton's party over this route to the Humboldt, then known as the Applegate cut-off to Oregon; and Joel Palmer in 1849 conducted the newly appointed collector of the port of San Francisco over the same route, taking in Fort Hall.

When the Mormons settled Salt Lake Valley in 1847, Weber Pass was first sought out, since it led from South Pass to Salt Lake by a more direct route than the old trapper trail *via* Fort Hall had done; and the California-bound emigrants that tarried at Salt Lake next sought the traverse from the Malade Valley along the rim of the basin, striking the old California road from Fort Hall at the source of Raft River,

and continuing along it up that stream and over the Humboldt divide.

The South Pass tertiary lakes having levelled the road-beds, graded the approaches to the plateau from the east, and served by pack-trail, by ox-wagon, and by railroad, from first to last, nearly all the overland population to the Pacific States, it is proper to consider in this connection several other of the ruling points that here governed the movements of the great emigrations.

All the earlier fur-trading and exploring expeditions beyond the Rocky Mountains as far south as this latitude were governed by the conditions of river navigation by canoe. Peace River and the Saskatchewan as well as the Yukon and the Missouri, with their peculiar fitness for canoe navigation, determined the location of posts from which the trade of great areas of plateau region could be reached and controlled. Owing to the difficulties of canoe navigation on the western slope, however, none but the Hudson's Bay Company employed it, or made portages to any extent. Points of communication called into existence by these canoe passes or portages were forts Edmonton, Dunvegan, and McLeod on the eastern slope; and forts George, James, Alexander, Fraser, Babine, Connelly, and Shepherd on the plateau of British Columbia; with Dease, Frances, Selkirk, and Yukon in the extreme north. In Oregon the Dalles, Colville, and Okanagan; all these with the points at the head of canoe navigation from the Pacific on all the streams flowing westward, whether small or large, became the termini of the land routes running in every direction.

On the land routes within the limits governing their objective points, grass and water for the accommodation of stock became the ruling consideration in the main, though the absence or character of the forests had their weight also in determining the movements

of the masses. The New Mexico and Arizona, or southern Pacific route, accordingly failed to attract many emigrants. Among those who went through South Pass to Oregon only a few could be induced to follow the Applegate cut-off by the Nevada salt basins over dreary deserts for four hundred miles.

South Pass possessed the important advantage over all other passes through the Rocky Mountains north of New Mexico of being unobstructed by timber. A wide belt of open country was found by the trappers to extend through the range elsewhere wooded hereabout.

South Pass had other strategic advantages favorable to the emigration that flowed through it, namely, the three great rivers of the western states centred near it, in the Wind River Mountains, the Snake leading to Oregon, the Colorado and the valleys of Utah leading south, while the Humboldt had cut a road for the emigrants across the plateau from the Rocky Mountains to the Sierra Nevada. In this respect it presents features similar to those of the Yellowhead Pass, where the Columbia, the Fraser, the Saskatchewan-Nelson, and the Athabasca-Mackenzie head nearly together.

Stansbury's expedition to Great Salt Lake in 1849–50 delineated and mapped all the routes and approaches to that region from the east. Gore Pass, in latitude 40°, is on a more direct route between Denver, on the South Platte, and Salt Lake City, by way of Middle Park, White, and Uintah rivers, and along the south side of the Uintah Mountains to Utah Lake. The pass proper leads from the Golden City tributary of the South Platte to the head of the Bunkara branch of the Colorado, in the Middle Park, thence it crosses two western spurs of the mountains to the head of Bear River, and thence to the head of White River, following the latter down to Green River.[16]

[16] This appears to have been the route followed by some of Farnham's companions on their way to Oregon in 1839.

The Sangre de Cristo Pass, in latitude 37° 36′, leads by the road from Bent Fort, on the Arkansas, along the Huérfano branch of the Arkansas south-west to the headwaters of the Rio Grande at Fort Garland, in San Luis Valley. From this point there are two different routes to the Colorado River basin by the passes leading from the Rio Grande: one running north-west over the San Juan Mountains by the Coochetopa Pass to Grand River, surveyed by Cox in 1858; another after descending San Luis Valley a short distance toward Taos and Santa Fé,[17] connected at Abiquiu, near Taos, with the old Santa Fé and Los Angeles trail.

The old Santa Fé and Los Angeles trail ran from Santa Fé north-west, following up the Chama branch of the Rio Grande, and crossed the water-shed near the Calinas Mountains, in latitude 36° 30′, in a north-westerly direction to the Navajo tributary of the San Juan branch of the Colorado; thence continuing in a westerly direction across the Colorado, near the junction of the Grand, it crossed the Wahsatch Mountains at Wahsatch Pass, in latitude 38° 45′, near Fillmore; thence it continued south-west to the Rio Vírgen, over the Colorado desert, and through the San Bernardino Mountains by the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles. From Santa Fé to the Colorado it was travelled and surveyed by Macomb in 1859; and from California to Utah Frémont followed and mapped it in 1844.

From Missouri Santa Fé was approached by a wagon road which left the Missouri at Independence, near the junction of the Kansas, and striking south-west crossed the Arkansas, reaching the base of the Rocky Mountains at Fort Union, in latitude 36°; thence curving around the hills, it crossed the headwaters of the Pecos and passed over the axis of the eastern flange, a sharp little divide, in latitude 33° 28′, into the valley of the upper Rio Grande at Santa Fé.

From Bent Fort, farther up the Arkansas, Fort

[17] Whitman and Lovejoy's route in 1842–3. *Lovejoy's Portland*, MS., 21–3.

Union, on the Santa Fé road, was reached by a road over Raton Pass, in the spurs of the Rocky Mountains.

South of Santa Fé the lowness of the eastern flange in the Pecos Mountains leaves New Mexico all open toward the east; and it is entered by numerous trails and roads from all directions. Going west, however, from the valley of the Rio Grande, in New Mexico, there are but two principal roads in Arizona, leading respectively into the valley of the Little Colorado and that of the Gila.

The Zuñi, or Little Colorado Pass, in latitude 35°, is in the Zuñi Mountains, one of the westerly parallels of the Rocky Mountains, similar, in its relations, to the Wahsatch Range, though shorter, lower, and more broken. The Zuñi road leads from Santa Fé to Alburquerque, thence by the San José branch of the Rio Grande west to the Zuñi branch of the Colorado, continuing down the latter past the Zuñi village, till the river turns north-west, when it leaves it and strikes south-west to Prescott.[18]

The Gila road by Apache Pass, in latitude 32° 30′, crosses the continental water-shed at the Mimbres Mountains, a local name for another of the short broken parallels of the eastern flange, near Mowry City. This was the old overland mail route, which led from Preston, on the Red River, by way of Fort Belknap, on the Brazos River, across the Texan table-lands, called the Llano Estacado, to the valley of the Pecos;[19] thence traversing the Guadalupe Pass, west of the Pecos, in latitude 32°, and entering the valley of the Rio Grande.

It crossed that stream at Mesilla, and thence led west through barren hills, passing the water-shed, as stated, at a lower altitude above the sea than any other of the routes pursued by the emigrants to Cali-

[18] This road was followed and surveyed by Beckwourth in 1849, and by Sitgreaves in 1852.

[19] Surveyed by Marcy in 1849, and by Pope in 1854.

fornia, being nearly three thousand feet lower than South Pass. Here the southern emigrant road descended at once into the Mexican salt lake basin of the Rio Mimbres; thence continuing west over the Colorado plateau, it traversed the southern affluents of the Gila, crossed the Chiricagui Mountains, on the plateau, by Railroad Pass, and penetrating the other parallel ranges, reached Tucson near the western flange; this was the main artery of travel from the east into this territory.

It was connected at the Mimbres Pass with a direct road leading north from that point to Santa Fé, and was mapped west of the pass by the Mexican Boundary Commission, and by Lieutenant Parke in 1854.

A remarkable feature of the drainage of the eastern flange and its parallels in New Mexico at once affected the communications and settlement of this country. The Rio Grande intersects the broken-down eastern flange in the Pecos-Coahuila Mountains, in latitude 29° 30′, and its valley extends northward in the form of a narrow basin into the heart of the Rocky Mountains, half of the distance from its embouchure in the gulf of Mexico to the forty-ninth parallel.

The Mexicans accordingly were early in possession of the country near the sources of the Arkanas, and were settled there in sufficient force to overwhelm the United States exploring party under Major Pike in 1806. Pike was carried a prisoner to Chihuahua for trespassing on Mexican soil, and all his topographical sketches were confiscated. McLeod's Santa Fé expedition, consisting of six companies of forty men each, met a similar fate in 1841. Father Escalante, the discoverer of Utah Lake, set out from Santa Fé in 1776; and the mythical Rio Buenaventura of the Spaniards, flowing into the Western Ocean, was perhaps reported to them by some Indians who had seen the Columbia, though it was con-

fused with the Humboldt. The desert and rugged character of the plateau alone prevented the Spaniards from advancing by the old Santa Fé and Los Angeles trail along the Utah and Salt Lake Valley, to the valley of the Snake-Columbia. While the heart of the Rocky Mountains became settled as early as Ohio, the want of a natural road to the north-west checked emigration from this direction entirely.

Having observed the influence exerted by the natural features of the eastern flange of the plateau on the emigrations which attained it from the north Atlantic, it is next in order to consider the method of their descent to the Pacific. In their eight hundred or one thousand miles of travel with oxen and horses at an average altitude of 4000 or 5000 feet above the sea the guides and scouts fixed their vision on points where water and grass were to be found, these being beyond all other considerations attached to a practicable route.

On the road leading to Oregon there were well wooded mountains in view, at a distance of from fifty to seventy miles, nearly all the way from their entrance to the Rocky Mountains till they reached the coast valleys. The road itself was in open country, merely skirting the forests of the Black Hills, the Wind River Mountains, the Wahsatch, and the Goose Creek Mountains, till the Blue Mountains were reached. Grassy meadows were found in abundance in the well watered basin of the Snake. It was not until the necessity arose for a direct route to the isolated valley of California that the desert stretches surrounding the basin of the Humboldt were attempted. But experience soon taught the emigrants that even here they might venture with safety as long as springs of water could be found. Following the guiding hand of nature, trappers and emigrants first made the descent in a north-west direction along with the natural drainage to the sea,

passing through the western flange on rafts bearing their families and wagons.

Humboldt River was nevertheless destined to play an important part in the peopling of the cordilleran region, occupying as it does a significant position in the structure of the plateau. Flowing west, at right angles to the longitudinal extent of the plateau, it is found where the plateau is broadest as well as highest, and midway between the two great rivers flowing respectively north-west and south-west, itself without outlet to the sea. Placed in the basin of that river known to Spanish geography as the Rio Buenaventura, that river which so belied its title, it formed the central feature of what Bonneville, and after him Frémont, termed the Great Utah Basin, though it was not in the Utah basin proper, and the major part of the great plateau of which it forms part was not in the drainageless region of the salt basins at all. This was the place where destiny had foreshadowed an outlet to the sea, a road from the strategic pass of the eastern flange. That road was thus continued by the hand of nature across the plateau, and it was necessary that it should pass also through the western flange for the accommodation of the dwellers in the isolated valley by the Golden Gate.

As if other than ordinary inducements had been insufficient to draw the adventurous to cope with the grand obstacle of the Sierra Nevada, nature had endowed the mountains with bonanzas of silver and gold, and rewarded the successful explorers, miners, and builders of railroads and cities with a romantic fame more fascinating to posterity than were the wonderful seven cities of Cíbola to the world prior to the great emigration to the Pacific.

When the existence of rich deposits of silver on this portion of the plateau became a well ascertained fact, it also became clearly demonstrated that the natural difficulties of the central railroad route into California would have to be, and could be, overcome.

Humboldt River therefore proved a curious exception to the great law concerning rivers and the movements of populations, first pointed out by the renowned pioneer of the physical features of the plateau after whom that river was named.[20]

The Humboldt separates two different geological formations, that of the elevated volcanic plateau of Mount Shasta and the Modoc lakes, extending north over a large portion of the Columbia basin within the western flange, from the corrugated north and south trending ridges of the state of Nevada, between the Humboldt and the Colorado respectively, the volcanic and the metamorphic sedimentary regions of the drainless basin of the plateau. In the valleys between these ridges there are the same natural roads of the fresh-water tertiary lake basins leading to the south. Toward the north and north-west the comparatively level region of the Modoc lakes was as early as 1846 discovered by Jesse Applegate and taken advantage of by the Oregon emigrants in what was known as the Applegate or southern route, and for years there was more or less travel into Oregon by way of the Humboldt and the Shasta corner of the cordilleran plateau. In latitude 41° 42′ the plateau reaches farthest to the west and nearest to the sea in the very divide that was sought out by Applegate's party of roadmakers.[21] This southern route to Oregon joins the present California and Oregon stage road a few miles north of Pilot Rock, near the boundary line, on the hill between Klamath and Rogue River valleys, the western flange being still represented by the ridges continuing north-west to the ocean at Cape Blanco, in the main direction of the Sierra Nevada, and shaping the bends of the Klamath and Rogue rivers in the mining region of southern Oregon, though really leaving the latter on the seaward slope of the plateau and continuing in

[20] In *Cosmos;* the matter being further discussed with especial reference to the Columbia by C. C. Coffin in *The Path of Empire.*

[21] Mentioned by Thornton as arriving at Fort Hall and inducing his party to undertake the southern route.

an altered course, in the Cascade Mountains, to the north. Strictly speaking, the Sierra Nevada subsides toward the north at Pitt River, and the Cascade Range subsides toward the south at the passes of the upper Klamath River into an angle of the cordilleran plateau on which the great volcanic peak of Shasta towers, a worthy monument of the grandeur of both. While taking advantage of this, Applegate found at the same time a more lightly timbered belt to the northward, avoiding thereby the main obstacles of the Cascade Mountains.

Bonneville's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1832 was the next after Mackenzie's, and Lewis and Clarke's, to cope with the difficulties of finding a road through the western flange. It was the first to undertake it in the latitude of California, and without the usual following of configurations. In 1833 Walker, Bonneville's assistant, with a party of forty men and supplies for a year, left Salt Lake and followed the Humboldt down to its sink, whence they struck across the Sierra Nevada, with twenty-three days of entanglement among the passes and defiles of the sierra, by a route not definitely known, but probably by Carson Lake, Walker lake and river, and by the Merced to the San Joaquin Valley. Sutter informed Wilkes eight years later, when at his fort, that a route across the Sierra Nevada was followed by a party "directly east of this place, but they were twenty days in getting here, and found the country so thickly wooded that they were obliged to cut their way," recommending therefore in preference the Pitt River Pass.[22]

Johnson Pass took a position of historical importance third in the order of exploration and emigration, subordinate to the Columbia and the Fraser, from the north Atlantic. It was evidently an old pass frequented by the natives, as Frémont remarked while he was struggling through the snow on the

[22] *Wilkes' Nar.*, v.

eastern ascent that a party of natives on snow-shoes passed them, *en route* to the western side of the mountains to fish.[23]

As the emigrations by the old Spanish trail from Santa Fé to Los Angeles, and the American emigration by the southern overland mail route were of little importance numerically in comparison with those of the northern routes across the plateau, the road being desert and difficult, and its terminus on the Pacific being only on the seaward slope of southern California, fenced off moreover from the rest of the coast by intervening mountains, we may consider its passes through the western flange as of local bearing only, and pertaining rather to the movements of populations from the south-east to the north-west, and along or from the coast itself.

Resuming now our general view along the western flange from where we left off at the Canadian boundary, and having noted the ruling points which directed the movements of the emigrations to the several leading passes through the western range already mentioned, we will now observe the relative importance and significance of the whole series of passes as far south as the gulf of California, and the part they have played as routes for emigration eastward from the Pacific coast, as well as the position and the junction of the passes between the coast or coast and interior valleys, affecting the low coast country alone.

Between the Fraser and the Columbia are the Skagit Pass, in latitude 48° 15′, the river of that name having cut through the range to the edge of the plateau opposite Fuca Strait, and opposite the upper Columbia and Bitter Root rivers, the latter being on the Northern Pacific Railroad Company's route through Mullan Pass, and the only available railroad route through the eastern flange north of the Union Pacific Railroad; the Snoqualmie Pass, in lati-

[23] *Frémont's Exploration*, 1843, 234.

tude 47° 20′, leading from the Yakima north-west into the Snohomish Valley; the Natchez and the Cowlitz passes to the north and south of Mount Rainier; all of which are old and constantly travelled routes of the natives between the plateau of the Columbia and Puget Sound. The only approach to Puget Sound from the east of any historical importance, however, besides that of the Fraser, has been the pass of the Columbia, in connection with the valley of the Cowlitz, leading north from the Columbia over a level country. By the latter, western Washington received its pioneer settlers from Oregon, and the Vancouver Mediterranean itself has had its principal connection with the populous coast valleys of the south.

Columbia River Pass, in latitude 45° 40′, two and a third degrees farther south than the Bitter Root Valley's emergence from the Rocky Mountains, has furnished a natural road from South Pass to the coast, as well as from the coast to the plateau embracing the whole of the Columbia basin; but it is out of the range of Fuca Strait as an outlet for the valley of the main or upper Columbia, including the transcontinental route by Bitter Root Valley. It has been the road for emigration from the south-east to the north-west, and from the south-west to the mining and plateau region north-east of it, and *vice versa*, being opposite the Bitter Root Mountains toward the east.

South of the Columbia the first and the earliest of the passes used by white men through the Cascade Mountains was the Indian trail over the southern flank of Mount Hood, near which was afterward made the Barlow road, in latitude 45° 05′. It leads from the Tyich Prairie branch of Des Chutes River, west to the north fork of the Clackamas branch of Willamette River. The ascent from the plateau was found comparatively easy, being lightly timbered; but the densely timbered summit and western slope presented to Palmer, Rector, and Barlow in 1842–6

the first serious obstacle that the Oregon emigrants had encountered in road-making. Their trains were abandoned at the summit, and the emigrants themselves had to be rescued by a relief party from the Willamette. This was but two years later than Frémont's narrow escape from starvation in the Sierra Nevada; but the Oregonians in the following spring completed their wagon road across the range, and improved it into a toll road; and it remained for many years the principal road across the Cascade Mountains, while Frémont's route was not made into a passable wagon road until after the gold-discovery in 1849, nor into a good road until after the silver-discovery in 1860.

From the fact that the Columbia River Pass was essentially a water highway obstructed by portages, the Barlow road became a necessity for the movement of herds in the settlement of western as well as of eastern Oregon later.

To the south the Willamette River Pass, in latitude 43° 26′, leads from the head of Willamette Valley, near Eugene, along the upper Willamette River, south-west into the Cascade Mountains, crossing the southern flank of Diamond Peak to the edge of the plateau at Klamath Marsh.

Mackenzie Fork furnishes a similar road and pass in latitude 44° 12′, leading east to the Metelius branch of the Des Chutes River.

Rogue River Pass, crossing the western flange in latitude 42° 30′, leads from the head of Rogue River Valley north-east to Klamath Lake. Through the last three passes emigration has moved eastward.

The pass through the western flange by the Applegate cut-off, or southern route into Oregon, in latitude 42° 10′, which has already been mentioned by reason of its historical and physical significance, leads from Lower Klamath Lake west over the southern end of the Cascade Mountains to the head of Stuart Creek, a branch of Rogue River, on the California and Oregon road.

From Oregon to California and *vice versa* the routes of the Hudson's Bay Company's trappers, guided by former Indian trails, appear to have been followed in the main by the roadmakers of more recent date. Applegate and his party from Oregon bound to Fort Hall in 1846 followed the old California trail as far south as Pilot Rock, in their flanking movement around the Cascade Mountains, as already described.

In the later movement upon California with wagons, General Palmer and his party of Oregonians in 1848 continued in Applegate's trail by the Klamath lakes to Goose Lake, making a large portion of the distance to California on the plateau, and finally descended to the valley by the Quincy and Oroville route, being the first wagons over that road.

The Oregonians who accompanied Marshall to California, and there made the gold-discovery, were not governed by considerations of wagoning, and simply retraced the trail of the California and Oregon herders with pack animals. Two old routes by the Noble and Scott Mountain passes went northward east and west of Mount Shasta respectively, and reunited at Yreka near the present boundary line; the former followed Pitt River to the plateau. The latter was probably the older and has the appearance of having been originally explored from the north. Leaving the extreme head of the Sacramento Valley near Shasta City, it ascended French Gulch and Trinity River; and crossing Scott Mountain by its pass, in latitude 41° 20′, descended Scott River to the Shasta Valley plateau at Yreka. Our earliest record of the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company in California are identified with this locality common to both routes.

Scott Mountain Pass may be considered as a pass through the axis of the Sierra Nevada, if not through the western flange, as it intersects the older rocks peculiar to the sierra, and the altitude of the plateau is attained through the Klamath River Pass between Pilot Rock and Scott River, in latitude 41° 50′, where

the country north and east more properly represents the position of the broken flange. The old Oregon and California trail between Scott Mountain and Pilot Rock here traverses the western edge of the plateau for seventy-five miles. Ridges are crossed from the Klamath at Yreka to the Rogue River at Jacksonville; and from Rogue River the Rogue River Mountains are crossed to the Umpqua River, at Cañonville, above Roseburg; and lastly the Calapooya Mountains, by the pass leading from a branch of the Umpqua to the coast fork of the Willamette at Eugene.

The Pitt River route to Oregon ascended the Fall River branch of Pitt River to Fort Crook, and continued along the eastern base of Mount Shasta to Yreka. To attain Fall River, however, which is on the plateau, it was necessary to first cross the Sierra Nevada by Noble Pass, in latitude 40° 30′, leading from Fort Reading easterly up Battle Creek and over the north flank of Lassen Peak to the head of Hat Creek, and thence north-west as far as Yreka. In later years a road was made from Fort Reading ascending the Cow Creek branch of the Sacramento by a more direct route to Fort Crook, crossing the Sierra Nevada at a lower altitude, in latitude 40° 45′, near Pitt River. By the latter route, which was for many years the stage and mail route to Yreka and Jacksonville, the cordilleran plateau was used for a distance of one hundred and forty miles. Frémont explored Pitt River from Sacramento Valley to Klamath Lake in 1846.

By the Lassen road along the upper Pitt River there was another route from California to Oregon, which followed the plateau along the inner side of the flange from Chico and Noble passes, by Klamath lakes to the valley of Des Chutes River, and along that stream to the Columbia, being a natural road to the north.

All the passes through the Sierra Nevada were in one respect more favorable to exploration and emigra-

tion with wagons than those of the Cascade Mountains; they were more openly, and on the whole, comparatively speaking, more lightly timbered. To the north of Pilot Peak, at the head of the North Yuba, the sierra flange of the plateau was easily approached from the east over the volcanic table-lands; and it was cut through by the Feather and Pitt rivers to the edge of the plateau, as old Peter Lassen was the first to find out for the benefit of the trains *via* Smoke Creek, in whose service he lost his life.

When Wilkes visited California in 1841, Sutter, though a new-comer himself, was already aware of the advantages of the northern and of the extreme southern passes for a road from the east. He informed Wilkes that the best northern route was through the gap made by Pitt River, and of his belief that that stream extended through and beyond the Sierra; declaring, however, that in his opinion the best route to the United States was to ascend the San Joaquin and proceed thence easterly through a gap in the Snowy Mountains by a good beaten road, having reference probably to Walker Pass.[24]

Chico also had its pass, known as Bidwell Pass, the next south of that descending from the plateau to Fort Reading. Its connecting roads reached the Sierra by way of Surprise Valley, and also by way of Honey Lake to Eagle Lake Valley, traversing the axis of the western flange between Lassen and Spanish peaks, in latitude 40° 10′. The road left Eagle Lake Valley by its Pine Creek tributary, and attained the spurs on the north side of the north fork of Feather River while yet on the plateau, descending along the backs of the volcanic ridges south-west, and reaching the valley by Chico Creek, at Chico.

From Oroville there was a pass; though the pass, it is needless to point out, first made the road, which afterward contributed toward making the town. This road was the first by which wagons entered California

[24] *Wilkes' Nar.*, v.

from Oregon, having been opened by Palmer and his party in 1848. The Oregonians came from Goose Lake to the Meadows, and passing the site of Quincy, crossed the western flange of the plateau on the southerly shoulder of Spanish Peak, in latitude 39° 52′, descending along the divide between the middle and south forks of Feather River to Sacramento Valley near Oroville.

Both the Oroville and the Chico passes were connected to the eastward with the Fort Crook and Yreka road to Oregon, by travelled routes along the inner side of the plateau flange; but the Shasta route by these passes does not appear to have been used to any extent for travel between California and Oregon, having only such slight significance as might attach to the intercourse between the extreme northern part of California or southern Oregon and Washoe.

As an emigrant route the Oroville-Quincy Pass, connecting with Beckwourth Pass through the eastern member of the Sierra Nevada, in latitude 39° 45′, was of importance, the road striking north-west from the Truckee near Reno, and passing along the edge of Sierra Valley. Connecting at Mill City, on the Humboldt, with the road by way of Honey Lake and Eagle Lake valleys, it was even more important, being one of the most direct and practicable routes leading into the northern part of Sacramento Valley.

In later times the Oroville and Chico passes have figured as routes for emigration eastward to the Owyhee and Idaho mines; not to mention the more regulated flow of herders into Modoc and the more distant grazing lands of the plateau.

From Marysville a road followed up the Honcut and Yuba divide. Crossing the north Yuba, it followed the middle Yuba to Henness Pass, in latitude 39° 28′, a branch of it continuing to Downieville, Sierra Valley, and through Beckwourth Pass.

Another road from Marysville to Henness Pass followed up the south side of the Yuba to Nevada

City, crossed the south Yuba, and continued to the summit on the middle Yuba divide, having joined the other road at Jackson. From Nevada City again there was a branch leading along the south side of the south Yuba to Donner and Truckee Pass, in latitude 39° 25′, the pass pointed out by the Nevada City people to the explorers of the Central Pacific Railroad Company at the commencement of the silver era.

Johnson Pass first and the Donner Pass later were the passes leading from the city of Sacramento, at the head of navigation on Sacramento River, to the plateau. It was by these passes mainly that the entire drainless plateau between the Columbia and the Colorado was finally taken possession of by a permanent population, aided from the east by the Mormon occupation of Salt Lake. A quarter of a century had elapsed from the time when Frémont dispelled the error of the mythical Rio Buenaventura crossing the Sierra Nevada, in latitude 39°,[25] until the fantastic romance of the Spanish geographers was blasted into reality, when a channel was cut and tunnelled for the iron road, the true Rio Buenaventura, the modern River of Good Fortune.

When the Central Pacific Railroad was begun at Sacramento, the wagon road which led up to the ridge forming the northern rim of the American River basin was followed, instead of that ascending the valley of that river; and the wagon road was completed through Donner Pass several years before the railroad, being known at that period as the Dutch Flat and Virginia City Wagon Road. The rough road previously existing was then graded and made a first-class wagon road, over which the Virginia stage travelled while the Dutch Flat Swindle was climbing the ridges, in 1867–9.

This opprobrious term originated in part from the

[25] *Finlay's Map of North America*, Philadelphia, 1826, 'including all the recent geographical discoveries,' represents the Humboldt as flowing into San Francisco Bay.

rivalry of the builders of the Placerville toll road already mentioned, through Johnson Pass, the valley route, as opposed to the ridge route, having hitherto been the Sacramento and Washoe road par excellence. Its proprietors had spent large sums of money on it, and had made it a magnificent highway, worthy of the important functions it had to perform. Originally the silver pilgrims from California descended by it into Hope Valley and followed down the Carson on the emigrant and Mormon road of 1850–60; but the present proprietors, when Washoe silver began to flow in 1860, carried it by a direct route to Lake Tahoe, down the Kingsbury grade and over the eastern summit to the old Carson road near Genoa.

Silver Mountain Pass, in latitude 38° 30′, leads from Murphy, on the Stanislaus and Mokelumne divide, along the dividing ridge to the head of the Carson, joining the Johnson pass road at Hope Valley.

The Sonora Pass, in latitude 38° 12′, leads from Sonora, Tuolumne County, on the Stanislaus-Tuolumne divide, along the dividing ridge to the head of West Walker River, at an altitude of 9600 feet, being the highest wagon road pass over the sierra. Its significance is connected with the settlement of southern Nevada from California.

Between the Sonora Pass and the southern extremity of the Californian Alps there is a distance of one hundred and sixty miles in which three travelled trails cross the mountains, by the Kearsarge, Mono, and Virginia Creek passes. These passes are merely saddles between the peaks, averaging 11,000 feet in height.[26]

Mono Pass, in latitude 37° 52′, leads from the Yosemite Valley, at the head of the Merced River, by way of the sources of the Tuolumne, at an altitude of 10,765 feet, to Bloody Cañon, a tributary of Mono Lake. The Mono Trail, by which term this route is known, was constructed at the time of the Mono gold

[26] Muir's Passes in the Sierra, in *Scribner's Monthly*, February 1879.

excitement in 1868, and it has been more frequented by tourists in search of the picturesque than any other pass in the Sierra Nevada.

Walker Pass, in latitude 35° 45′, leads from Keyesville, on Kern River, along the south fork of Kern River to the desert plateau at the eastern base of Owen Peak. It is the last of the passes through the Sierra proper, leading eastward or northward, and was named after Bonneville's assistant, Walker, subsequently Frémont's guide. Sutter referred to this pass when he spoke to Wilkes of it in 1841 as the best route to the United States. According to Sutter it followed the San Joaquin sixty miles, and thence struck easterly through a gap in the Snowy Mountains by a good beaten road, and then north-easterly to María River, which flows south-east and has no outlet.[27]

From the great valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin southward the Tehachipa, Tejon, and Cañada de las Uvas passes, from latitude 34° 30′ to 34° 35′, lead into the Mojave salt lake basin of the suboceanic region of the gulf of California; the first named being that followed by the Southern Pacific Railroad. The railroad then crosses the several parallels which in southern California represent both the Sierra Nevada and the southern coast range, separately known by many different names, but which may be referred to collectively as the gulf coast range. Through the San Gabriel or San Bernardino Mountains it follows the Soledad Pass, in latitude 34° 30′, and then crosses the San Fernando or western range of the same mountains by the San Fernando Pass to Los Angeles, on their seaward slope.

By the Cañada de las Uvas Pass there is a more direct route from the San Joaquin Valley to the San Fernando Pass in the western ridge; while Turner

[27] This from *Wilkes' Nar.*, v., shows how much geography was at fault at that time. Sutter was supposed to be well informed, but he appears to confound Walker's route *via* Humboldt River with the Santa Fé trail.

Pass, in latitude 34° 40′, and the Cajon Pass, in latitude 34° 22′, afford roads like that of the Soledad Pass, from the Mojave Desert west through the gulf coast range. These passes, excepting the Cajon in part, were of importance mainly as leading from the southern coast valleys to the great valley of the San Joaquin; and the San Fernando Pass, near Los Angeles, was the ruling one. The old travelled road reached the Mojave Desert from it through Turner Pass instead of the Soledad.

From the seaward slope at Los Angeles to the east and south-east the principal pass of historical note is that followed by the Southern Pacific Railroad, being rather a succession of passes made by the San Gabriel and Santa Ana rivers, the San Gorgonio, in latitude 34°, being the ruling one. It leads from the head of Santa Ana River south-easterly to Coahuila creek and valley, below sea-level, near Yuma. This was the direct line of approach to California from Mexico overland.

Cajon Pass, branching off from this route at San Bernardino, might be regarded as the continuation of the Coahuila and San Gorgonio road from the gulf of California into the San Joaquin Valley, occupying the eastern side of the gulf coast range without touching on its seaward slope. Its principal significance consisted in its being the ruling point of the old southern trans-continental route, the Los Angeles and Santa Fé trail of the Spaniards, and the route of the annual caravan from New Mexico to California.[28] Its direction was from the bend of the Colorado, at Colville, by the trend of the Mojave Valley to the same point in the gulf coast range that was indicated by the Coahuila Valley and the San Gorgonio Pass, the two routes connecting at San Bernardino, in the heart of the mountains, and leading thence to Los Angeles.

If any further explanation be needed as to the position occupied by Los Angeles in connection with

[28] See Du Mofras' map of the coast. Paris, 1844.

the movements of the earlier Spanish populations, it may be found in the fact that from that place the road of the seaward slope leads not only to the south, but that northward it attains the Salinas Valley by the Gaviota Pass through the Santa Inés Mountains, in latitude 34° 28′, traversing, however, the rugged parallels of the California Coast Range before reaching the Salinas Valley at Paso Robles.

The road from San Diego to Yuma appears to have had a less general importance. It ascends the San Juan River and keeps close along the boundary line, as though intended to mark it out, following a direct course to Yuma, and crossing the gulf coast range at an inconsiderable altitude.

It will be observed that what we have termed the western flange of the cordilleran plateau has no well defined existence between the Sierra Nevada and the Sierra Madre of Mexico, the space between them being occupied by the Colorado Desert. Still the plateau itself is well enough defined in the valley of the Colorado, as distinguished from the low country at the head of the gulf of California, in south-eastern California, and in western Arizona. Climatic causes attributable to the latitudes where the variable trade-winds begin and the influence of the steady north-east trade-winds ceases, more than the configuration of the land, perhaps, made this country a waste; so that the Coahuila and Yuma road, continuing up the Gila to Tucson, and to the populated country of Sonora in Mexico, failed to become a channel of emigration to California, though every other consideration was favorable thereto.

The significance of the routes and passes in this direction is in connection with emigration southward and eastward from California, dating especially from the completion over the desert of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1878.

To avoid the Colorado Desert as far as possible, the military and missionary expeditions from Mexico to

California, with the single notable exception of that of Anza in 1776, crossed the gulf to Loreto, and passed through the gulf coast range to the seaward slope at Santa Gertrudis Pass, in latitude 28° 32′; or they sailed from San Blas direct to Monterey, the ancient capital.

In the peopling of California from the Atlantic states, neither the southern overland mail route, the southern emigrant route by the Gila or Mimbres Pass, nor the Zuñi Pass road leading through Tucson and Prescott respectively, were of any appreciable importance, for the reasons already stated. The significance of those passes was limited to Arizona; and so far as the American population was concerned, was limited in the main to recent times.

By the Mormon approach to San Bernardino, following the valleys of Utah southward to the old Santa Fé and Los Angeles trail, a comparatively easy though desert road was found in the valleys of the Colorado and Mojave rivers, emerging from the Mojave Desert through the Tejon and Cajon passes. Walker was the first to discover its northern connections, having passed over it on his return from California in charge of Bonneville's California detachment in 1834, being guided over the Spanish trail portion fairly into the valleys of Utah by a Mexican from California. Frémont went over it and mapped it in 1844.

This was not only a natural route following the valley of the Colorado to the south-west from the American strategic point at South Pass, but it contributed its share to the permanent occupation of the coast by the Americans, in the early Mormon settlements that were made on the seaward slope of southern California.

Following the plateau into Mexico we find it narrower, yet well defined, and of influence upon the American Pacific states chiefly in connection with the

physical features of its western flange. The latter, though broken in the Colorado Valley, is represented in the Pinal Mountains near Tucson, the northerly continuations of the Sierra Madre, and in the various lofty ranges continuing from them to the north-westward into the great bend of the Colorado between Colville and Fort Mojave, giving origin to that feature of the river in its pass through the mountainous region in latitude 35° to 36°. Toward the north, as the plateau widens, the range has the appearance of distributing itself to a degree in the northern and southern corrugations of Nevada. But by a curious coincidence the south-eastern boundary of California draws a line from the bend of the Colorado to the White Mountains, near which are the loftiest peaks of the sierra, marking the culminating portion of the western flange as well as the deflection to the south-west of the Californian sierra, where it speedily subsides; marking a general line of separation between the highlands and lowlands, yet including among the highlands of the plateau, by way of contrast to the culminating range, the dried-up lake bottom of the Amargosa, below the sea-level. The Gila and the Santiago, in Mexico, are the only streams on the Spanish Pacific side that cut through the flange under conditions furnishing material advantages for communication; the Zacatula Pass above Acapulco being, like that of the Colorado, in a rugged mountainous region. By the valleys of the Gila and of the Santiago natural roadways were found, practicable for wagons, along which flowed the principal currents of population and trade eastward and westward between the region or valley of the gulf and the plateau in Arizona and Mexico; Tucson and Yuma, San Blas and Mazatlan being the historical consequences.

In Mexico there are, of course, many other passes or trails through the western flange which were more or less travelled. The most northerly of these was of importance to New Mexico. A branch of the Gila

Passes of Mexico and Central America.

overland mail and emigrant road leads south from the Gila or Mimbres Pass, near Mowry City, through the plateau Salt Lake basins, by Cook's route in 1854, to the Mexican boundary at the Guadalupe Mountains of the Pinal Range or Sierra Madre and to the sources of the Yaqui River, crossing the mountains near the boundary line, in latitude 31° 30′, and descending the Yaqui to the towns of Arispe, Ures, and Hermosillo, thence continuing in the same southerly course to Guaymas. It would appear that the importance of these towns was due very largely to their position on the route from the plateau in New Mexico to the Pacific sea-coast, being situated on the shortest route from the upper Rio Grande Valley to either sea.

Pertaining to the western slope of the flange in Sonora, the Altar and Sonora Rivers within the Coast Range at the head of the gulf of California afforded valleys not unlike the coast valleys of California, by which north-western Sonora and Arizona were peopled from the south; Hermosillo, Altar, Tubac, and Tucson being the historical consequences of the lowland coast trail along them.

The earliest main artery of travel in Mexico, crossing the entire plateau from the Atlantic to the Pacific, led from Vera Cruz over the eastern flange by the Puebla Pass, in latitude 19° 30′, into the plateau lake basin of Mexico proper, draining at different points both into the Atlantic and the Pacific. From the city of Mexico it attains the valley of the Santiago, already referred to, by several different routes through the plateau ridges, the principal one following the basin of that stream by way of Querétaro, Leon, Lagos, Guadalajara, and Tepic, to San Blas, and continuing along the lowlands of Mazatlan.

By the trend of the plateau the roads and towns marking the locations of industries and populations at Zacatecas and Durango, within the flange opposite Mazatlan, created the necessity for a connection of these places with Mazatlan. Its pass, in latitude 23°

30′, does not appear to have been an important route of travel from the east nor for any other than local intercourse between the Pacific and the plateau in this latitude.

A similar pass of local import, that of Tamazula, in latitude 25°, connects the gulf and river town of Culiacan with the mining region of the state of Durango. Aside from these passes the western flange of Mexico for nine degrees of latitude, a distance of six hundred miles between Santiago River and the American boundary, has presented a barrier to intercourse between the gulf of California and the plateau, with its approaches by the Rio Grande on the east.

Quite as important as the east and west artery by the valley of Santiago River is the northerly and southerly system of roads located between the mountain ranges of the plateau, and along the river valleys which drain it through the eastern flange. The second principal highway across Mexico was shaped by the northerly and southerly trend of the cordillera into a north and south course.

Beginning at Tampico, on the Atlantic gulf side, it followed up the Pánuco River and attained the plateau by its pass, in latitude 21° 30′, through the eastern flange, and thence continued in the same southerly course through the city of Mexico to Acapulco. It crossed the Santiago trans-continental road, as well as the remnants of the western flange, at right angles to the latter by the Chilapa Pass of the Sierra Madre del Sur, in latitude 18° 30′, thence descending rapidly to Acapulco.

Approached from Texas, the main plateau artery of Mexico, shaped by the plateau ridges in the same northerly and southerly course, was reached by way of Monterey, on the San José branch of the Rio Grande, through the Saltillo Pass, in the eastern flange, in latitude 26° 20′, and passed through San Luis Potosí and Querétaro to the city of Mexico. This was the route of the American armies in 1847.

The Mexican plateau itself extending into New Mexico, there were natural roads which led Mexican emigration in that direction at a very early date. The plateau valley of Chihuahua, between the Sierra Madre and the Sierra de los Frailes, the latter being one of the parallels of the eastern flange, had its road leading north-westerly to El Paso and Santa Fé, the route by which New Mexico was populated, as well as to the north-east by the valley of the Conchos, a branch of the Rio Grande, connecting with the southern overland mail and emigrant route at the crossing of the Pecos. Although mining has been carried on to a considerable extent for a century past on the inner side of the western flange in the state of Chihuahua, the roads of that state terminate toward the west with the plateau and lead the tribute of the mines to the south and east.

In southern Mexico the isthmus of Tehuantepec furnishes the first low pass through the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the altitude of the pass, in 16° 45′, being only 855 feet. The attention of the early discoverers was drawn to this remarkable depression of the Mexican plateau; and the idea of constructing a canal through it, though previously entertained, received a sudden impulse in 1871, when it was ascertained in the port of San Juan de Ulloa that some cannon that were cast at Manila had crossed the isthmus by the rivers Chimalapa and Goazacoalco.[29]

From Minatitlan, on the Atlantic, the road leads south up Goazcoalco River and terminates at Tehuantepec on the Pacific.

On a parallel with the Tampico and Acapulco road across Mexico we now see the cordilleran plateau itself broken through and differently shaped; near which the Laurentian axis of the Atlantic side of the continent finds a repetition in the peninsula of Yucatan. Canal surveys were made through this pass by the Spaniards.

[29] *Humboldt, Essai Pol.; Davis' Interoceanic Canals*, 5.

The remaining passes in Central America most notably connected with the dissemination of settlers on the Pacific slope have nearly all been brought into prominence as routes for railroads or canals.

The Nicaragua route to California, in its pass through the western range, in latitude 11° 15′, and the Panamá route, in latitude 9° 10′, are the only ones of historical note, however; and they, as portages connecting great sea routes on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, have an extensive history of their own. In addition to these, where the distance from sea to sea is so short, and the mountains are so frequently interrupted and low as they are in Central America, the number of passes of more or less local importance is too large for mention in this connection.

Those actually surveyed for interoceanic canals or railroads were, continuing southward from the isthmus of Tehuantepec, the Honduras Pass, leading south from Honduras Bay along Ulua River to the bay of Fonseca, crossing the water-shed in latitude 13° 45′; the Nicaragua Pass, leading west from Greytown along the navigable waters of San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua, and crossing the water-shed to San Juan del Sur, in latitude 11° 15′.

The Costa Rica Railroad line leads west from Port Limon, at the mouth of Macho River, to the head of Grand River, flowing into the gulf of Nicoya. It passes the dividing ridge in latitude 10°. Along this route a fine macadamized wagon road was completed in 1866.[30]

The Chiriquí Railroad route leads west-south-west from Chiriquí Bay, on the Atlantic, to the gulf of Dulce on the Pacific, following small river valleys on either side, and crossing the water-shed in latitude 9°.

At the isthmus of Darien three different routes have been surveyed, all of them approximately in latitude 9°; the Panamá Railroad route from Limon Bay up Chagres River having only a distance of

[30] *Kootz' Interoceanic Railroad Rept.*, quoted in *Davis' Interoceanic Canals*, 9.

forty-seven and a half miles and an altitude of two hundred and fifty-four feet to overcome. Since 1832 this route has been the most prominent line of travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, becoming second to the Central-Union Pacific Railroad in the amount of its travel after 1869. That leading from Caledonia Bay, on the Atlantic side, the site of the old Scotch colony of Darien, following Chucumaque River to the gulf of San Miguel on the Pacific, and was the route most favorably reported on of all those advocated for an interoceanic canal by the officer deputed to make the comparison by the United States congress of 1866.[31]

By the trend of the coast at Panamá, as well as by the Atrato route to the Pacific, the Spaniards were naturally led first to explore and to take possession of what appeared to them to be the more valuable continent; and the discoveries of placer gold-mines in South America had the effect of leading across the isthmus and to the south a much larger emigration of Spaniards than went to the western coast of North America. To the south Panamá has contributed a steady flow of emigration for as many centuries as there are decades in its existence as a route to the Northwest Coast. Yet Panamá has done more and won more by the latter since 1849 than in all her previous history.

With the discovery of America, which was also approximately that of the Pacific Ocean, by Balboa's journey from the Darien settlement over the isthmus of Panamá in 1513, began the commercial movements and emigrations from the north Atlantic, which in less than four centuries have assumed the character of a general invasion of the western world by the Indo-European race, foremost of all races in physical perfection and mental development. Having fairly possessed themselves of the Atlantic Ocean, there immediately arose a rivalry among themselves for the

[31] *Admiral Davis' Rept. on Interoceanic Railroads and Canals*, 11–16.

possession of the road to the Indies. A passage, in short, from the north Atlantic to the Pacific, giving its possessor absolute control of European trade with the Orient, was deemed necessary by England to offset the fortune of the Spaniards in dominating the Central American region.

Thus the north-west passage became the grand desideratum of the English; its history is told elsewhere. But the problem had to await its solution until the Anglo-American emigration to Oregon through South Pass had developed the fabulous wealth of the Pacific flange of the cordillera in both silver and gold, as has now been shown.

Their superior mechanical and engineering capabilities in time gave the English and the Anglo-Americans possession of every road to the far east by land and sea. When the pass by the Laramie plains through the Rocky Mountains was finally perfected by railroad, not only was the north-west passage realized, the north Atlantic being brought into commercial proximity to the Pacific, but the destinies of the world for a thousand years hence instantly unravelled themselves. The extensive admixture, after the discovery of America, of the Indo-European races now gathered under one language and a northern civilization, rather than that of a Latin race, placed the emigration to the north Pacific in historical relations of the widest scope, and, as affecting race mixtures, of the utmost human interest. By reason of their geographical position the North Americans were now enabled to lay one hand upon the Atlantic and the other upon the Pacific, midway between the Occident and the Orient, and within easy reach of the great populations of both, and thus permanently placed in possession of the central and commanding situation of the civilized world as it is to be.

We have traced out the broad road made by nature in the valley of the Yukon, forming the north-western extremity of the cordilleran plateau, and along which

it is believed by the foremost students of ethnological science that the native Americans probably emigrated to the New World from Asia; their affinities both of race and language being those of the Asiatic subdivision of mankind.

The races of the west and those of the east, brought face to face, though separated by the extent of the broad Pacific, have nevertheless had established between them a line of communication physically indicated by the trend of the cordillera, and the islands of the ocean extending in a genial climate between Asia and America, formed the commercial highway of the Russians from their Asiatic coast to the northwest coast of America.

Briefly as we have glanced at the physical conditions under which the emigrations from east and west have been influenced and directed, until finally they have come together, it is noteworthy that they still exert, and must continue to exert, a like influence, in a greater degree as the progress of settlement, of industry, and of wealth shall enhance the importance of communications: a permanent guide to the student of history who would attempt to read the future.

# CHAPTER XXI.

## MACKENZIE'S VOYAGE.

### 1789–1793.

ORIGIN, OCCUPATION, AND CHARACTER OF ALEXANDER MACKENZIE — HIS JOURNEY TO THE ARCTIC OCEAN AND RETURN — EMBARKS AT FORT CHEPEWYAN FOR THE PACIFIC—PROCEEDS UP PEACE RIVER—WINTERS AT FORK FORT—CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY THE FOLLOWING MAY—ARRIVES AT THE FINLAY BRANCH — TURNS SOUTHWARD INTO PARSNIP RIVER—ASCENDS A BRANCH OF THIS STREAM TO ITS SOURCE—PORTAGE AT THE GREAT DIVIDE—DESCENDS BAD RIVER TO THE FRASER, WHICH THE PARTY FOLLOW AS FAR AS QUESNELLE—RETURN TO A TRAIL ABOVE WEST ROAD RIVER—STRIKE OUT OVERLAND FOR THE WESTERN OCEAN—ROUTE—ARRIVE AT FRIENDLY VILLAGE—GREAT VILLAGE—RASCALS' VILLAGE—REACH THE SEA AT BENTINCK NORTH ARM—OBSERVATIONS—TRACES OF VANCOUVER—RETURN—TROUBLES WITH THE NATIVES—NARROW ESCAPES—REACH FRASER RIVER—ARRIVE AT FORT FORK—THE JOURNEY COMPLETED.

WE come now to the first passage by a European of the Rocky Mountains north of California. This honor belongs to Alexander Mackenzie, a native of Inverness, knighted by George III. for his distinguished services. Emigrating to Canada while yet a young man, in 1779 he entered the service, as clerk, of Mr Gregory of Montreal, a prominent fur-trader of that day, and subsequently a partner in the Northwest Company. After remaining with Gregory for five years, he engaged in business on his own account, becoming partner, first with Pangman and Gregory, and later in the Northwest Company.

Mr Mackenzie possessed a vigorous mind and a fine physique. In form he was of medium stature and of spare muscular build, symmetrical, very strong, lithe

and active, and capable of enduring great fatigue. His features were regular, eyes bright and searching, nose and mouth Grecian, and his forehead high, intellectual, and crowned with dark wavy hair. Firmness and weight marked the man in every attitude and expression. Lips, chin, and facial illumination, all implied the possession of a will which would never rest satisfied until its purposes were accomplished. In thought he was as refined and noble as in outward expression he was dignified. His energy was mild, not of the impatient, fretful order, and therefore well suited to his self-imposed task. His large gentle eyes imparted to his decisive features a suavity of expression of the utmost importance to him in dealing with his own men, who were sometimes inclined to be mutinous, no less than with affrighted savages, who in him beheld the first white man they had ever seen.

It was an enterprising spirit and an inquisitive commercial mind which prompted Mackenzie to attempt explorations; and when these ardent desires were seconded by his associates, who were willing to bear their portion of the expense, the field of his ambition lay before him unobstructed. More immediately it was the old endeavor to find a practicable route from ocean to ocean, in this instance united with commercial zeal, that stimulated a journey to the Pacific.

Nor was the hazardous enterprise to be entered upon with precipitation. Success, so far as careful preparation could go, must be secured in advance. Hence before undertaking his journey we find Mr Mackenzie studying astronomy and navigation in London so that he might properly record his observations wherever he should go. Being neither geologist nor naturalist, he would not trouble himself with what he knew nothing about. Patience he knew the value of, as well as the capability to endure and the tact to make others endure. Herein were all the elements of success: common-sense, enthusiasm, and

strength, which accident or incalculable events alone could circumvent.[1]

The journey to the Arctic Ocean, though of the highest consequence in its results to science, need not long occupy our attention.

It dates from Fort Chipewyan, a post of the North-west Company, situated at the western end of Athabasca Lake, near where Peace River, which opens a passage from the Pacific slope, discharges its waters, and the channels which carry them to the Northern Ocean take them up, and where the distinguished explorer was sometimes in charge. The site of this post was at this time, of all places on the continent, a point of inquiry, the great rivers on either hand being to the intelligent, thoughtful mind two mighty marks of interrogation.

Mr Mackenzie set out on the 3d of June 1789, in a birch-bark canoe, having on board a German, and a crew of four Canadians, two of them with their wives. In two other smaller canoes, with his family and followers, was an Indian called English Chief, who laid claim to the honor of having attended Hearne in his Coppermine River exploration, and who now purposed adding to his laurels by following a still more famous discoverer. These natives were to act as hunters and interpreters. One of the company's clerks, M. Le Roux, accompanied the expedition a portion of the way in another boat laden with goods for purposes of traffic with the natives. Trapping beaver, shooting wild-fowl and reindeer, and catching fish as they went, the party proceeded by way of Slave River to Slave Lake, and thence down the Mackenzie to the Arctic Ocean, where they gave chase to whales and paddled

[1] The journal of his expedition, entitled *Voyages from Montreal on the River St Laurence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793*, was published in London in 1801. It is far more elegantly written than are the journals of fur-traders usually. The reader feels that he is perusing the work not only of a shrewd and intrepid commander, but of a humane and intelligent gentleman.

among the icebergs, all the while, however, looking for a *mer d'ouest*, as the Canadians called it, and being in no wise desirous of visiting a northern sea. When the explorer entered the river which bears his name, the position of its mouth was wholly unknown to him, and along its entire way, both in going and returning, he sought some stream which should conduct him westward. He was not a little surprised, therefore, to find himself in July in the icy regions of the farthest north and under the starless summer sky and never setting summer sun of the hyperborean sea instead of on the shore of the more genial Pacific.

The journey was unattended by the usual hardships and hair-breadth escapes. The natives were not troublesome, food was plenty, and navigation easy. Loaded with fine peltries, Le Roux returned homeward from Slave Lake. At Bear Lake iron ore and coal were found. The natives indulged in a variety of tales more or less absurd concerning lakes and rivers toward the setting sun, relating what they supposed would most accrue to their advantage. The Eskimos affirmed that eight or ten winters previous they had seen to the westward, at a place they called Belhoullay Couin, or White Man Fort, large canoes full of white men, who gave them iron in exchange for leather. He endeavored to persuade the natives to guide him across the country, but was unsuccessful. On another occasion the explorer gave a native some beads to make a drawing of the adjacent country.[2]

After an absence of one hundred and two days Mackenzie returned to Fort Chepewyan the 12th of September, regarding as somewhat of a failure what was indeed a success, none the less brilliant because easily achieved.

[2] 'This singular map he immediately undertook to delineate, and accordingly traced out a very long point of land between the rivers, though without paying the least attention to their courses, which he represented as running into the great lake, at the extremity of which, as he had been told by Indians of other nations, there was a Belhaullay Couin, or White Man's Fort. This I took to be Unalascha Fort, and consequently the river to the west to be Cook's River, and that the body of water or sea into which this river discharges itself at Whale Island communicates with Norton Sound.' *Mackenzie's Voy.*, 85.

Three years after his northern tour Mackenzie again made preparations to set out in search of a route to the Pacific Ocean. His present plan was to ascend the current that flowed near his door instead of descending it.

Embarking at Fort Chepewyan the 10th of October 1792, he proceeded up Peace River with the intention of reaching that autumn the base of the Rocky Mountains, where stood the most distant western settlement[3] of the Northwest Company. This would give him a fine start for the ensuing spring. The first station on the river at that time was called Old Establishment,[4] which the party reached early on the morning of the 19th, just in time to prevent its total destruction by fire, arising from the carelessness of a party who had camped there the previous night.

Next day they reached New Establishment,[5] that winter in charge of James Finlay. The exploring party landed amidst the firing of guns and the rejoicing of the people, who were now especially happy over the prospect of rum, for not a drop had these martyrs had since the previous May, it being then the rule that the summer traffic of this locality should not be stimulated by fiery potations; wherefore, if the savage was forced to abstain, it were unseemly for the civilized man to denaturalize himself.

But neither civilized nor savage on this occasion were in the least backward in confessing the general aridity of their constitutions, whereupon Mackenzie produced a nine-gallon keg of rum and some tobacco, and calling together the redskin hunters, to the number of forty-two, embraced the occasion to preach

[3] Fort Chepewyan was the westernmost depôt of supplies at this time, but there were several trading establishments along Peace River, the farthest being about 200 miles distant. While on his first journey Mackenzie left McLeod in charge of Fort Chepewyan; during his second expedition Roderick Mackenzie ruled.

[4] This station was only relatively ancient, and was so called because there was one later built a short distance up the river called New Establishment. Both of them had been erected within two or three years.

[5] Fort Vermilion and Fort du Tremble were subsequently erected on sites passed before reaching this point.

them a sermon, telling them how to conduct themselves to their own and the white man's best interests—particularly the white man's. All listened attentively and promised unreservedly. With such a palpable heaven of happiness in immediate view, what missionary could not perform miracles of conversion?

Out of the three hundred natives congregated here, about sixty were hunters. Warned by the forming of ice on the river, and with an apology for his unwonted liberality in the distribution of drink and tobacco, on the third day after his arrival Mackenzie continued his journey, after giving some instructions to Mr Finlay. The volleys of musketry attending his departure expressed the thanks and good wishes of the people.

His loaded canoes had been despatched two days before, so that now his progress was rapid. Passing the spot where afterward was placed McLeod Fort, he arrived at a small branch of the river coming in from the south, six miles beyond which was his wintering place, called Fort Fork, where he landed on the 1st of November.

Thither the previous spring two men had been sent to clear the ground and square logs for buildings. Right well had they improved the time; for besides having prepared the timber and planks for the erection of a house, they had cut enough palisades seven inches in diameter and eighteen feet long to enclose a spot one hundred and twenty feet square, and had dug a ditch three feet deep in which to plant them.

Pitching his tent until the buildings should be completed, Mackenzie called the neighboring savages together, and giving to each some rum and tobacco began to preach to them according to his custom. He told them he had heard bad reports of them and he had come to learn the truth. If they did well, they should be treated with kindness; if ill, they should be punished. Immediately the whole assemblage were his devout followers, ready to believe and do as the

master might say, as long as the rum and tobacco should last.

As the winter deepened the cold became intense. The 23d of December a house was finished for Mackenzie, of which he took possession, and a block of five houses more, each twelve by seventeen feet, was soon completed for the men. Many sick and maimed among the natives, and some among his own men, came to Mackenzie to be treated, and although he was not a surgeon he did not decline the responsibility, but gathered such remedies as he happened to be familiar with and applied them: for fur-hunters in those days must know something about everything or suffer severely sometimes through ignorance or lack of wit. This explorer saw in the healing art no great mystery locked in the Latin terms of ancient mysticism, but a simple practical matter which every man possessing common-sense might learn and apply.

Quantities of furs were brought in; for the deep snow having not yet come, the beaver could be easily tracked. Food was abundant, and Mackenzie took care to keep himself and men in good condition for the arduous efforts of the coming summer.

Thus not unpleasantly wore the winter away. The new year was welcomed with the discharge of fire-arms, and spirits and flour distributed among the men. Frigid-featured nature was subdued by smiling spring. April bade the snow adieu, though the river was yet covered with ice; and with the pink and purple May flowers, and the yellow-buttons, came the voyageur's most exasperating summer pests, the gnats and mosquitoes. No sooner was the river free from ice than Mackenzie closed the year's business by writing up his accounts, and having despatched six fur-laden canoes to Fort Chepewyan, he prepared to embark at once on his journey of discovery.

Nine men, two of whom were native hunters and interpreters, had been selected for the expedition, and every one of them promised to stand by his com-

mander to the last.[6] One canoe, twenty-five feet long, with four and three quarters feet beam and twenty-six inches hold, was launched for the service. This slender craft, destined to carry ten persons with all their equipage, arms, ammunition, provisions, goods for presents, and baggage, in weight not less than three thousand pounds, was yet so slight that two men could easily carry it three or four miles without stopping.

On the 9th of May 1793 the party left Fork Fort and pointed their little vessel up the stream. Before them spread primeval nature in redundant gayety. On the west were decorated terraces formed of alternate precipice and plain; high hills covered with white spruce and birch rolled off toward the east; alder and willow fringed the stream. Vast herds of elk fed quietly upon the uplands, and myriads of buffalo with their frisking young enlivened the plains. The fierce grizzly was passed by at a respectful distance. Groundhogs and cormorants were likewise let alone. Game for food was easily secured without detention, the hunters going before.

At first navigation was easy; though the current was swift, strong arms sent the quivering bark rapidly up the stream. In propelling, poles were used more freely than paddles. But by and by obstacles were encountered in finding a passage through these unknown waters. It soon became apparent that this was to be a journey different in kind from the last, one which would try men's strength, temper, and fidelity.

Cascades became frequent, driving the travellers from the water into the woods. Sharp rocks cut into the sides of the boat; sunken trees pierced the bottom, and rapids and whirlpools opened seams, the heavy cargo increasing the strain.

On the 21st of May they encountered a torrent

[6] The names of the white men were Alexander Mackay, François Beaudieux, Baptist Bisson, François Courtois, Jacques Beauchamp, Joseph Landry, and Charles Ducette, the two last mentioned having been with Mackenzie on his former journey.

walled on either side by almost perpendicular mountains. For three leagues the river was white with rage as it rushed onward between two mighty walls of rock. Already the men began to complain, and talked of returning. The place, they said, was simply impassable.[7] Mackenzie paid not the slightest attention to their remarks, but prepared to go forward. With exceeding difficulty the ascent was made by cutting trees and warping the canoe up the side. The summit reached, it was let down on the other side in like manner with the aid of ropes. The cargo was carried over the portage on men's backs. Three or four miles a day, and that with excessive fatigue, was the most that could be made. A written account of the journey was sent down the river from time to time, enclosed in a tight keg.

Arrived on the 31st at the fork, where one branch, subsequently called Finlay River, from James Finlay, who made a tour in this region shortly after Mackenzie, came in from the north-west, and another, afterward known as Parsnip River, from the quantities of wild parsnips that grew upon its banks, flowed in from the south-east, the explorer took the southern stream, although his instincts pointed toward the northern one, which was larger, less raging, and came from seemingly nearer the course he wished to follow.[8]

But before starting, an old Indian had cautioned him by no means to be led away in that direction, as in divers branches it scattered and was soon lost

[7] Fraser, who in 1806 followed the track of Mackenzie, says of him at this point: 'I can affirm that from the portage to Fenlay's branch, and which I contend to be the main branch of the Peace River, we had few of the difficulties he mentions to have encountered. The navigation is not only safe but as easy as in the lower part of the Peace River.' *Fraser's First Journal*, MS., 70. It may be that the water was higher during Mackenzie's ascent than during Fraser's; at all events I would sooner suspect the latter of churlishness than the former of exaggeration.

[8] Malcolm McLeod, son of chief-trader John McLeod, in his notes to Archibald McDonald's journal of Governor Simpson's canoe voyage up Peace River and down the Columbia in 1828, makes frequent reference to Mackenzie's sayings and doings; see also *McLeod's Map Peace River; Mayne's Brit. Col.*, 84; *Macfie's Vancouver Island*, 208.

among the mountains. Therefore he took the southern branch, which was the proper one.

So rapid now was the current and so severe the toil, that the men threw off restraint, and openly cursed the expedition and all engaged in it. Calmly Mackenzie bore with them, for they had suffered much; nevertheless he firmly expressed his determination to proceed.

The beaver in this vicinity were given an excellent character for industry, acres of large poplars having been cut by them at various places along the stream. Rain and thunder were frequent and severe. Thus the explorers continued their way, passing three streams which flowed in from their left, and leaving Nation River and the branch which leads to McLeod Lake on the right.[9]

One day Mackenzie ascended a hill and climbed a high tree in order to obtain a view of the country. It was so thickly wooded that he could distinguish but little, but toward the north-west he saw a level country with snow-clad mountains beyond; another ridge, snowless, stretched southward, and between the two he fancied his route lay. Descending again to the river he was at a loss to know whether his boat was above or below him. Discharging his gun, there was no reply; then he broke branches and threw them into the river, that, carried downward by the current, they might notify his party, if they were below, of his whereabouts. Another discharge failed to produce any reply. Mackenzie then ascended the stream for some distance, and turning retraced his steps, his anxiety increasing every moment. At last wet and weary he reached his party and learned that

[9] From the narrative alone it is almost impossible to follow the expedition up this river, but with the aid of Mr Fraser's manuscript Mackenzie's course is made plain. The most direct route, and the one hitherto believed to have been taken by the first expedition, was that past McLeod Lake and over Giscome Portage; but in my narrative of Fraser's journey following, I clearly show it was the eastern branch which was ascended, leading to a shorter portage, after which was another small stream to be descended before reaching Fraser River.

the canoe had been badly broken, that the men were more than ever exhausted and discouraged, and that in his absence they had been laying plans to build a raft and return.

Still the journey was continued, Mackay walking much of the time with the hunters, that their minds might be diverted from returning, as well as to lighten the canoe. The shooting of a porcupine is recorded; they also found patches of wild parsnips, the tops of which they gathered and boiled with pemican for their supper. On the 9th of June the party came upon a tribe of Rocky Mountain Indians, who manifested both fear and courage at their appearance, though some fled to the forest. Assured at length, they permitted the strangers to approach. They had heard of white men, they informed the interpreters, but they had never before seen such a sight. They obtained iron from a people living on a river to the westward, which was only a branch of this river, and between which and Peace River there was a carrying-place of eleven days' march. For this iron they gave beaver and dressed moose skins, and the tribe with whom they traded travelled a whole moon to reach the country of other natives, who lived in houses, and from whom they traded for this same iron. The last named people likewise must make a journey for it from their country to the sea-coast, where they found white men like those present, who came in ships as big as an island. Thus we see the poor savages in the heart of this immense wilderness beset by civilization behind and before, and even then the pale strangers, harbingers of death, at their door.

Here was a dilemma. Mackenzie wished to strike some stream which would carry him to the Pacific. To find the spot of Carver's speculations where the four great rivers of the North American continent, a northward flowing stream, an eastward, a southward, and a westward, all took their rise within an area of thirty miles, did not seem at all likely at this moment.

To ascend Peace River much farther was impossible. For a moment he was tempted to abandon the canoe and strike out along the line of the iron trade before mentioned, but a little reflection satisfied him that such a course would be suicidal, as he could not carry a tenth part of the necessary food, ammunition, and presents to secure him good treatment among these savage tribes in the heart of the wilderness.

Meanwhile the most generous hospitality was afforded the strangers by these savages, for not only did they bring them fish for food, and beaver-skins as presents, but at night, at the solicitation of the civilized Christians, the men of the forest not only resigned to them their beds, but the partners of them.

Next morning mention was made by one of the natives, while standing by the camp fire, of a great river in the direction the white men were going, and between which and them were three lakes and three carrying-places. From these lakes, which were all near the source of the river they were now on, a small stream flowed into a large river which ran toward the mid-day sun though it did not empty into the ocean.[10] They were many and brave who inhabited that country, so said the informant, and they built houses and lived on islands. This coinciding with what filled the ardent mind of the explorer, and being what he wished to believe, he straightway embraced the tale as true. Then taking from the fire a black coal, and stripping from a log a piece of bark, he directed the native geographer to draw him a map of that country, which was satisfactorily done. Moreover, one of the savages was induced to act as guide to the border of the neighboring nation.

And now once more all was activity and hope. The 10th of June the company, refreshed, embarked.

[10] A remarkably exact description of the Fraser, which could not be ascribed to the imagination of the writer, for he thought the natives mistaken. 'The opinion that the river did not discharge itself into the sea, I very confidently imputed to his ignorance of the country.' *Mackenzie's Voy.*, 204; and yet the Fraser does not discharge directly into the main ocean.

As usual on such occasions, for the safety of the guide the old men of the tribe expressed the greatest solicitude,[11] though the guide himself did not appear greatly troubled. Five beaver-skins presented Mackenzie the night before, were returned, with the assurance that he would be back that way in two moons and purchase them—which conduct on the part of a European must have astonished even an unsophisticated savage.

Proceeding up the river, the first night from the friendly camp, fearing that the guide might repent his bargain and desert, Mackenzie sought fresh assurances. "How is it possible for me to leave the lodge of the Great Spirit?" the young man replied; "when he tells me he has no further use for me, I will then return to my people."

They passed, the 11th, a river on the left, winding round a conical elevation called by the Indian guide Beaver Lodge Mountain. Another small stream was seen coming in on the same side, two or three miles above which they left the main channel, which was here not more than ten yards wide, and entered a sluggish meandering stream,[12] still narrower, which soon brought them to a lake two miles in length and from three to five hundred yards in width, fed by mountain snow. Here was spruce for the principal wood, with white birch, willow, and alder. There were swans in great number, geese and ducks; likewise moose, deer, and many beaver; and of birds, blue-

[11] On a former occasion when Mackenzie carried away a guide, an ancient of the natives exclaimed: 'My nephew, your going pains my heart. The white men rob us of you. They take you among your enemies; you may never return. Were you not with the chief I should be disconsolate; but he calls and you must go!'

[12] Strangely enough Mackenzie does not say, when he quits the main channel, whether he turns to the right or to the left. But turning to Fraser's manuscript we find the same place thus described: 'Monday, 30th June 1806. Bad rainy weather; notwithstanding we set off early and soon passed a considerable river that flows in from the left close to the place called by Sir Alexander Mackenzie the Beaver Lodge. About half a mile farther on we passed another river on the right, and then put ashore to cook for La Malide. Soon after we left the main branch on the left and entered another small river on the right, the waters of which are very clear and deep.' *Fraser's First Journal*, MS., 112.

jays and humming-birds. Wild parsnips lined the banks in grateful profusion.

Proceeding to the upper end of the lake, they landed and unloaded. Here was the Height of Land, the apex of the great shed which parted the falling waters, sending those on one side to the east and those on the other to the west.[13]

This was on the 12th of June 1793. Following a beaten path leading over a low ridge eight hundred and seventeen paces[14] to another small lake of about the same size as the one just left, they again embarked and found themselves now moving along with the current. At the end of the lake they discovered a small river, shallow at first, but soon increased by other small streams, through which with difficulty they forced their way, unloading to carry at four o'clock, and at five entering another lake nearly round, and in diameter about one third of a mile.[15] Thence they entered another river called by Fraser subsequently Bad River, which rushed impetuously over flat stones, so that soon they were obliged to land, unload, and encamp. It is far more frightful in canoe navigation descending than ascending unknown streams with frequent cascades and falls. This shooting of rapids which the Great Spirit indulged in, the new guide did not relish. A great spirit that required guiding in mountains which he had made, was rather a tame affair after all, and might possibly be mortal enough to be dashed in pieces on the rocks. At all events his heavenly canoe might split and let the poor Indian

[13] 'This I consider as the highest and southernmost source of the Unjigah or Peace River, latitude 54° 24′ north, longitude 121° west from Greenwich, which after a winding course through a vast extent of country, receiving many large rivers in its progress, and passing through the Slave Lake, empties itself into the Frozen Ocean, in 70° north latitude, and about 135° west longitude.' *Mackenzie's Voy.*, 216. It might indeed be called the source of the Mackenzie, every foot of which he whose name it bears thus explored.

[14] Fraser, *First Journal*, MS., 115, calls this portage 'between six and seven hundred yards long,' and the lake at the southern end of it 'about three miles long.'

[15] 'The distance is one hundred and sixty yards to another lake not quite as large as the last.', *Fraser's First Journal*, MS., 115.

drown, hence he would fain return. But the spirit-water of the white men was sufficient to fortify his courage, so that he promised to go on.

Early next morning, the 13th of June, a road was cut and the canoe carried, as they thought, below the rapid. The water here was anything but placid, and on embarking the men insisted that Mackenzie, who had started to walk with some others in order to lighten the canoe, should enter the boat and die with them if they were doomed to die.

The evil they feared came upon them quicker even than they had anticipated. Scarcely had they shoved off from the bank when the canoe struck. The swift current then catching the boat drove it sideways upon a bar. All hands jumped into the stream, which so lightened the boat as to enable the water to carry it over the bar into deep water. Clinging to their craft, the men climbed in as best they could, leaving one of their number behind. Before they were fairly seated they were again driven against a rock, which shattered the stern and threw the boat to the opposite side, there breaking the bow in pieces. The foreman caught some overhanging limbs, but was dragged from the boat in his attempt to arrest its progress. An instant more and they were in the midst of a cascade, and the bottom breaking on the stones. The boat now filled, all jumped into the water, and the steersman called out for the men to save themselves. In a peremptory tone Mackenzie ordered them not to quit their hold on the boat, which command they fortunately obeyed, thereby not only saving the cargo but their own lives; for carried out of the breakers, where they would have been dashed in pieces or carried over other yet more fatal falls, an eddy caught and threw them into shallow water, where they made a stand for their lives, the wreck meanwhile resting on a rock.

It came upon them like a flash, the embarkation, the dangers, the destruction of the boat, the miraculous escape of the men—not more than five minutes

were required to strip these explorers of their boat and the greater part of their equipment. Their first thoughts were of the two men who were left in perilous predicaments in the water; and when, fortunately, these came up unhurt, they began to save what they could from the wreck. Strange to say, the powder had escaped damage, but the balls were all lost. There were shot, however, of which balls could be made.

Such effects as were not swept away were now landed and spread out to dry. When the Indian attendants of the expedition who were walking and hunting on the shore saw the danger and misfortune which had befallen those in the boat, they seated themselves upon the bank and lifted up their voices and wept, without making any move to render assistance. Mackenzie's companions were at heart worse than the savages; for when they saw the sad plight to which they were reduced, they rejoiced inwardly, for now they were sure that the hated expedition must be abandoned.

But not so the commander. Reaching shore battered and benumbed, so cold and exhausted that he could hardly keep his feet, having stood in the water holding the shattered canoe until the wet remnant of cargo was landed, he said little but listened to the remarks of others, and congratulated them on their escape.

Not a word was spoken of continuing the journey until the men had been made warm and comfortable by a good fire and a hearty supper; not until liquor enough had been administered to raise their spirits and throw a halo of romance round their misfortunes. Then very gently Mackenzie recalled to their minds that before starting he had notified them that hardships and dangers were before them; that they then promised to stand by him; and that he did not believe to be men those who would forfeit their word through fear. He was going forward, he said, if he went alone,

and if there was a man of Montreal present who was afraid to accompany him, he had greatly mistaken their character.

It was enough. Not a word more was said about turning back—as long as the effect of the liquor lasted. Although it had been regarded as a hopeless case, the canoe was repaired with gum and bark so as to do service after a fashion. Meanwhile the guide had given the Great Spirit the slip when he saw him thus come to grief. Cutting their way through thickets, they carried the now soaked canoe through dangerous swamps, midst swarms of gnats and mosquitoes, under a burning summer sun, making only two or three miles a day.[16]

After another succession of rapids and falls, on the 17th of June, at the end of a carrying-place three quarters of a mile in length, through which they had to cut their way, they put their boat again in the water, but were soon stopped by drift-wood. Thus they alternated between the water and the land until noon, when they found themselves within three quarters of a mile of the great river. Here the stream which they had just descended broke into small channels, none of which were navigable, so that they were obliged to cut a passage through the underbrush and drift-wood, and then drag the canoe and carry the cargo through a swamp to the bank of the great river, which they reached at eight o'clock.[17]

[16] Fraser complained greatly of this Bad River, as he called it, affirming it was the worst piece of canoe navigation he had ever encountered. Notwithstanding he had Mackenzie's experience to guide him, he did not make much better work of it. At the long bad rapid he says 'the canoes were continued one after another by six men and one of ourselves; and though they were but lightly loaded it was with much difficulty they were run down; and through the awkwardness of the men mine was run against a large *embaras* in the middle of the river which broke the bow and smashed all the pieces to the second bar. Fortunately there was not much water in the river, and the channel was narrow. All hands jumped out and pulled the wreck on shore before it had time to fill and sink.' *Fraser's First Journal*, MS., 122–3.

[17] 'Sir Alexander Mackenzie seems to have examined the Bad River with attention; for, as far as he went down in peace, he describes it with great exactness. It is certainly well named, and a most dangerous place, being much intersected with large stones, fallen trees, and *embâras*, and the current runs with such velocity that a canoe, though light, cannot be stopped with poles;

THE EXPLORER'S COURSE.

Great was the satisfaction of Mackenzie in reaching this river, the first white man to stand upon the bank of a large navigable stream west of the Rocky Mountains, and whose waters flowed, as he was sure they did, into the Pacific. He imagined it the majestic Columbia thus flowing serenely at his feet; and so Fraser thought when he first saw it thirteen years afterward, and so continued to think until in 1808 he followed it to its mouth and gave it his name.[18]

It has been supposed that this was the first known of this river, but its mouth had been discovered in 1791–2 by the Spaniards; and in Gray's journal Kelley claims to have found mentioned a large river flowing into the sea, along whose shores he sailed, in latitude 49°, called by the natives Tacootche, which was in truth the Fraser, but which Mackenzie supposed to be the Columbia. Gray, of course, knew better, he having found the mouth of the Columbia himself.

and it is with great difficulty it can be done by laying hold of the branches; and even that way we often drifted one hundred and sometimes two hundred yards from the time we began to hold the branches before we could bring to. Near its confluence it divides into three branches, all of which I suppose to be navigable, but the one to the right is the best route.' *Fraser's First Journal*, MS., 135.

[18] It was the north branch of the Fraser, called by the natives Tacootche-Tesse. Lewis and Clarke supposed it to have been the upper Columbia that Mackenzie had found. Says Gass, in his *Journal*, 216, note: 'The size, course, and appearance of this great river seem to confirm beyond a doubt the opinion of Mackenzie, who supposed that the large river, into which the branch he descended on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, having its source in these mountains near that of the Unjigah or Peace River, discharges its waters into the large river in latitude about 54° north and longitude 122° west from London, or 47° west from Philadelphia, was the Columbia.' In 1791 an expedition of discovery was fitted out by the Mexican government under Señor Malaspina, who visited the Northwest Coast, and during his excursions in the seas about Nootka, not then known as Vancouver Island, discovered a river coming into the Fuca Sea, not then known as the Gulf of Georgia, which he named the Rio Blancho, in honor of the prime minister of Spain. *Vancouver's Voy.*, i. 312–14. Kelley says, in his *Northwest Coast*, 2, that Gray mentions in his journal 'a river called by the Indians *Tacoatche*, flowing into the eastern part of this sea, in latitude 49°.' As Gray left the coast in 1792, this establishes the discovery of the mouth of Fraser River by the Spaniards, if not by the Americans. See also *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 79–80; *Franchere's Nar.*, 19; *Butler's Wild North Land*, 191; *Kelley's Northwest Coast*, 2; *Irving's Astoria*, 36; *Twiss' Or. Quest.* 2d map; *Fleming's Map to Rept. Canadian Pacific Railway*, No. 8; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 288; *Tytler's Hist. Discov.*, 123–148; *Palmer's Report*, map; *Richardson's Polar Regions*, 128–9.

Next day Mackenzie embarked on the great river and passed rapidly down the stream. On the banks grew wild onions, and white ducks rose from the surface at his approach. Marks of the presence of natives were seen, but as there was now no one in the party who could converse with them they were passed by unsought. Rapids were reached at intervals, and tributary streams broadened the flow of waters as the explorers descended.

Down past the great forks they rapidly swept, past Stuart and West Road Rivers to the Quesnelle mouth and beyond, then turned and came back to West Road River, and thence presently struck out overland in a straight line for the sea.[19]

[19] The distance made the first day on the great river was 79 miles, 43 miles being above the point where the north branch, which they first reached, unites with the main channel of Fraser River. Before reaching this first large fork a small stream flowing in from the south-east was passed, another from the north, a rivulet, and then the great fork. Six miles below this 'a small river falling in from the north-east was passed;' seventeen and a half miles below the last there was 'a small river running in from the left.' Eight miles farther, half of which was a rapid, 'a small river flowed in on the right,' and in two and a half miles more 'another small river appeared from the same quarter.' The second day on the great river, which was the 19th, 47 miles were made, with 'a small river flowing in from the right' within one mile of the starting-point, and at the end of the day the explorers encamped 'where a small river flowed in from the right.' An observation taken at an exceedingly bad carrying-place in the middle of the day gave 53° 42′ 20″. Distance, the 20th, 45 miles. Twenty miles from the starting-point 'a small river flowed in on the left.' Five miles farther down 'a river also flowed from the right;' an observation at noon gave 53° 17′ 28″. Nine miles before encamping 'a small river appeared on the left.' I thus give distances and rivers, condensing in a few lines what Mackenzie mystifies into pages, not for their intrinsic interest, but that the reader may measure for himself on any map and make his own calculations. Of course allowance must be made for all the crooks and turns; nor can the altitudes be relied upon as exact. The question to be determined is how far Mackenzie descended Fraser River and where he left it. If my reckoning is right the last-mentioned stream but one is the Blackwater, or as Mackenzie called it, the West Road River, whence he took his departure for the sea. Before leaving the Fraser, however, he descended it 28 miles farther, but returned immediately to this point. On the 21st, fourteen miles were made, during which distance 'a large river flowed in from the left, and a smaller one from the right.' The former I infer to be the Quesnelle, and the latter the Puntataencut. The latitude given to-day is 52° 47′ 51″. After descending fourteen miles farther on the 22d, the explorers next day turned back. It is noticeable that Mackenzie makes no distinctive mention of several of the large branches at the Fraser forks. In fact Fraser complains that of the Nechaco or Stuart River he makes no mention whatever. 'This river is not mentioned by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, which surprises me not a little, it being full in sight and a fine large river.' *Fraser's First Journal*, MS., 138. This may or may not be so. Mackenzie may have called Stuart

It was on the morning of the 21st that West Road River was passed on the way down. It was a cloudy morning, and the blue and yellow clay cliffs assumed all manner of grotesque shapes in the misty morning. At the mouth of a small stream they suddenly came upon a canoe in which was a single native. A shrill whistle notified his friends on shore of impending danger, and instantly the bank was alive with armed and whooping savages, who by their furious warlike antics, accompanied by a shower of arrows, sought to frighten away the apparition.

By this time the current had carried them by the place, and being desirous of opening friendly relations with all the people he met, he ordered the boatman to turn and take a position near the bank opposite. Mackenzie then undertook to gain their confidence, very much as one would try to catch a horse. It was a daring thing to do, but these men were so inured to danger they scarcely knew what fear was. Directing one of his Indian hunters to slip unperceived into the woods with two guns and cover him in case of attack, Mackenzie stepped ashore and walked along the bank unarmed and alone, at the same time displaying trinkets and beckoning those on the opposite side to come over for them, while from the canoe the interpreter cried to them not to be alarmed. The hunter who was concealed behind the trees, and kept as close to Mackenzie as possible, had been instructed to approach only upon a given signal, but to be ready on the instant to rush to his rescue if attacked.

Presently two natives came from the opposite bank in a canoe, but stopped when within a hundred yards of the stranger. Mackenzie then with every art at his command—and his knowledge of Indian character was as perfect as his knowledge of the

River a small stream; if so, it was the one passed on the evening of the 18th or the one passed on the morning of the 19th. But the morning of the 19th was foggy and the party were afloat at three o'clock, so that possibly they may have passed it without observing it. My opinion, however, is that he mentions it, but that it appeared to him smaller than it really was.

otter, the antelope, or the grizzly bear—sought to quiet their apprehension by holding out to them beads and looking-glasses and beckoning them to approach. Slowly and timidly the wild men shoved their canoe stern foremost toward the bank until within reach of the alluring trinkets; and finally they gathered courage to land and seat themselves beside the white man, at whom they gazed with awe and admiration.

Mackenzie's hunter now joined him, which startled the two savages somewhat. Nevertheless their fears were soon quieted, and to the great joy of the explorer he found that his hunter could converse with them. After a short stay, during which the hunter did all in his power to win their confidence, and declining an invitation to visit the white man's canoe, the savages signified their desire to depart, which was cordially permitted by their entertainer. Shooting their boat across the stream, the two daring natives were received by their brethren as from the jaws of death.

After consulting for a quarter of an hour, the natives invited the white men to visit them, which invitation was promptly accepted. Presents were distributed; and then Mackenzie set about gathering information of the country.

The natives told him that the river was long, the current rapid and dangerous, in places indeed impassable, rushing furiously between rugged rocks; it ran toward the mid-day sun, and at its mouth, so they had been told, were white men building houses. The people below were a malignant race, and lived in subterranean dens. They had iron and arms, and to go among them was certain death. Thus they attempted to dissuade the strangers from their purpose. But although this alarming intelligence was by no means to be disregarded wholly as fiction, yet it did not materially change the explorer's plans.

Remaining there that night, so as not to alarm the people below by coming upon them too suddenly,

Mackenzie requested an intelligent native to draw him a plan of the river, which was done with readiness and skill.

With two of these natives as ushers to introduce them to their neighbors, the explorer embarked next morning, the 22d, and dropped down the river fourteen miles. On their way they landed near a house, only the roof of which was above the ground. The inhabitants fled at the approach of the strangers, but were soon pacified when they saw no harm was intended.

The next people encountered were wilder and more ferocious than any yet seen; yet they were soon made friendly. Among them were four strangers belonging to the nation adjoining, one of whom was an elderly man of prepossessing appearance. To him Mackenzie, as was his custom, applied for information respecting the country. Taking a large piece of bark, the old man drew a map of the country, with the river running to the east of south, with many tributaries, and every six leagues or so dangerous rapids and impracticable carrying-places. It was a long way to the sea, before reaching which there was a lake of whose waters men could not drink. Their iron, brass, and copper came from their neighbors to the west. In that direction the distance was not far from the sea.[20] Keep to the lowlands between the mountains, continued the natives, and the route is not difficult, there being a well beaten path which they had often travelled, with assisting links of lakes and rivers. There were three points of departure from the river: one where they then were, that is near the Quesnelle River, one at West Road River, and one beyond that point.

Mackenzie was now obliged to face his situation. The concurring accounts of the natives, unwelcome as

[20] 'According to my own idea,' remarks Mackenzie, *Voy.*, 254, at this juncture, 'it cannot be above five or six degrees. If the assertions of Mr Meares be correct, it cannot be so far, as the inland sea which he mentions within Nootka, must come as far east as 126° west longitude.'

they were, must be accepted, with due allowance for exaggeration, as true. Provisions and ammunition were both becoming low, and the men were on the point of mutiny.[21]

At length his mind was made up. Though he should be unable to return to Athabasca that season; though he should never return; though he should be deserted by his men and left to find the western sea alone, yet would he find it. So he resolved, and so he notified his men. Their former action under difficulties he praises; and next to rum nothing so cheers the desponding heart as praise. We all like it, the only difference being in the method of its administering. Their better natures aroused by his enthusiasm, again they promise perpetual fidelity, only again to lay plans to abandon the adventure before another week is gone.

Obviously the short beaten path to the west was better and less hazardous than the perilous river of unknown limits to the south. It was from a point above that this overland route lay, and to that point they must now return. One of the natives at this last encampment promised to be their guide. Hence next day, the 23d, they turned their little craft up the current; but before embarking, Mackay, at Mackenzie's request, engraved the commander's name and the date on a tree.

The people above could not understand why the strangers who said they were going down the river to the sea should so suddenly return, and they imagined some sinister design. Instead of listening to an explanation they fled as the explorers reappeared, and beat the forest into a hostile field. Mackenzie prepared for defense, and the men swore they would be gone from that region the moment they could make their escape.

[21] 'The more I heard of the river, the more I was convinced it could not empty itself into the ocean to the north of what is called the River of the West; so that with its windings the distance must be very great.' *Mackenzie's Voy.*, 256.

Their boat being incapable of further repairs, on the 28th they set about building a new one, which was completed the 1st of July. It now became necessary to put the men on short allowance, which with the desertion of their guide in no wise tended to assuage their ill-humor. Rum and praise are both comforting, but a whole skin is better than either. The commander's position was an exceedingly critical one, for at every accident fresh dissatisfaction broke out; yet he relaxed not one iota of his determination to proceed, and issued his orders accordingly. Arrived at West Road River, so called by Mackenzie because his road to the west appeared to lead from this branch of Fraser River, the explorer determined to come to a full understanding with his men. Since leaving the lower encampment they had not only openly talked of returning to Athabasca, but had once gone so far as to load the canoe preparatory to embarking, without instructions from their officer.

To his no small satisfaction Mackenzie learns that no definite plan of return has been fixed upon. He then reminds them of their promise so lately made. Pointing to the western path, he tells them he is going to try it. His calm persistency wins. Though beset by hardships and dangers, habit is too much for them; their master is before them. Once more they promise their support. And thus it always is: place things in the right way before men and they will die for you, when if you bungle, peradventure they will make you die for them. Herein consists the difference between born commanders and men fit only to govern cattle.

Before leaving the great river, however, the men proposed that they should ascend it a little farther and seek their guide or find another. To this Mackenzie promptly assented. Shortly after they had started they met their guide coming toward them with a number of his relatives in two canoes. He never thought of leaving them, he said, and for his

fidelity he was given a jacket, pantaloons, and handkerchief. These people informed the explorers that the road which left the river a short distance above was the best, and it was decided to take it.

Next morning, which was the 4th of July, wishing to hide some of their articles, Mackenzie sent the natives on before in charge of Mackay, and when his secret task was accomplished he continued up Fraser River to a rivulet some twenty miles above West Road River, where he found Mackay and the guide awaiting him.

Here the canoe and everything they could not carry must be left until their return. Making their effects as secure as possible,[22] they shouldered about ninety pounds each and set out on their long march. The lordly aboriginals who attended as hunters and interpreters felt exceedingly ill-used at having to carry half the weight the white men bore, or barely sufficient to feed themselves, and under no circumstances would the local guides carry a pound. Mackenzie and Mackay each shouldered a pack of seventy pounds, which with their arms and instruments made their burdens nearly equal to those of the Canadians.

Twelve miles due west were made the first day, and about twice that distance south-west the next. A well beaten path over wooded ridges conducted them past lakes Punchaw and Cleswuncut, where they camped, wet and weary, the night of the 5th. But few natives were met, and those, having been notified of the white man's presence in those parts, manifested neither surprise nor fear. Articles of European manufacture had already found their way hither, having been obtained from the trading-vessels along the coast and passed from tribe to tribe by way of barter back to the far interior. Fearful lest his guide might

[22] 'We prepared a stage, on which the canoe was placed bottom upwards, and shaded by a covering of small trees and branches, to keep her from the sun. We then built an oblong hollow square, ten feet by five, of green logs, wherein we placed every article it was necessary for us to leave here, and covered the whole with large pieces of timber.' *Mackenzie's Voy.*, 285.

desert, Mackenzie made him sleep with him, and as his lordship's beaver robe was full of vermin, his head well greased with fish-oil, and his body smeared with red earth, he was not the pleasantest of bedfellows.

Before mid-day of the 6th they came to the junction of the three roads from the great river, namely, that from Quesnelle, or the Puntataencut River, which they first intended to have taken, the West Road River route, and the trail they were on, and which now led along the terraces near Blackwater bridge, with the river in sight but beyond reach.[23] The march for the day was south-west ten miles, then west about twelve miles.

The route next day was through an elevated and partly open country, up West Road River fourteen miles to Upper Cañon, where were two small lakes, then along the Iscultaesli branch twelve miles, a portion of which was through a swamp, to where the river widens into a lake.

The march was attended with frequent showers of rain, the bushes continuing to shed moisture for some time after the clouds had ceased. On one occasion the commander requested one of the Indians to go forward and beat the bushes so that the rest with their heavy burdens need not be always drenched. The free American declined, whereupon Mackenzie himself performed the task.

As the region was destitute of game, and food would be required on their return, on two or three occasions pemican was buried under the fireplace when the natives were not present.

Crossing south-westerly to the main channel of the Blackwater on the 8th, they passed several basins, in some of which was water, while others were empty. Ten miles brought them to an expansion of the river called Kluscoil Lake, after which they continued west

[23] Near the Blackwater depôt, built by the railroad surveying party as a station for supplies. An illustrated description of this place may be found in *George M. Dawson's Report*, in *Selwyn's Geological Survey of Canada, 1875–6*, 262.

by south ten miles and encamped, having been in the rain three fourths of the day. Twenty-one miles were travelled on the 9th, the latter part of the march being along Euchiniko Lake, another expansion of the river, which was crossed early next morning on a raft. A small stream flowing into the Blackwater at this crossing, from the south, soon expanded as they ascended it, into the Cluscus Lakes.[24] This day, the 10th, the distance was nineteen miles, and the encampment for the night a little beyond Tsacha Lake.[25]

The 11th brought them past Tsilbekuz Lake, the distance being fifteen miles, in which were crossed seven rivulets. On the 12th thirty-six miles were made in a more southerly direction, round swamps and over stony ridges, rising toward the last into a clear cold altitude with snowy mountains on every side. Coming upon a house next day, the inhabitants were surprised and captured; but their fears were instantly allayed and presents given them. On the 15th they joined a party journeying the same way, with whom they were soon on intimate terms.

The wind rose to a tempest on the 17th, and part of the way was over snow. Descending from the mountains the climate was quite different. Mackenzie now found himself on a tributary of the Bellacoola,[26] following which he came late at night to a fork of the river where was a large village. Reckless from fatigue, Mackenzie preceded his company, and entering without ceremony one of the houses, he shook hands with the inmates, threw down his burden, and sat upon it. The people manifested not the least surprise, but soon directed him to the town-house.[27]

The men arriving soon after, entered the large

[24] Here lived in later days a big chief called Fawnie, who conducted parties in any direction, and for whom a mountain was named.

[25] An altitude obtained at noon gave 53° 4′ 32″, which was remarkably correct.

[26] In his map Mackenzie puts down this stream as Salmon River. What is now Salmon River flows into the ocean a little north of the Bellacoola.

[27] For full description of these people, their dress, houses, and customs, see *Native Races*, i. chap. iii.

house, where were several fires, and seating themselves were regaled with roasted salmon. Signs seemingly denoting permission to sleep in the house were made, yet not being sure, and fearful of offending his entertainers, Mackenzie ordered a fire built outside at which all slept soundly. This place Mackenzie called Friendly Village. Berries, dried roe, and roasted salmon were given the strangers for breakfast, after which Mackenzie asked and obtained two canoes in which to descend the river.

In the afternoon of that day, which was the 18th, with seven of the friendly natives and the little baggage now left, the party embarked. Mackenzie thought his Canadians expert canoemen, but they themselves were forced to admit that these savages were in this respect their superiors. Arriving at a weir, consisting of an embankment with a water-fall of some ten feet, and having their fishing appliances both above and below it, the natives landed the white men, and shot their canoes over the fall without taking in a drop of water.

In less than three hours the natives informed the explorers that they were approaching another village, and that before reaching it they must land and notify the inhabitants. Although this was done, and couriers were sent forward to notify them, yet so seemingly sudden was the appearance of the strangers that the town was thrown into confusion. As the party entered, they saw the people running from house to house with loud and vociferous speech, and the usual antics, feints, and warlike demonstrations which savages employ to cover fear.

But when the leader stepped boldly forward alone and shook hands with them, they immediately calmed, and laid down their bows and arrows, spears and axes, pacified. Then they pressed round, hugging and heaping him with compliments until he scarcely knew which he enjoyed least, their enmity or their friendship. After the ancients of the nation had finished

their embracings, the chief's eldest son appeared, the crowd making way for him, and snapping the string which fastened a valuable sea-otter robe he threw it over the white chief's shoulders. This was the highest honor the savage could pay the stranger. Mackenzie gave him a blanket in return. Presents were also given to the chiefs.

The party now took a stroll about the town. The houses were larger and finer than any aboriginal structures they had hitherto seen. Entering the chief's house, mats were spread, and the strangers having seated themselves, roasted salmon and other food was placed before them. But despite every endeavor they could not get raw fish cooked after their own fashion, notwithstanding the stream was full of them and their rude entertainers were ready to show their guests every attention. The fish did not like strangers; they were averse to iron; the white chief must not use his astronomical instruments; flesh must not be allowed in or on the streams; and many other like superstitions must be observed, else the fish would go away and the people would starve.

A lodge having been prepared for the accommodation of the guests, after examining the many points of interest about the place, such as the hieroglyphics and contents of the houses, and the extensive fish catching and curing processes, they retired for the night. Before they were asleep, however, the chief came to Mackenzie and insisted upon his going to the chief's bed and bedfellow, while he should take the stranger's place. Such was their hospitality.

Though some distance from the sea-coast, these people were intelligent in their knowledge of what transpired there. A large canoe was shown to Mackenzie, in which he said the chief told him that "about ten winters ago he went a considerable distance towards the mid-day sun, with forty of his people, when he saw two large vessels full of such men as myself, by whom he was kindly received; they were,

he said, the first white people he had seen. They were probably the ships commanded by Captain Cook."

Again in remarking on the iron, copper, and brass so highly prized by them, and of which they had much, both for use and ornament, sometimes twisting iron bars of twelve-pound weight into ornamental collars, Mackenzie spoke of another visit to this same chief, when he "opened one of his chests and took out of it a garment of blue cloth decorated with brass buttons, and another of a flowered cotton, which I supposed were Spanish; it had been trimmed with leather fringe after the fashion of their own cloaks."

When the party were ready to start down the river, Mackenzie was informed that one of the axes was missing. He immediately requested from the chief its restoration. "But he would not understand me," says Mackenzie, "till I sat myself down on a stone, with my arms in a state of preparation, and made it appear to him that I should not depart until the stolen article was restored. The village was immediately in a state of uproar, and some danger was apprehended from the confusion that prevailed in it. The axe, however, which had been hidden under the chief's canoe, was soon returned. Though this instrument was not, in itself, of sufficient value to justify a dispute with these people, I apprehended that the suffering them to keep it, after we had declared its loss, might have occasioned the loss of everything we carried with us, and of our lives also. My people were dissatisfied with me at the moment; but I thought myself right then, and I think now that the circumstances in which we were involved justified the measure which I adopted."

Embarking at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th in one large canoe manned by four natives, the party left the Great Village, as this place was subsequently called, and passed rapidly down the river. They had not proceeded far when they were obliged to land and pay their respects to the owner of two

houses, who being a personage of consequence it was deemed best not to pass him by unnoticed. Here they were entertained as before, and many European articles shown them, among others forty pounds of old copper. Proceeding, another large house was soon reached, their last host accompanying them. Here was seen for the first time by the visitors the famous underlip ornament.[28] For the berries here placed before them the travellers made recompense in presents. Once more embarking, they find the swift current separating itself into channels as they approach its mouth. After shooting a cascade they came to a fall, where they left the canoe and carried their baggage on to a village of six large houses on posts twenty-five feet high, having completed thirty-six miles that afternoon. Here they could see the mouth of the river and an arm of the sea. The few people they found here were poor, unable to offer the visitors a single fish for their supper, whereupon the remnants of the last meal were brought out. The loss at this place of their dog, who had accompanied them from Athabasca, was greatly regretted.

Very early next morning they set out in a still larger though leaky canoe, accompanied by only two of the natives from the Great Village, the others refusing to proceed. They were shortly at the mouth of the river, and soon past the place which they felt constrained subsequently to call Rascals' Village; and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th of July 1793, Alexander Mackenzie and his party found themselves afloat on the tide-waters of the Pacific. Here was their object attained; the goal was won!

Bentinck North Arm, this water was afterward named. And it was not a pleasing sight that greeted them after their devoted toil; not so glittering as that which sent Vasco Nuñez and his comrades to their knees on the hill overlooking this same ocean five thousand miles to the southward, and two hundred

[28] See *Native Races*, i. 98.

and eighty years before. There were no flags or pennons flying, no wading into the water with drawn sword, no fighting of imaginary foes, no declamation to the winds and waves about the ownership of that quarter of God's earth. Exploration had become a soberer thing in the course of three centuries.

Spread out before these northern fur-traders, who had ventured so far to see what this great Northwest was made of, was a broad uncovered beach, dripping with sea-weeds. A thick fog shut out the surrounding hills. Sea and sky were murky and opaque. A strong west wind chilled both blood and spirits. There were many seals, so quick of movement as almost to dodge the bullets sent after them. Only some small porpoises seemed willing to be shot. In the distance was the white-headed eagle, which had come with them from the interior to see the ocean, and nearer gulls and ducks, both diminutive, and some dismal dark birds of evil omen, smaller than the small gulls. To crown all, as the day wore away the wind rose and the sea grew boisterous, so that after a voyage of ten miles from the entrance of the river they were obliged to land their leaky canoe in a small bay, opposite another small bay in which was an island, and carry ashore their scanty stock of provisions, consisting now of twenty pounds of pemican, fifteen pounds of rice, and six pounds of flour, for ten half-starved men upon a savage shore, with a thousand miles of wilderness between them and security.

The Canadians did not take kindly to the mussels and other shell-fish which they now gathered and boiled. One of the natives who had accompanied them from the Great Village, and who had started for home some time before, returned about dark, bringing with him a large porcupine, which he cut in pieces, boiled, and, with the assistance of two of the Canadians, wholly devoured before retiring for the night. From this circumstance Mackenzie called the place Porcupine Cove.

Embarking next morning and sailing south-westerly, they came to the Point Menzies of Vancouver, and coasted the land called by that navigator King Island, meeting in their voyage several boat loads of natives who had had familiar intercourse with white men, and manifested neither fear nor curiosity at the appearance of the strangers.

Entering Vancouver's Cascade Canal, they were greatly annoyed by the Indians, who here assumed an arrogant tone and threatened an attack. One man made himself specially obnoxious, having been beaten and shot, as he said, by Vancouver. The little band prepared to defend themselves, the commander refusing to yield one iota to the importunities of his companions to quit the place until he had satisfied himself.

The westernmost point of this memorable journey was here attained.[29] Landing at a place which from the distance looked like sheds,[30] but on nearer approach proved to be the ruins of a village, Mackenzie, the better to defend himself from the natives, whose numbers and boldness were constantly increasing, took his position on a rock, which was none too large to

[29] The course since leaving the mouth of Bellacoola River, recapitulated, is as follows: Down Bentinck Arm or Burke Canal some 25 miles toward the sea; then crossed over by a channel in a north-westerly direction, having King Island on the left, to Dean Canal; followed down Dean Canal to the westward about six miles to the point where the Cascade Canal joins it, coming in from the north-west. Followed up the Cascade Canal three miles to the sheds near the rock on which he placed the inscription, and then three miles farther to his astronomical station. It is worthy of remark that on all the old maps the passage from Burke Canal to Dean Canal is represented as a broad channel, while on recent maps it is put down as a narrow channel or slough. The old maps are all based on Vancouver's, and the modern ones on Admiralty charts.

[30] It was during the last days of May and the first days of June 1793, less than two months prior to Mackenzie's appearance on this shore, that Vancouver was here surveying these same inlets. Speaking, with the sheds in sight, of information received from a native concerning Vancouver's visit, Mackenzie, *Voy.*, 345, says: 'At some distance from the land a channel opened to us, at south-west by west, and pointing that way he made me understand that Macubah came there with his large canoe.' This same savage asserted that Macubah, as he called Vancouver, had fired upon him, and that 'Benfins had struck him on the back with the flat part of his sword.' He now proved extremely troublesome to Mackenzie, on whom he would be greatly pleased to take revenge for insults received at the hands of the other white men.

accommodate his little force. The day passed, however, without an attack, and there they spent the night of the 21st, keeping a careful watch in turn, two at a time.

The next day the sky was clearer, and Mackenzie obtained more satisfactory observations.[31] Mixing some vermilion in melted grease, Mackenzie now marked in large letters on the south-east side of the rock on which they had slept the previous night, these words: ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, FROM CANADA, BY LAND, THE TWENTY-SECOND OF JULY, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-THREE.

For the purpose of completing his observations, Mackenzie proceeded north-east three miles farther and landed in a little cove. The only remaining Indian from the Great Village now attempted to escape, but was brought back by Mackenzie, who requested his men to guard him, but they peremptorily refused to employ force in detaining him, and Mackenzie was himself obliged to watch him.

The object of the expedition being now attained, Mackenzie set out from this point on his long return. As the situation was both unpleasant and dangerous, the party embarked at ten o'clock that night, the 22d. In leaving those shores the men plied their oars lustily, for they were badly frightened. The return was by the route they came; and at half past four next morning they arrived at Porcupine Cove, passing which they came to the mouth of the Bellacoola. On leaving the bay, the explorer named it Mackenzie Outlet.

Yet more imminent danger awaited them at Rascals' Village. It seems that the savage who had been chastised by Vancouver was there, stirring up enmity against the strangers, so that when Mackenzie, in order to keep pace with the Indian whose escape he

[31] These astronomical observations, however satisfying to the explorer, were of little use to science or to history, other than to determine positively Mackenzie's route.

had prevented the day before, very imprudently preceded his men, he found the villagers armed and in menacing attitudes. Throwing down his cloak, he raised his gun, whereupon the Indians dropped their daggers. Nevertheless they continued to advance until one of them succeeded in getting behind Mackenzie, when he threw his arms about him and held him in hostile embrace. Coolness and bravery alone saved the whole party from destruction. The explorer could have killed two or three of them, but he would soon have been overcome by numbers, and his men might easily have been disposed of one by one as they came up. Finally he succeeded in shaking himself from the Indian's grasp, and as some of his men now appeared, the savages fled.[32]

Mackenzie had lost his hat and cloak in the scuffle; besides, at this same Rascals' Village on their way down, some articles had been stolen; and now that his Scotch blood was up he determined to have everything restored before he left the place. Ordering his men to prime their guns, the party drew up before the house in which the villagers had taken refuge. Finally the man whom Mackenzie had previously guarded came out and said that the villagers had been informed that the white men had killed four Indians in the bay, and had ill-treated others. The knowledge of this falsehood brought from Mackenzie a fresh demand for the stolen articles, together with some fish. These conditions of his departure the natives complied with, and a reconciliation took place. The Indian from the Great Village, however, could not be induced to join them, and they followed him up the river in another canoe.

The ascent of the stream was tedious; and on

[32] 'It was, however, upwards of ten minutes before all my people joined me; and as they came one after the other, these people might have successfully despatched every one of us. If they had killed me in the first instance this consequence would certainly have followed, and not one of us would have returned home to tell the horrid fate of his companions.' *Mackenzie's Voy.*, 353–4.

landing fresh alarm was caused by the appearance of savages supposed to be unfriendly. The men became panic-stricken, and throwing their superfluous effects into the river, swore they would take to the mountains. One of the Indians they had brought with them having been seized with illness, they proposed to abandon him.

For a time Mackenzie sat upon a stone waiting for the subsidence of this demonstration of insane terror. But when he saw them continue in earnest he arose and rebuked their folly and inhumanity in the severest terms. Finally their fears were overcome, and the party proceeded, part on shore and part by canoe. In much alarm, though without serious accident, the white men succeeded in finally extricating themselves from their perilous position and reaching the Friendly Village in safety.

Continuing their journey, they arrived at Fraser River the 4th of August, just one month after leaving it, and found their canoe and all their effects undisturbed. The buried pemican did excellent service, as the weather was now cold and the strength of the men well nigh exhausted. So long had they been without spiritous liquor that they seemed to have lost all relish for it. For respecting the white man's property the natives were well rewarded, though they might as easily have taken the whole of it had they been so disposed.

The 16th of August saw them at the portage between the tributaries of the Fraser and Peace rivers. At the mouth of a small stream were found three beaver-skins, left there by the young Indian who had presented them to the white chief on his outward journey; Mackenzie took them, leaving in their place thrice their value.

At last, rounding the point on Peace River Saturday afternoon, the 24th of August 1793, they sighted Fork Fort, which they had left the 9th of May previous. Unfurling their flag and firing their guns,

amidst shouts of joy their frail bark flew to the bank. The journey was done. All honor to the brave little band and their gallant commander! A month later Mackenzie returned to Fort Chepewyan and resumed the position of trader.

Among the many qualities I find in Alexander Mackenzie which command my admiration; among the many brave and humane acts done during this hazardous journey, none have so stirred my heartfelt respect as his kind and loyal treatment on Bellacoola River of his sick Indian guide, who but for the severe and self-denying labor of the commander, whose men refused their hearty assistance, must have been left to perish amongst his foes—an act worthy of higher commendation than even his grand excursion.

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